

A Companion to Byzantine Italy

Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World

Managing Editor

Wolfram Brandes

VOLUME 8

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/bcbw*

A Companion to Byzantine Italy

Edited by

Salvatore Cosentino



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

- 978-90-04-30770-4

Downloaded from Brill.com02/08/2021 03:16:46PM
via Bodleian Libraries of the University of Oxford

Cover illustration: The capture of Syracuse by the Muslims, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, cod. gr. Vitr. 26-2, f. 100v, 12th sec. The caption above the image reads: οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ λαμβάνουσι τὴν πόλιν Συράκουσαν ('The Saracens conquer the city of Syracuse').

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <http://catalog.loc.gov>
LC record available at <http://lccn.loc.gov/2020037588>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2212-7429

ISBN 978-90-04-30769-8 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-30770-4 (e-book)

Copyright 2021 by Koninklijke Brill nv, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill nv incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi, Brill Sense, Hotei Publishing, mentis Verlag, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh and Wilhelm Fink Verlag. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill nv via brill.com or copyright.com.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

Abbreviations	IX
List of Maps and Figures	X
Notes on Contributors	XII

Introduction: Mapping the Memory of Byzantine Italy	1
<i>Salvatore Cosentino and Enrico Zanini</i>	

PART 1

Society and Institutions

1	Politics and Society	29
	<i>Salvatore Cosentino</i>	
2	Ecclesiastic Life and Its Institutions	68
	<i>Salvatore Cosentino</i>	
3	Monastic Life and Its Institutions	106
	<i>Enrico Morini</i>	
4	Byzantine Administration and the Army	140
	<i>Vivien Prigent</i>	
5	Byzantines and Lombards	169
	<i>Federico Marazzi</i>	
6	Byzantium and Islam in Southern Italy (7th–11th Century)	200
	<i>Annliese Nef</i>	
7	Greek Communities in Post-Byzantine Italy	225
	<i>Annick Peters-Custot</i>	

PART 2

*Communications, Economy and Landscape**General Frameworks*

- 8 The Network of Interregional Roads and Harbours 255
Denis Sami
- 9 Rural Economy: Organization, Exploitation and Resources 279
Jean-Marie Martin
- 10 Non-Agricultural Items: Local Production, Importation and
Redistribution 300
Enrico Zanini
- 11 Mints, Coin Production and Circulation 328
Vivien Prigent

Settlements and Landscape: Regional Morphologies

- 12 The Venetiae, the Exarchate and the Pentapolis 360
Sauro Gelichi
- 13 Rome and the Roman Duchy 387
Alessandra Molinari
- 14 Byzantine Naples and Gaeta 405
Federico Marazzi
- 15 Byzantine Calabria 434
Ghislaine Noyé
- 16 Byzantine Apulia 453
Paul Arthur
- 17 Byzantine Sicily 472
Lucia Arcifa

- 18 Byzantine Sardinia 496
Pier Giorgio Spanu
- 19 Byzantine Malta 522
Brunella Bruno and Nathaniel Cutajar

PART 3

Culture and Education

- 20 Greek and Latin in Byzantine Italy (6th–11th Century) 541
Vera von Falkenhausen
- 21 Bishops, Cities, and Historical Memory in Byzantine Italy 582
Deborah M. Deliyannis
- 22 Telling the Sanctity in Byzantine Italy 609
Mario Re
- 23 Devotion and Prayer in Byzantine Italy 641
Francesco D'Aiuto
- 24 Medieval Art in Italy and Byzantium (ca. 550–1050): A Viaticum 669
Massimo Bernabò
- 25 Conceiving Social Space in Byzantine Italy: Monumental Architecture and Building Typologies 695
Isabella Baldini
- 26 Literary and Book Production in Byzantine Italy 733
Paola Degni
- 27 Legal Texts and Juridical Practice in Byzantine Italy 760
Cristina Rognoni

Index of Names 797

Index of Subjects 822

Abbreviations

ACO = *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*

AASS = *Acta Sanctorum*

BHG = *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*

BHL = *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*

BS = *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*

CAG = *Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile*

CDB = *Codice Diplomatico Barese*

CFHB = *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

CISAM = Centro di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto

CJC = *Corpus Juris Civilis*

CTh = *Codex Theodosianus*

EI = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 12 vols., Leiden 1960-2004

IP = Kehr P. F., *Regesta pontificum Romanorum. Italia Pontificia*, Rome 1906-

Mansi = G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Florence 1759- (repr. Paris 1901-27)

MGH = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Hannover 1826- (AA = *Auctores Antiquissimi*; Epp. = *Epistulae*; SS. = *Scriptores*; SS. Mer. = *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*; SS. Lang. et Ital. = *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*)

PBE = Martindale, J. R. et alii (eds.), *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire* (641-867)
Online edition available at <http://www.pbe.kcl.ac.uk>

PCBE = C. Pietri/L. Pietri (eds.), *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas Empire*, 2
Prosopographie de l'Italie chrétienne (313-604), 2 vols., Rome 1999-2000

PLRE = Martindale, J. R. (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, III A-B, A.D 527-641, Cambridge 1992

PMBZ = Lilie R. J. et alii (eds.) *Prosopographie der mittel-byzantinischen Zeit*, I. Abteilung (641-867), 8 vols., Berlin 1999-2002; II. Abteilung (867-1025), 7 vols., Berlin 2013

PG = *Patrologia cursus completus. Series Graeca*, Paris 1857-

PL = *Patrologia cursus completus. Series Latina*, Paris 1841-

ODB = *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan, 3 vols., New York 1991

RIS = *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Città di Castello 1900-

Maps and Figures

Maps

- 0.1 Byzantine Italy: major places 2
- 1.1 Byzantine Empire under Justinian (527–565) 30
- 1.2 Byzantine Italy (7th–8th century) 42
- 1.3 Byzantine Italy (9th–11th century) 55
- 2.1 Italian provinces in the 6th century 92
- 7.1 Political map of southern Italy 226
- 8.1 The network of roads and harbours 256
- 12.1 The Venetiae, the Exarchate and the Pentapolis: major places 361
- 13.1 The Duchy of Rome 400
- 14.1 Naples and its surroundings 406
- 14.2 Gaeta and its surroundings 423
- 15.1 Byzantine Calabria 435
- 16.1 The territory of Byzantine Italy (8th–10th century) and Byzantine Apulia 454
- 16.2 Byzantine Bari: the area of the *Praetorium* 462
- 17.1 Distribution map of the major Sicilian surveys 474
- 17.2 Sicilian bishoprics in Byzantine period 477
- 17.3 Distribution map of hand-made casseroles in the early 9th century 484
- 18.1 Byzantine Sardinia 500
- 19.1 The Maltese Archipelago 536
- 25.1 Roman Forum in the 6th–7th century 697
- 25.2 Ravenna, sector of the Theoderic's Palace 702
- 25.3 Ravenna, the episcopal district 705
- 25.4 Rome, the Lateran Palace at the time of Pope Leo III 706
- 25.5 Colombarone, residential rooms of the late antique villa 708
- 25.6 Canosa, early Christian churches (a.b.c.) 712
- 25.7 Ravenna, 6th century churches (a.b.c.) 714
- 25.8 Rome, St. Agnes and Santa Maria Antiqua 720
- 25.9 Muro Leccese, church of St. Marina 722
- 25.10 Capri, San Costanzo in Capri (a); San Giovanni a Mare (b) 723
- 25.11 Otranto, St. Peter (a); Stilo, Cattolica (b); Rossano, St. Mark (c) 724
- 25.12 Giurdignano, Cave-Church of St. Saviour 725
- 25.13 Bari, *Praetorium* and fortified Citadel 726
- 25.14 Taranto, Cathedral of St. Cataldus 727

Figures

- 8.1 Road excavation in Romagna 261
- 13.1 The seal of Theophylaktos *patrikios* and *exarchos* 392
- 13.2 ARS from Crypta Balbi 393
- 13.3 The Athenaeum of emperor Adrian (Rome) 395
- 16.1 The Byzantine *castrum* at Egnatia (BR) 457
- 16.2 The painted apse in the cave-church at Carpignano Salentino (LE) 461
- 16.3 The 10th century Church of S. Pietro, Otranto. 461
- 24.1 Ravenna, San Vitale, mosaic panel with Theodora and her court 673
- 24.2 Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, nave mosaic, three female saints 674
- 24.3 Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare in Classe, sarcophagus of the archbishop Theodore 676
- 24.4 Pavia, Museum, stone panel of the abbess Theodote 676
- 24.5 Cividale, Archaeological Museum, pluteus of Sigvald 677
- 24.6 Museum of Santa Giulia, marble slab with peacock 677
- 24.7 Bobbio, Museo dell'Abbazia, slab of the bishop Cumianus 677
- 24.8 Rome, Santa Maria Antiqua, Annunciation 680
- 24.9 Rome, Santa Maria Antiqua, the so-called 'palimpsest' 681
- 24.10 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. gr. 749, Book of Job, f. 243v 682
- 24.11 Castelseprio, Santa Maria *foris Portas*, Nativity 684
- 24.12 San Vincenzo al Volturno, crypt of Epiphanius, Madonna 687
- 24.13 Amalfi, Cathedral, bronze door 688
- 24.14 Carpignano Salentino, church of Sts. Marina and Cristina, Annunciation and Christ 689
- 24.15 Otranto, San Pietro, Washing of feet 689
- 25.1 Manfredonia, Curia Arcivescovile, marble slab 711
- 25.2 Ravenna, the building site of the church of St. Vitalis 715
- 25.3 Ravenna, reconstruction of the church of St. Severus 718

Notes on Contributors

Lucia Arcifa

is Associate Professor at the University of Catania. She specializes in the archaeology of Medieval Sicily; her recent publications include *Nuove ipotesi a partire dalla rilettura dei dati archeologici: la Sicilia orientale*, in A. Nef/V. Prigent (eds.), *La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam*, Paris 2010; with A. Nef/A. Bagnera, *Archeologia della Sicilia islamica: nuove proposte di riflessione*, in *Histoire et Archéologie de l'Occident Musulman* (VII^e–XV^e siècle: Al-Andalus, Maghreb, Sicile), Toulouse 2012; *Dinamiche insediative e grande proprietà nella Sicilia tardobizantina: uno sguardo archeologico* in J.M. Martin/A. Peters-Custot/V. Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie* (VIII^e–XII siècle). IV *Habitat et structure agraire*, Rome 2017.

Paul Arthur

is Professor of Medieval Archaeology at the University of Salento and President of the Italian Society of Medieval Archaeologists (SAMI). Whilst beginning his career as a classical archaeologist, he has since specialised in medieval and Byzantine archaeology. Interests in settlement systems, economy and the environment have led him to work in England, Israel, Italy, Libya, Turkey and the Ukraine. With almost 300 publications, monographs include *Romans in Northern Campania* (1991); *Naples from Roman Town to City-State: An Archaeological Perspective* (2002); *Byzantine and Turkish Hierapolis (Pamukkale)* (2006); *French Art Nouveau Ceramics. An Illustrated Dictionary* (2015).

Isabella Baldini

is Professor of Early Christian and Medieval Archaeology at the University of Bologna. She specializes in late antique and Byzantine jewelry, architecture and housing archaeology, and she is director of archaeological missions in Greece and Sicily. Her major publications include *Loreficeria dell'Impero di Costantinopoli tra IV e VII secolo* (Bari 1999); *La domus tardoantica*, (Imola 2001), *L'architettura residenziale nelle città tardo antiche* (Roma 2005); "Private Space in Late-Antique Cities: Laws and Building procedures", in L. Lavan et alii (eds.), *Housing in Late Antiquity* (Leiden 2007, pp. 197–238); (with M. Livadiotti), *Archeologia protobizantina a Kos*, 1, *La basilica di S. Gabriele*; 2, *Il complesso episcopale* (Bologna 2011, 2015).

Massimo Bernabò

is Associate Professor of History of Medieval Art at the University of Pavia. He specializes in Byzantine book illumination, biblical iconography, Syriac and Christian Islamic illumination, as well as Byzantium in the 19th century. His publications include *Il Tetravangelo di Rabbula* (Roma, 2008); “Le miniature del Vangelo arabo della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze”, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 83/2 (2017).

Brunella Bruno

works at the Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio di Verona, Rovigo, Vicenza. Her publications include works on commercial amphorae from various regional contexts (Liguria, Lombardia, Piemonte, Veneto), archaeological reports on aspects of the archaeology of Verona and of its territory, as well as researches on the economy and commerce of the Maltese islands in the Roman and Byzantine periods (Edipuglia, 2004).

Salvatore Cosentino

is Professor of Byzantine Civilisation at the University of Bologna. His main interests focus on the social and economic history of Late antiquity and Early Byzantium, as well as on the insular world and epigraphy. His major publications include *Storia dell'Italia bizantina. Da Giustiniano ai Normanni* (Bologna 2008); *L'Italia bizantina: una prospettiva economica* (CRMH Dossier, 2014) and *Ravenna and the Traditions of Late Antique and Early Byzantine Craftsmanship* (edited book, Berlin – New York 2020).

Nathaniel Cutajar

is Curator for Medieval Archaeology at the National Museum of Archaeology in Valletta, Malta. He previously worked for the Superintendence of Cultural Heritage and as Curator for the Museums Department. His publications include works on cultural heritage management, as well as on various aspects of Malta's medieval and post-medieval history and archaeology.

Francesco D'Aiuto

is Professor of Byzantine Philology and History at the University of Rome “Tor Vergata”. He specializes in Byzantine religious literature – in particular hymnography and hagiography – and in Greek palaeography. His major publications include *Tre canoni di Giovanni Mauropode in onore di santi militari*, Rome 1994; *El “Menologio de Basilio II”, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica*

Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613. (Vatican City 2008); “Un antico inno per la Resurrezione”, *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* n.s. 45 (2008); *Guida ai fondi manoscritti, numismatici, a stampa della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Studi e testi, 466–467), 2 vols. (Vatican City 2011) [in collaboration with P. Vian].

Paola Degni

is Professor of Palaeography at the University of Bologna. Her main research interests focus on the history of Greek handwriting and Byzantine book production, ranging from the Classic antiquity to the middle Byzantine period. Her books, chapters, and articles cover topics such as the history of Greek handwriting (*La scrittura greca dall'antichità all'epoca della stampa. Una introduzione*, co-edited with E. Crisci, Roma, Carocci, 2011), the ‘scriptorium’ of the Byzantine Ioannikios (*Segno e Testo*, 6, 2008), the cataloguing of Greek manuscripts (*Greek manuscripts Cataloguing. Past, Present, and Future*, co-edited with P. Eleuteri, M. Maniaci, Turnhout, Brepols, 2018).

Deborah M. Deliyannis

is Professor of History at Indiana University, Bloomington, USA. She specializes in early medieval historiography, architecture, and episcopal history. Her publications include (ed.) *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (2003), an edition (2006) and English translation (2004) of Agnellus' *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis, Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (2010) and, with Paolo Squatriti and Hendrik Dey, *Fifty Early Medieval Things: Materials of Culture in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (2019).

Vera von Falkenhausen

is Professor emerita of Byzantine history at the University of Rome “Tor Vergata”. Her research is focused on Byzantine and post-Byzantine southern Italy and Sicily. Her bibliography is available on-line at the site of the *Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini. Soci. Presidente onorario*. She is editor of the Journal “Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania”.

Sauro Gelichi

is Professor of Medieval Archaeology at the University of Ca' Foscari, Venice. He has been director of many archaeological research projects in Italy and abroad, including Tunisia, Syria, Turkey and Montenegro, and has published monographs and articles on archaeological and historical subjects. He is also the principal editor of the Journal *Archeologia Medievale*.

Jean-Marie Martin

is Directeur de recherche emeritus at the C.N.R.S. He specializes in the history and documentation of southern Italy during the Middle Ages. His major publications include *La Pouille du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (Rome 1993); *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae* (cod. Vat. Lat. 4939), 2 vols. (Rome 2000); *Guerre, accords et frontières en Italie méridionale pendant le haut Moyen Âge* (Rome 2005); *Byzance et l'Italie méridionale* (Paris 2014); *Registrum Petri Diaconi (Montecassino, archivio dell'abbazia, Reg. 3). Edizione e commento*, 4 vols. (Rome 2015) [in collaboration with P. Chastang, E. Cuozzo, L. Feller, G. Orofino, A. Thomas, M. Villani].

Federico Marazzi

is Professor of Christian and Medieval Archaeology at Suor Orsola Benincasa University (Naples) and at the University of Pavia. His main interests span from the history of Rome, urban and rural settlement history to monastic settlements history and archaeology between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. His major publications include *I "Patrimonia Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae" nel Lazio (IV-X secolo). Struttura amministrativa e prassi gestionali* (Rome 1998), *San Vincenzo al Volturno tra X e XII secolo* (Rome 2011) and *Le città dei monaci. Storia degli spazi che avvicinano a Dio* (Milan 2015), and, as editor or co-editor, *The Ostrogoths. From the Migration period to the Sixth Century* (with S. Barnish – Woodbridge 2007), *Monasteri in Europa Occidentale (secoli VIII–XI). Topografia e strutture* (with Flavia De Rubeis – Rome 2008), and *Molise Medievale cristiano. Edilizia religiosa e territorio – secoli IV/XIII* (Cerro a Volturno 2018). In 2017/2018 he has been the curator of the exhibition *Longobardi. Un popolo che cambia la storia* (Pavia – Naples – St. Petersburg).

Alessandra Molinari

is Professor of Medieval Archaeology at the University of Rome "Tor Vergata". Her main research interests focus on late antique and medieval landscape archaeology and system of exchanges, especially in Central Italy and Sicily. She is currently directing excavations at the Old Cathedral of Arezzo (Tuscany), co-directing with M.O.H. Carver the ERC project "The Archaeology of Regime Change: Sicily in Transition" and is senior researcher in the ERC project "Petrifying Wealth". She recently co-authored the books *L'archeologia della produzione a Roma (secoli V–XV)* (2015) and *Il medioevo nelle città italiane* (2017).

Enrico Morini

is former Associate Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Bologna. His research focuses on the relations between the Greek and Latin Churches (with special attention to Ecclesiology), on Greek monasticism (especially Italo-Greek monasticism), as well as on the investigations of eastern saints' relics in Italy and on the Greek Philocaly Renaissance. His major publications include: *Patriarcati, concili, imperatore. Ricerche storico-ecclesiologiche tra Oriente e Occidente*, Spoleto, CISAM 2018; *Monachesimo greco in Calabria. Aspetti organizzativi e linee di spiritualità*, Bologna, 1999; *Ierà leipsana Hagion tes kath'emàs Anatolès ste Benetia (Holy Relics of Eastern Saints in Venice)*, Athens, 2005; *La Chiesa ortodossa. Storia, disciplina, culto*, Bologna, ESD, 1996; *Gli ortodossi*, Bologna, 2002 (translated into Portuguese as: *Os Ortodoxos. O Oriente do Ocidente*, São Paulo, Brasil, 2005).

Annliese Nef

is Maîtresse de conférences at the University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. She specializes in the history of Islamic Sicily and of the Islamic empire's construction. Her publications include *L'Islam a-t-il une histoire ? Du fait religieux comme fait social* (Bordeaux 2017); *Conquérir et gouverner la Sicile islamique aux XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Rome 2011); she edited *A Companion to Medieval Palermo* (Leiden 2013).

Ghislaine Noyé

is Professor of Medieval Archaeology at the École Nationale des Chartes, Paris. Her research focuses on the archaeology and history of southern Italy, on which she wrote extensively. She co-edited (with A. Jacob and J.-M. Martin) *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine: acquis et nouvelles recherches*, Rome 2006; her major publications include "Économie et société dans la Calabre byzantine", *Journal des Savant* 2000, pp. 209–280; "Les villages dans l'Italie méridionale byzantine" (with J.-M. Martin), in *Les villages dans l'empire byzantin*, Paris 2005, pp. 149–164 and "The Still Byzantine Calabria: a Case Study", in S. Gelichi, R. Hodges (eds.), *New Directions in Early Medieval European Archaeology: Spain and Italy compared*, Turnhout 2015, pp. 221–266.

Annick Peters-Custot

is Professor at the University of Nantes. She specializes in Byzantine and Norman Southern Italy and in the Greek communities living here. She is currently studying the Western vision of the Eastern monks and the circulation, in the Western area, of the so-called "St. Basil's rule", and its posterior rewriting

by Bessarion. She is leading a research Programme on the appropriation of the Imperial ideology by non-Imperial States (*Imperialiter*). Her publications include: *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale post-byzantine. Une acculturation en douceur (IX^e–XIV^e siècles)*, Rome, 2009; *Bruno en Calabre. Histoire d'une fondation monastique dans l'Italie normande*, Rome, 2014.

Vivien Prigent

is Directeur de recherche at the CNRS UMR 8167. His main interests focus on the social and economic history of 7th–11th century Byzantium, with special interest for Italy, numismatics and sigillography. Major publications include “Le mythe du mancus et les origines de l'économie européenne”, *Revue numismatique*, 171, 2014, pp. 701–728 and “The mobilisation of tax resources in the Byzantine Empire (eighth to eleventh centuries)”, in J. Hudson and A. Rodriguez (eds.), *Diverging Paths? The Shapes of Power and Institutions in the Medieval Christian and Islamic Worlds*, Leiden 2014, pp. 182–229. He has been editor (with J.-M. Martin, A. Peters-Custot, S. Brodbeck) of the series *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, 4 vols, Rome 2011–2017.

Mario Re

is Professor at the ‘Liceo Classico’ Umberto I of Palermo. He specializes in Greek palaeography and Byzantine hagiography. His major publications include *Il codice lentinese dei santi Alfio, Filadelfo e Cirino. Studio paleografico e codicologico* (Palermo 2007); *Italo-Greek Hagiography*, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, 1: *Periods and Places*, ed. S. Efthymiadis (Farnham, 2011, pp. 227–258); *La Passio dei santi Vito, Modesto e Crescenzia. Introduzione, edizione delle recensioni greche (BHG 1876, 1876 a-c) e della versione latina BHL 8713, traduzioni, note e indici* (Palermo 2018).

Cristina Rognoni

is Associate Professor in Byzantine Civilization at the University of Palermo. She specializes in literary and non-literary sources, Byzantine juridical texts as well as social history of Southern Italy. Her major publications include *Les Actes privés grecs de l'Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli (Tolède)*, 2 vols. (Paris 2004, 2011); “Les fonds d'archives grecs de l'Italie du Sud et de Sicile. Un miroir pour l'Athos?”, *Travaux et Mémoires* 23. 2 (2019), pp. 61–84. She is Senior Researcher responsible for the study of the Greek documents in the ERC Advanced Grant H2020 *DOCUMULT – Documenting Multiculturalism: coexistence, law, and multiculturalism in Norman and Hohenstaufen Sicily, ca. 1061–1264*.

Denis Sami

is Junior Finds Specialist at Oxford Archaeology East. His research fields focus on the archaeology and history of Late Roman and early Byzantine Sicily, the Exarchate of Ravenna and Anglo-Saxon England with particular attention to urbanism and material culture. His recent publications include *Debating Urbanism: Within and Beyond the Walls, AD 300–700*, Leicester 2010 (edited with G. Speed) and “Road, canal and post-station. The relational capacity of a *mansio* in Roman and Late Antique *Ad Novas-Cesenatico* (Italy)”, in E. Gamo Pazos et alii (eds.), *En ningún lugar ... Caraca y la romanización de la Hispania interior*, Guadalajara 2019, pp. 551–562.

Pier Giorgio Spanu

is Professor of Christian and Medieval Archaeology at the University of Sassari. His research interests are mainly focused on late antique and early medieval archaeology, underwater archaeology and landscape archaeology. He has conducted investigations in Sardinia, Sicily, Morocco, Tunisia and Spain.

Enrico Zanini

is Professor in Methodologies of Archaeological Research at the University of Siena, where he also teaches Late Antique and Byzantine Archaeology. At present, he manages two archaeological fieldwork projects: the excavations in the early Byzantine District of Gortyn (Crete) (www.gortinabizantina.it), and the excavation on the Roman and Late Antique settlement of Vignale (Tuscany) (www.uominioceseavignale.it). Recent books: D. Michaelides, Ph. Pergola, E. Zanini (eds.), *The Insular System of the Early Byzantine Mediterranean: Archaeology and History*, Oxford 2013; P. Basso, E. Zanini (eds.), *Statio amoenae: Sostare e vivere lungo le strade romane*, Oxford 2016.

Mapping the Memory of Byzantine Italy

Salvatore Cosentino and Enrico Zanini

1 Written Memory

Of all regions belonging to the Byzantine Empire, Italy is the one that has passed down to the present times the largest share of written evidence from the 6th to the 10th century. However, in order to correctly understand this fact, some clarifications are necessary. What is now modern Italy (politically and geographically formed after 1860) was in Justinian's age a set of rather heterogeneous regions not only among themselves, but also with regard to their relations with Constantinople and the eastern Mediterranean. In the 6th century, such regions formed roughly four macro-areas. Sicily represented the first one in terms of political relevance; as early as 535 it would have been difficult to consider the island as a peripheral region of the empire. It had been an important late Roman territory in the past and it would continue to be so until the 12th century. The second macro-area was represented by southern Italy (Calabria, Apulia, and the Tyrrhenian duchies), whose importance within the empire had alternating phases but was in general rather remarkable, especially in the 10th century. The third was Sardinia, which administratively-speaking depended upon Africa. Despite being located at the extreme western outskirts of the *Rhōmania*, the island entertained close relations with its centre until the first half of the 9th century. Lastly, the fourth macro-area was made up of those territories located within central and northern Italy that remained under the control of Constantinople after the Lombard invasion of the peninsula (568).¹ Such territories were not marginal at all in terms of imperial ideology and administration, given that they included Rome (the first *sedes imperii*) and Ravenna (imperial residence and then the capital city of the exarch). However, from the early 8th century onward the empire's political control over these territories would eventually reveal itself to be precarious.

Correspondingly, the status of written documentation regarding Byzantine Italy is not homogeneous, as it depends upon which of the aforementioned

1 The part on "written sources" has been written by Salvatore Cosentino; that on "material sources" by Enrico Zanini. The bibliography at the end of the chapter is separated between these two aspects.



MAP 0.1 Byzantine Italy: major places

© COSENTINO, LAMANNA

macro-areas it refers to. It is true that there are some features which are the same in all sources concerning Byzantine Italy; for instance, the reference to the regnal years of Constantinopolitan emperors in the chronological system of charters. The monetary sphere likewise presented a certain uniformity at least up to the 8th century, as there existed mints in nearly each of the above-mentioned areas (Catania, Syracuse, Carales, Naples, Rome, Ravenna).² Still,

² See the chapter on monetary production by Vivien Prigent in this volume.

beyond these similarities a great deal of difference characterizes the production of written memory of a given area from another. In the present overview, the regions of Byzantine Italy shall be examined according to the ease with which they could be reached from Constantinople. In the itineraries connecting the capital to Italy, the maritime routes seem to have been faster and safer than those on land.³ For this reason I am going to analyse firstly Sicily, then the continental *Mezzogiorno*, Sardinia, and lastly central and northern Italy.

From several points of view – politically, culturally, and economically – Sicily cannot be considered a peripheral region of the empire throughout the early and middle Byzantine period. This emerges primarily by an analysis of its institutional profile. In 537 the island received a special administrative status that excluded it from the provinces ruled by the *praefectus praetorio* (and later by the exarch), instead placing it under the direct control of Constantinople.⁴ All major transformations that took place in the administrative and social history of the Eastern Roman empire, from the 6th to the 10th century, are mirrored in the Sicilian context, but this was not always the case in other parts of Byzantine Italy. Sicily was involved in the *apothēkai* system (7th century) and constituted a *stratēgia* at the end of 7th century. During the 8th century, its ecclesiastical jurisdiction was removed from Rome and placed under the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople. Around the time of the Isaurian age, both the urban and rural profile of the island experienced an incisive transformation, which continued throughout the Byzantine-Muslim period (9th–10th century). Still, during the first half of the 11th century it was considered important enough to the court of Constantinople for it to be the target of a military expedition that nearly succeeded in tearing it away from the Muslims.⁵ Moreover, since Antiquity the majority of population of the eastern part of the island was still Greek-speaking. For all these reasons, Sicily is by far the most quoted Italian province in the sources originating in the East, as seen, for instance, by its numerous mentions in the *Chronographia* by Theophanes.⁶ Its late antique economy is reflected in the Latin epistles by Gregory the Great⁷ and by the intense production of the mint of Syracuse, the most important

3 Cosentino, “Mentality, technology and commerce”, p. 70.

4 *CJC*, vol. 3, *Novellae*, no. 75 ed. R. Schoell and W. Kroll, Dublin 1968 (8th ed.).

5 I am referring to the expedition guided by George Maniakes in 1038, as referred to in John Scylitzes’ account which resulted in the conquest of eastern Sicily; see Joannes Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn (*CFHB*, 5), Berlin 1973, pp. 425–428. In 1040 Maniakes was falsely accused and imprisoned in Constantinople (see *ODB*, vol. 2, p. 1285).

6 See the index in Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, vol. 1, Leipzig 1895, *sub voce* “Sikelia”, pp. 703–704.

7 Recchia, *Gregorio Magno e la società agricola*; Caliri, *Società ed economia*.

in all of Byzantine Italy. Sicily has transmitted to us a high number of Latin and Greek seals which belonged to various members of the ecclesiastical, civil or military administration;⁸ some of them have even been found in distant Cyprus.⁹ Along with Calabria, the island is mentioned in the *Taktika* (administrative lists) compiled in the 9th and 10th century by the central bureaux of Constantinople.¹⁰

Sicily stands out also for the high level of works written in Greek in the fields of hymnology and hagiography. Regarding the former, we can recall figures such as Methodius, patriarch of Constantinople (843–847), or Joseph the Hymnographer († 886);¹¹ in the latter category, numerous hagiographic texts were produced from the 7th to the 9th century concerning Sicilian saints.¹² Several patriarchs of Constantinople were of Sicilian origin, including the abovementioned Methodius or the famous Nicholas Mystikos (two terms, 901–907 and 912–925), whereas Theophanes, abbot of S. Pietro ad Baias (Syracuse), became patriarch of Antioch.¹³ Another notable Sicilian was Petrus who, in late 9th century, wrote a work on the Paulicians as a result of an embassy conducted by him on the orders of Emperor Basil I.¹⁴ A very rough estimate concerning the number of Greek manuscripts composed in Italy from the 9th to the 11th century, appears to have totalled about 600.¹⁵ Until at least the 9th century, a significant number of them must have been copied in Sicily, as well as in Rome and southern Calabria. The Sicilian cultural milieu is represented by one of the few Greek regional chronicles produced in the Byzantine Empire before the 13th century, namely the so-called *Chronicle of Cambridge*, a series of essential

8 Laurent, “Une source peu étudiée”, pp. 22–50; Prigent, “La Sicile de Constant II”, pp. 157–185.

9 D.M. Metcalf, *Byzantine Lead Seals from Cyprus*, Nicosia 2004, no. 269 (seal of a *stratēgos tēs Sikelias*).

10 N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines de IX^e et X^e siècles*, Paris 1972, pp. 49, 14 (Uspenskij), 101, 24 (Philoteos), 247, 22 (Benešević), 265, 29.

11 See the chapter by Francesco D’Aiuto in this volume.

12 For instance, the lives of Zosimus, Gregory of Agrigento and Leo of Catania, the *passio* of Alphius, Philadelphus and Cyrinus, the *encomium* of Marcianus of Syracuse, the life of Pancratius of Taormina, the *Passio* of Saint Nikon and the life of Philip of Agira: see the chapter by Mario Re in this volume.

13 Methodius: *ODB* 2, p. 1355; *PMBZ* 1, 4977; Nicholas Mystikos: *ODB* 2, 1466; *PMBZ* 11, 25885; Theophanes: *PMBZ* 11, 8082.

14 *ODB* 3, 1640 (Peter of Sicily).

15 This estimate is drawn by Guglielmo Cavallo, “La cultura italo-greca”, p. 522 (even though several attributions to the Italo-Greek milieu have been revised today). One can find quantitative data also in Irigoin, “L’apport de l’Italie méridionale”, pp. 5–20; and Canart, “Le livre grec en Italie méridionale”, pp. 160–162. Canart/Lucà, *Codici greci dell’Italia meridionale* contains a detailed description of eighty Greek manuscripts copied in southern Italy.

chronological narrations from 827 to 965 centred on the Byzantine-Muslim conflict fought in Sicily.¹⁶

Peninsular southern Italy is the most difficult macro-area to be modelled as far as written memory is concerned. On one hand, the *Mezzogiorno* embraces regions that had uninterruptedly belonged to the Byzantine Empire (such as southern Calabria and Salento) from the reign of Justinian until the arrival of the Normans. On the other, the influence the Lombard political powers (the duchy of Benevento, and after 849, Salerno and Capua) had upon social life and their interplay with Byzantium had a much greater impact than elsewhere. The Campanian lordships, namely Naples, Amalfi, Gaeta, and Sorrento, can be considered as a subregion of the *Mezzogiorno*. Though geographically small, they played a remarkable political and cultural role, especially Naples.¹⁷ The existence of archival documentation is the most relevant feature of this macro-area, especially when compared with other provinces of the Byzantine Empire from which almost no documents have survived that date from prior to the late 10th century. On the contrary, at least 150 Greek documents dating from the 9th to the mid-11th century originating from southern Italy have been preserved, most of which come from Taranto, Basilicata, and Calabria; if we take into account the documents written in post-Byzantine Italy, their number amounts to about 1,500 pieces.¹⁸ There was also a strong production

16 *La cronaca siculo-saracena di Cambridge*, ed. G. Cozza Luza (Documenti per servire alla storia della Sicilia pubblicati a cura della Società Siciliana di storia patria, ser. 4a, 11) Palermo 1890 and *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ed. P. Schreiner, 3 vols. (*CFHB*, 12/1–3) Vienna 1975, vol. 1, pp. 326–340 (Chronicle, 45).

17 On Naples see the chapter by Federico Marazzi in this volume. Amalfi and Gaeta: Del Treppo/Leone, *Amalfi: una città del Mezzogiorno*; Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy*; Feniello, “Poteri pubblici nei ducati tirrenici”, pp. 325–342. See also Martin’s “Structures familiales, vocabulaire de la parenté”, pp. 117–139 and “Les aristocraties des duchés tyrrhéniens”, pp. 585–604.

18 Figures drawn from Amelotti/von Falkenhausen, “Notariato e documento nella Italia meridionale greca”, pp. 13–14; von Falkenhausen, “La tecnica dei notai”, p. 11. Main publications concerning Greek documents of southern Italy and Sicily: F. Trinchera, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum*, Naples 1865; G. Spada, *Le pergamene greche esistenti nel grande archivio di Palermo*, Palermo 1892; *CAG*: vol. 1, *Saint-Nicolas de Donnoso (1031–1060/1061)*, ed. A. Guillou, Vatican City 1967; vol. 2, *Saint Nicodème de Kellarana (1023/1024–1232)*, ed. A. Guillou, Vatican City 1968; vol. 3, *La Théotokos de Hagia-Agathè (Oppido) (1050–1064/1065)*, ed. A. Guillou, Vatican City 1972; vol. 4, *Le brébion de la métropole byzantine de Région (vers 1050)*, A. Guillou, Vatican City 1974; vol. 5, *Saint-Jean Théristsès (1054–1266)*, eds. S.G. Mercati /C. Giannelli /A. Guillou, Vatican City 1980; vol. 6, *Les actes grecs des fonds Aldobrandini et Miraglia (XI^e–XIII^e s.)*, A. Guillou, Vatican City 2009; A. Guillou, “Les actes grecs de Santa Maria del Castello (Castrovillari), 1081–1254”, in *Castrovillari nei documenti greci del Medioevo*, eds. F. Burgarella /A. Guillou, Castrovillari 2000, pp. 91–165; G. Robinson, *History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of St. Elias and St. Anastasius*

of Latin documents coming from Naples, Gaeta, Amalfi,¹⁹ and the great abbeys of the Lombard regions, Santa Maria di Farfa, Cava dei Tirreni, S. Vincenzo al Volturno, and S. Benedetto di Montecassino.²⁰ Important archival series have also been handed down to us from Byzantine Apulia, as in the cases of Bari, Barletta, Conversano, Terlizzi, and Troia.²¹ The Latin archival evidence produced in Apulia has been especially useful in illuminating the social structure of the region under the Byzantine government.²² Apulia, Basilicata, and northern Calabria are zones in which the deep interrelationships between Byzantine and Lombard civilisation have left important traces in our sources. This emerges clearly in legal history. The *cod. Paris. gr.* 1834, for instance, contains a Greek translation of the *Edictus* by King Rothari, which was produced in southern Italy in order to assist Byzantine judges in resolving questions concerning their subjects who were accustomed to being governed according to

of Carbone, 3 vols., Rome 1928–1930. See also C. Rognoni's "Les fonds d'archives 'Messine' de l'Archivo de Medinaceli (Toledo). Regestes des actes privés grec", *Byzantion* 72 (2002), pp. 497–554; and *Les actes grecs de l'Archivo Ducal Medinaceli (Tolède)*, 2 vols. (Textes, documents, études sur le monde byzantine, néohellénique et balkanique, 7, 12), Paris 2004–2011.

- 19 Napoli, Amalfi and Gaeta: Martin, "Les documents de Naples", pp. 51–85; Naples: B. Capasso, *Monumenta ad Neapolitani ducatus historiam pertinentia*, 3 vols., Naples 1881 (new edition by R. Pilone, 5 vols., Naples 2008); Gaeta: *Codex diplomaticus Caietanus*, 2 vols., Montecassino, 1887–1891 (see also the Italian translation *Codice Diplomatico Gaetano*, ed. S. Riciniello, 10 vols., Gaeta 1987–2019); for Amalfi: U. Schwarz, "Regesta Amalfitana. Die älteren Urkunden Amalfis in ihrer Überlieferung", *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 58 (1978), 1–136; 59 (1979), 1–157; 60 (1980), 1–156.
- 20 Santa Maria di Farfa: see Gregory of Catino's works, *Il regesto di Farfa*, eds. U. Balzani / I. Giorgi, 5 vols., Rome 1879; *Il Chronicon Farfense di Gregorio di Catino*, ed. U. Balzani, 2 vols., Rome 1903; and *Liber largitorius vel notarius monasterii Pharphensis*, ed. G. Zucchetti, 2 vols., Rome 1913–1932. Cava dei Tirreni: *Codex diplomaticus Cavensis*, 10 vols., Naples 1873–1990; San Vincenzo al Volturno: *Chronicon Vulturnense del monaco Giovanni*, ed. V. Federici, 3 vols. (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, Medio Evo, 58–60), Rome 1925–1938; Montecassino: *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, ed. H. Hoffmann, *MGH*, SS, 34, Hannover 1980.
- 21 I quote here only those collections preserving documents, which have been written before 1071: *CDB*: vol. 1: *Le pergamene del duomo di Bari (952–1264)*, ed. G.B. Nitto de Rossi/F. Nitti de Vito, Bari 1897; vol. 3: *Le pergamene della cattedrale di Terlizzi (971–1300)*, ed. F. Carabellese, Bari 1899; vol. 4: *Le pergamene di San Nicola di Bari: periodo greco (939–1300)*, ed. F. Nitti di Vito, Bari 1900; vol. 8: *Le pergamene di Barletta: archivio capitolare (897–1285)*, ed. F. Nitti di Vito, Bari 1914; vol. 20, *Le pergamene di Conversano*, 1, (901–1265), ed. G. Coniglio, Bari 1975; vol. 21: *Les chartes de Troia: édition et étude critique des plus anciens documents conservés à l'Archivio Capitolare*, ed. J.-M. Martin, Bari 1976.
- 22 See the important volume of Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 258–301, 532–538, 659–667.

Lombard tradition.²³ Manuscripts produced in southern Italy also preserved two abridged versions of the Isaurian *Ecloga* (the so-called *Ecloga privata aucta* and the *Ecloga ad Prochiron mutata*), as well as the *Prochiron legum*.²⁴

Other typologies of written memory, such as those produced in Calabria, Apulia, and Campania display sharp differences amongst themselves. In the field of Greek hagiography, Calabria offers a tradition no less rich than Sicily. In addition to the lives of saints of Calabrian origins, such as the two saints named Fantinus of Tauriana (the Elder and the Younger), Elias Spelaiotes, or the famous Nilus of Rossano, there exists a consistent group of texts which refers to saints born in Sicily who spent their entire lives in Calabria (including Elias of Enna, Leo/Luke of Corleone, Vitalis of Castronuovo, Luke of Demena, John Teristes, as well as Christophorus, Makarius, and Saba of Collesano).²⁵ On the contrary, Byzantine Apulia lacks a strong hagiographic tradition and even less written in Greek. This is due both to a much lesser diffusion of Greek compared to Calabria or Sicily, and to the fact that all Apulian bishops (with the exception of Otranto and Gallipoli) were subject to the Roman jurisdiction.²⁶ A separate discussion has to be done for the hagiography of the Duchy of Naples. The so-called *Calendario marmoreo* – a liturgical calendar inscribed on two marble slabs dated to the 9th century – attests to the commemoration of oriental saints intermixed with that of local bishops.²⁷ This evidence is particularly important insofar as it introduces a work dedicated to the history of the Neapolitan episcopate that was undertaken approximately in the same period as the *Calendario*: the *Book of the Neapolitan Pontiffs* (*Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*).²⁸ It is composed of three different sections, the most interesting being that written by John the Deacon, which covers the period from 762 to 872. Based upon the model created by the most famous *Book of the Roman Pontiffs* (*Liber pontificalis*),²⁹ the *Gesta* are not only a celebration of the

23 *Fragmenta versionis Graecae legum Rotharis Langobardorum regis*, ed. Karl E.Z. von Lingenthal, *MGH, Leges* IV, Heidelberg, 1835, pp. 225–234; on the text Angelini, “Annotazioni sull’epitome greca”, pp. 1–13.

24 *Ecloga privata aucta* and *Ecloga ad prochiron mutata: Jus Graecoromanum*, eds. J. Zepos/P. Zepos, vol. 6, Athens 1931, pp. 12–47, 222–318, respectively; *Prochiron legum*, eds. F. Brandileone/V. Puntoni (Fonti dell’Istituto Storico Italiano, 30), Rome 1895. See also the contribution by Cristina Rognoni in this volume.

25 For the evidence see the contribution of Mario Re in this volume.

26 Cosentino, *Storia dell’Italia bizantina*, pp. 321–324.

27 D. Mallardo, *Il calendario marmoreo di Napoli*, Rome 1947, pp. 20–25.

28 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, ed. G. Waitz, in *MGH, ss Lang. et It.*, Hannover 1878, pp. 402–436. On this important source see the contribution by Deborah Deliyannis in this volume.

29 See below, footnote 41.

Neapolitan bishops, but a historical narration that includes a wider political framework. The intellectual character of John the Deacon parallels the intense cultural activity of Naples in the 9th and 10th centuries. The city was an important centre of translation of Greek hagiographic texts promoted by Athanasius, bishop and duke of Naples. This was a task undertaken by the abovementioned John the Deacon, Paul the Deacon, Guarimotus, Gregorius *lociservator* and other authors.³⁰ The history of Byzantium in southern Italy is sometimes illuminated by the pages of two works written in praise of the Lombard principalities of Benevento and Salerno, namely the *Short History of the Lombards of Benevento* (*Ystoriola Langobardorum Beneventum degentium*) by Erchempertus, and the so-called *Chronicle of Salerno* (*Chronicon Salernitanum*).³¹ From early 12th-century Bari comes a historical narration known as *Annales Barenses* composed of three different versions which encompass the period from the 9th to the early 12th century.³² One of the versions has been attributed by local scholarly tradition to a certain Lupus *protospatharius*,³³ of whom no other news has survived. Making a hypothesis based upon his rank, he must have been connected in some way with the Byzantine administration. Lastly, evidence of the political decline of the Byzantine rule in southern Italy has emerged from three narratives of the Norman conquest. The first is the work by Amatus of Montecassino who, in the second half of the 11th century, wrote a *History of the Normans* (*Historia Normannorum*), a chronicle which particularly focused upon events in Campania.³⁴ The second is the *Deeds of Robert Guiscard* (*Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*) by a certain Guiglielmus, qualified as 'Apulus' in the manuscript tradition, a poem of 2818 hexameters written towards the end of the 11th century which primarily narrates the conquest of Apulia by Robert Guiscard.³⁵ The third work is that of Geoffroi Malaterra titled *The Deeds of Roger Duke of Sicily and of his Brother Robert Guiscard* (*De rebus gestis Rogerii Siciliae comitis*

30 See Chiesa, "Le traduzioni dal greco", pp. 67–86.

31 Erchempertus, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, ed. G. Waitz, in *MGH, SS. rer. Lang. et Ital.*, vol. 1, Hannover 1878, pp. 231–264; *Chronicon Salernitanum*, ed. Ulla Westerbergh, Stockholm 1956.

32 *Annales Barenses*, ed. G. Pertz, in *MGH, SS.*, vol. 5, Hannover 1844, pp. 52–56.

33 Lupus Protospatharius, *Annales Barenses*, pp. 52–63.

34 The text has survived not in its Latin original, but only in its French vulgarisation: Amatus of Montecassino, *Storia de' Normanni volgarizzata in antico francese*, ed. V. De Bartholomaeis (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 76), Rome 1935.

35 Guillaume de Pouille, *La Geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. M. Mathieu (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici) Palermo 1961.

et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius),³⁶ which concerns the capture of Sicily from the Muslims by the Normans.

Sardinia was not subject to the *exarchus* of Ravenna, but to that of Carthage. After the latter's conquest by the Muslims in 698, its mint was transferred to Carales, along with the remains of the African administration. Written documentation produced in Sardinia from the 6th to the 10th century presents, with few exceptions, two main features: first, it is composed of inscriptions and seals; second, it is mostly written in Greek.³⁷ The cultural habit which emerges from this scattered memory is closely influenced by devotional, social, and institutional forms typical of the Eastern Roman Empire.³⁸ As Sardinia was a Latin-speaking region in Antiquity, the increased diffusion of Greek among its ruling class might have been a consequence of the emigration of military and bureaucratic components escaping from Carthage after 698. The continuity of such Greek components even in the 9th century cannot be interpreted as a mere residual phenomenon of the former centuries and it still remains an open historiographical problem. It is difficult to justify such a persistence in light of the presumed cultural isolation of the island throughout the early Middle Ages, when in reality Sardinia remained closely connected in the 9th and 10th centuries to Tyrrhenian centres such as Rome, Naples or Genoa, as well as Africa and Muslim Spain via maritime routes.

Ravenna and Rome represent the most important cities of central and northern Italy after its recapture by Justinian. Both had inherited the political and religious significance they had held since Late Antiquity, Ravenna having been the last *sedes regia* in the West, while Rome had been home to the senate and papacy. However, since the second half of the 6th century, the political scenario of the two centres underwent major transformations in the period preceding the Gothic War. In Ravenna, the imperial power was substituted by that of the exarch, which proved to be less effective in the long run in terms of its ability to coordinate the various regions of Byzantine Italy. The new Ravennate regime sought collaboration with the local episcopate in order to strengthen its consensus within Italian society. In return, the ecclesiastical see of Ravenna received important privileges from the Eastern Roman emperors during the 6th and the 7th centuries. It is not by chance that one of the last examples of imperial historiography derives from the pen of Maximianus, the first archbishop

36 Gaufredus Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri, in *RIS*, vol. 5, Rome 1925–1928.

37 See Cosentino, "Society and epigraphy".

38 Cosentino, "Byzantine Sardinia", pp. 337–355; see also the contribution by P.G. Spanu in this volume.

of Ravenna (546–557), who wrote a *chronica* commencing from the origin of the world until his own time.³⁹ Unfortunately, this work has not been handed down to us, but its model must have probably been the *Chronicon* by Eusebius of Caesarea, in which the history of mankind was interpreted as a succession of four great monarchical regimes: the Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman empires, the last of which was destined to rule until the end of the world because Christ was born during its existence. A strong traditional structure can also be recognised in the so-called *Cosmographia*, namely a description of the known world written in late 7th century by a Ravennate writer.⁴⁰

Even greater transformations had taken place in Rome during the 6th century. Here, the political role of papacy in support of the city's interests increased after the demise of the senatorial aristocracy. It is in this context that the so-called *Book of the Roman Pontiffs* (or *Liber pontificalis*, known in the manuscript tradition previous to the 12th century as *Ordo episcoporum Romae*, or *Gesta episcoporum Romae* or simply *Episcopale*), one of the most vital historical memories of the whole early Middle Ages, was conceived.⁴¹ The title does not denote a uniform work, but rather a series of comparatively short biographies of popes. Its original nucleus must have consisted of a mere catalogue of bishops which was gradually enriched with news entries. Towards the middle of the 6th century, the material which had thus far been collected was placed into order and revised. The work then acquired the aspect of a collection of popes' lives which occasionally were updated and re-handled.⁴² Regarding early medieval Italy, its first section is particularly important, as it includes the biographies of 108 popes, starting from Peter to Adrian II (867–872). As far as Roman evidence is concerned, it is also worth mentioning the rich correspondence conducted by the popes with a large number of recipients. The collection of letters by Pelagius I (556–561), Gregory I (590–604), and the so-called *Codex Carolinus* (namely, the epistles addressed by the pontiffs from Gregory III to

39 It is quoted by Agnellus in the *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 199), Turnhout 2006, 42 (p. 201).

40 See the Anonymous of Ravenna, *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica*, ed. J. Schnetz, with indexes by M. Zumschlinge, Stuttgart 1990.

41 See *Le "Liber Pontificalis". Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Dushesne, 2 vols. Paris, 1886–1892.

42 Still fundamental for understanding the composition of the work is the long essay by Bertolini, "Il 'Liber Pontificalis,'" ; see also the contribution by Deborah Deliyannis in this same volume.

Adrian I to Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charles the Great from 739 to 791) are especially remarkable.⁴³

As the location of the burial sites of the apostles Peter and Paul, Rome was an important pilgrimage centre and attracted a rich monastic community from the East. From the 7th to the 9th century, fourteen Greek monasteries were established in Rome, in contrast with Ravenna, where the only Greek monastery known in the same period was S. Maria in Cosmedin.⁴⁴ This circumstance made it possible that Rome became one of the peninsula's production centres of Greek manuscripts (mainly hagiography) during the early Middle Ages.⁴⁵ Anastasius the Librarian (810/812–ca. 879) was a figure who was active in Rome known to have undertaken the intense work of translation of saints' lives, acts of councils and chronicles from Greek into Latin.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, during approximately the early stage of Anastasius' career, a clerk in Ravenna named Agnellus (ca. 800–ca. 850) was composing a history of the bishops of the city known as *Book of the Ravennate Pontiffs* (*Pontificale* or *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*).⁴⁷ The Roman *Episcopale* exerted a clear influence upon it, but the contents of the new work are quite different from its model. Two basic reasons can be seen behind the composition of the book of Ravenna's bishops: a search for the ancient traditions of the Ravennate church aimed towards strengthening the rights of its clergy against the episcopal prerogatives; and a passionate antiquarian curiosity by Agnellus for the history of his city. However, the political and geographic scenario in which Agnellus places his narration is rather narrow, and at several points he indulges in the description of the "miraculous" rather than sticking strictly to the events. Despite their differences as promoters of cultural activity, the churches of Ravenna and Rome shared the same profile as two of the largest landowners of the all of early medieval Italy.⁴⁸ This has left remarkable traces in the written memory of

43 Editions: Pelagius I, *Epistulae quae supersunt*, eds. P.M. Gassò and C.M. Batlle, Montserrat 1956; Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum*, eds. P. Ewald and L.M. Hartmann, in *MGH, Epp.*, 2 vols., Berlin 1887–1899; *Codex Carolinus*, ed. W. Gundlach, in *MGH, Epp. Mer. et Kar.*, vol. 1, Berlin, 1892, pp. 469–657.

44 Rome: Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux*; Ravenna: Sansterre, "Monaci e monasteri greci a Ravenna", pp. 323–329.

45 Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, pp. 363–364.

46 On Anastasius see the entry by G. Arnaldi in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 3, Roma 1962, pp. 25–3725–37; Neil, *Seventh-Century Popes*, pp. 11–34.

47 On Agnellus see above, footnote 39. The work was probably composed in two different versions, the second of which includes the lives of the first bishop of Ravenna, Apollinaris, and that of Bishop George, whereas they were absent in the first version.

48 Ravenna: Cosentino, "Ricchezza e investimento", pp. 417–439; Rome: Recchia, *Gregorio Magno*; Marazzi, *I 'patrimonia sanctae Romanae ecclesiae'*.

both cities. Thanks to its bishopric, Ravenna is probably the best-documented Mediterranean city as far as archival documentation is concerned, with evidence that spans a time frame from Late Antiquity until the Middle Ages. Concerning the exarchal period, the series of the so-called *Italian Papyri* and the *Breviarium ecclesiae Ravennatis* are also worth being mentioned.⁴⁹ The former is a collection of fifty-nine papyri ranging from the mid-5th to the 8th century pertaining to the archive of the church of Ravenna; the latter is a register compiled in the 10th century (but with entries dating back to the 7th) which lists the leases of ecclesiastical lands given to private members of the community in Romagna and Marche. With respect to Rome, it exists a similar source called *Liber Censuum*, compiled in the 12th century, but as with the preceding source, there are entries dating back to the 7th and 8th centuries.⁵⁰ Moreover, the complexes of estates (*patrimonia*) owned by the church of Rome in southern Italy – especially in Sicily, Calabria, and Campania – are illuminated by that precious mine of information represented by the epistles by Gregory the Great.⁵¹

The evidence for Venetia and Istria is rather scattered until the 10th century. Above all, it is composed of late antique inscriptions and some seals found in the area of the Venetian lagoons.⁵² Archival documents concerning the settlement that would eventually become medieval Venice begin around the end of the 9th century.⁵³ However, it is interesting to note that Venice, like the cities of Ravenna, Rome, and Naples, is featured by a common Byzantine heritage. As a matter of fact, in Venice too, at the origin of what would become one of the most glorious historical traditions in all of medieval Europe, there exists an episcopal memory. This is the *Chronicle of the patriarchs of the new Aquileia* (*Cronica [sic] de singulis patriarchis nove Aquileie*), an arid catalogue of bishops with notices concerning the chronological periods of their bishopric and

49 Italian papyri: J.-O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, vol. 1, Lund 1955; vol. 2, Stockholm 1982; *Breviarium Ecclesiae Ravennatis* (*Codice Bavaro*), secoli VII–X, ed. G. Rabotti, with appendixes by C. Curradi/ G. Rabotti/ A. Vasina (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, 110), 1985.

50 See *Le "Liber Censuum" de l'Église romaine*, eds. F. Fabre, L. Duchesne, G. Mollat, 3 vols., Paris 1952.

51 See above, footnote 43.

52 Inscriptions: Jean-Pierre Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 175), Rome 1993, pp. 104–136; A. Pertusi, "L'iscrizione torcellana dei tempi di Eracleo", *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano*, 4 (1962), pp. 9–39. The Venetian seals – ten pieces known so far – are quoted in Gelichi, "La storia di una nuova città", p. 74 with former bibliography.

53 The evidence is collected by R. Cessi, *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia anteriori al Mille*, 2 vols. Padua 1942–1943.

little else.⁵⁴ Written before the early 11th century, it was the basis of the *Istoria Veneticorum* composed by John the Deacon.⁵⁵

In comparison with the typologies of written memory produced in the medieval core of the empire – Anatolia and Greece – Byzantine Italy shows to have characters of its own. Cities that from the 8th century onward experienced forms of progressive political autonomy from Constantinople would later be those whose urban identities in the early Middle Ages would be linked to commemorations of their bishops, as in Rome, Ravenna, Naples, and to a lesser extent, Venice. In Sicily and Calabria, this phenomenon did not happen and bishops were usually remembered, as in the East, in hagiographic narratives devoid of those political implications we find in the *Libri Pontificales*. Moreover, in the Greek-speaking areas of Italy, as in the eastern regions of the empire, the same hagiographic discourse during the 9th and 10th centuries appears more focused on monastic rather than on episcopal holiness. No evidence in Sicily, Calabria, and Sardinia can be quoted in which history in a broader sense is not conceived within the framework of the imperial chronology. With regards to this, Rome and Ravenna both have the specific character of having been former *sedes imperii*. Memories of the Eastern Roman Empire (namely Byzantium) are intermixed with those of the Western Empire within their surviving documentary evidence. The difference between the two centres is that in Ravenna, its association with the eastern capital proved to be more decisive in terms of the increase of the prestige of its archbishopric, while in Rome, the papacy tended to claim the public role formerly exercised by the Roman administration for itself. Moreover, starting from the middle of the 8th century, Roman pontiffs began to consider themselves the successors and mediators of the Roman heritage to the West, as it emerges by the redaction of famous documents such as the *Constitutum Constantini* (probably from between 757 and 767) or the letter written by Louis II on behalf of Anastasius the Librarian to Basil I (871).⁵⁶ In the *Constitutum Constantini*, as is well known, the legitimacy of the Roman pontiffs to rule the West is attributed to the authority of Emperor Constantine I, while in Louis's letter the notion of "Roman" is separated from Constantinople and ascribed to the inhabitants of Rome and their bishops. In the long run, the political heritage of Rome represented a divide among the Italian regions which had been restored to the empire by the Justinianic

54 See the "Cronica de singulis patriarchis nove Aquileie", in *Cronache veneziane antichissime*, ed. G. Monticolo (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, 9), Rome 1890, pp. 5–16.

55 Giovanni Diacono, *Istoria Veneticorum*, ed. and trans. L.A. Berto, Bologna 1999.

56 Texts: *Constitutum Constantini*, ed. H. Fuhrmann, in *MGH, Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi*, vol. 10, Hannover 1968; the letter by Louis II to Basil I has been handed down to us in the *Chronicon Salernitanum*, 106, pp. 107–121.

conquest. In southern Italy the eastern emperors were perceived as a source of legitimization of political authority throughout the Middle Ages, whereas in Rome, Ravenna and Venice this attitude became much more nuanced from the second half of the 8th century onward.⁵⁷ In both Rome and Ravenna, bishops claimed the Roman past and used it to justify their governments' position towards the Carolingians. The difference is that unlike the Ravennate bishops, the Roman pontiffs were able to create an image of themselves as "king makers". As for Venice, its ruling class was able to exploit its relationships with both the Byzantine and Frankish empires in an intermediary activity between West and East, which constituted its political and economic originality.

2 Material Sources

Due to their physical nature, the material sources concerning the past are closely connected to a defined space and time. Therefore, a mapping of archaeological sources that can be used to reconstruct the many different images of Byzantine Italy must necessarily begin from a definition of space and time of the Byzantine presence in Italy, which obviously entails more than a few problems.

The domination exercised by Byzantine Empire upon Italy was of a political and administrative nature and did not necessarily affect all the areas of economy and culture that are traditionally more recognizable within the archaeological record. The Byzantine "re-conquest" was rather an attempt to bring back a substantial part of Italian territory within the economic system of the late antique Mediterranean. A system which was clearly in continuity with a world that have had its main focal point precisely in Italy, until a few decades before the Gothic War. This implies that the notion of Byzantine Italy should be intended as something variable in space and time, deriving in part from some late antique legacies, as well as the new political and economic situation produced by the Byzantine domination. The administrative structure based on the duplicity of directive centres (Rome and Ravenna) and the partition of Italian territory into provinces are clearly a legacy of Late Antiquity. Moreover, the definition of the northern boundary of Byzantine Italy was itself the result of the interaction between a long-term process begun some centuries earlier, in addition to the administrative needs of an empire which perceived all of Italy as a part of the north-western frontier of a new Mediterranean system that had Constantinople as its focal point.

57 See West-Harling, *Three Empires, Three Cities*.

The Italian lands between the Alps and the Po was never actually a proper Byzantine region, while other regions of northern and central Italy were subject to Byzantine administration just for a relatively short time. This is a very problematic situation from an archaeological point of view, as it is reflected in very different ways within the higher and lower register of material sources respectively. A new ruling class needs just a few years to commission and create works of art as an expression of its culture, and this results in an immediate visibility of the newcomer power holders. By contrast, a deep transformation of economic models takes normally a rather long time to become visible within the material register.

One must also consider that some of the “peripheral” countries of Byzantine Italy simultaneously belonged to different subsets of the empire as a whole. Sicily had a very special relationship with Constantinople, as well as with Africa. Sardinia was administratively connected with Africa, but in common with Sicily, it was part of the insular Mediterranean system⁵⁸ and, within this, it was also part of the western Mediterranean insular system, which consistently had its own dynamics.⁵⁹ On the opposite side, Istria and Dalmatia were part of an Adriatic economic and cultural system comprised of all the Italian regions facing that sea.⁶⁰ This all fits within the long and very articulated process of general transformation that the Mediterranean world underwent between the 5th and the 8th–9th centuries. This process was experienced in all regions under Byzantine rule in Italy, but, in turn, at the same time the transformation of Italy proved to be crucial in establishing the new Mediterranean layout.

Such a complex background has only lately been countered by a tradition of studies and field research comparable with those relating to other chronological ranges. Byzantine archaeology is a young discipline that has just recently elaborated its own disciplinary theoretical foundations,⁶¹ and the archaeology of Byzantine Italy is also a relatively “new” research field.⁶² Alternatively, the scholarly tradition of Byzantine studies within the field of art history is much more established,⁶³ although nowadays this appears, paradoxically, as a “braking” element, since, just recently, the stylistic analysis of the influence exercised by the art of Constantinople on Italian artistic production during

58 Michaelides/Pergola/Zanini, *The Insular System of the Early Byzantine Mediterranean*.

59 Cau/Mas (eds.), *Change and Resilience*.

60 Cirelli/Giorgi/Lepore, *Economia e Territorio*.

61 Crow, “Archaeology”, pp. 289–300.

62 Christie, “The Archaeology of Byzantine Italy”, pp. 249–293; Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine*.

63 Cavallo et al., *I Bizantini in Italia*.

those centuries ceased to prevail on the evaluation of the socioeconomic and historic meaning of these works.⁶⁴

From an archaeological perspective, one must emphasize the lack of extensive regional surveys and/or unequivocally reliable sampling in the case of urban contexts. This is true even in towns where intensive archaeological projects have been developed during the last decades. Byzantine archaeology in Italy is essentially a product of urban archaeology, a field which has its own rules and its own objective conditionings, which are: the selection of areas to be investigated; the process of excavation; and the ways of processing the information derived from field activity.

In other respects, the archaeology of minor centres and/or rural areas, which mainly uses the conceptual tools of landscape archaeology, has had to face the objective difficulties which came from possessing a limited typological knowledge of local production of plain and coarse pottery.

The merging of these factors determined a specific bias between potentially readable archaeological information obtained from the ground and the research to investigate it. The southern Italian regions, that remained subject to Byzantine control for a longer period of time and experienced a greater interaction with the empire and were, hence, those with a more consistent informative potential, are ironically the most poorly investigated, simply because urban archaeology has primarily developed in northern Italy. Secondly, the same archaeological data which could potentially be preserved in the soil has in most cases been excavated and studied by researchers who have not had specific training in Byzantine archaeology and/or history, thereby affecting the possibility to extract more general information from these datasets. Thirdly, a knowledge of these artefacts from the point of view of typology, chronology, and potential historical value is still detachedly limited, as an extensive know-how in this field is a long lasting achievement. It is also important to note that an average field research project could require ten or twenty years to present its final edition and display all its potential in terms of new shared knowledge.

These issues have all become relevant again for the period starting around the middle of the 7th century AD. From this point onward, typical dating finds such as coins and fine tableware imports abruptly decrease in availability, a situation which became much more evident when one try to use archaeology to study the second Byzantine domination in southern Italy. In this regard, it must frankly be admitted that there is still quite a lack of reliable frameworks. While the overall effect this situation produces may appear frustrating at present, but very promising in the long term. Hence, rather than questioning that

64 Iacobini, "Bisanzio e le città italiane".

which is really currently unknown, it seems much more fruitful and interesting to conduct a positive reflection about issues which can be developed in the near future on the basis of the information we actually have.

The close link between Byzantine archaeology – or, more generally, between post-classical archaeologies – and urban archaeology in Italy is the reason why the issue we are best informed on is that of survival/transformation/end of the ancient city within the regions of what was once Byzantine Italy. A remarkable amount of archaeological data is now available for the three main urban centres of Byzantine Italy: Rome, Ravenna, and Naples. In Naples, the restorations following 1980 earthquake allowed for a series of small archaeological interventions. The first archaeological image of the medieval city was drawn on the basis of these finds, including a new image of the early Byzantine city.⁶⁵ More recently, excavations conducted in relation to the subway have added to this picture a very significant part of the urban district located just behind the late antique and Byzantine harbour, as well as a segment of the city walls.⁶⁶

In Rome, the pioneering urban excavations in the Crypta Balbi area⁶⁷ gave the first reliable stratigraphic bases to the scholarly debate about transformation of the city in late antique and early Byzantine times. The completion of the museum originated by those excavations⁶⁸ then acted as a catalyst for the extensive publishing of several other urban assemblages from the 5th through 9th centuries,⁶⁹ and as a general framework to insert data deriving from previous research,⁷⁰ from the parallel excavations into the area of the Imperial Fora⁷¹ and from some other latest field activities.⁷²

At Ravenna, the extraordinary preservation of the standing monuments⁷³ was not paralleled by a properly defined program of urban archaeology. So, the results of older and more recent excavations – e.g., those of the so called *Domus dei Tappeti di Pietra*⁷⁴ – were synthesized into an archaeological map just some years ago.⁷⁵ By contrast, we are much more informed on the archaeology of the harbour of Classe, where in the last fifteen years an intensive urban archaeological project has been established. This is now offering a lot of

65 Arthur, *Naples. From Roman Town to City-State*.

66 Napoli, *la città e il mare*.

67 Manacorda, *Crypta Balbi. Archeologia e storia*.

68 Arena et al. (eds.), *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo*.

69 Paroli/Vendittelli, eds., *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo*.

70 Augenti, *Le città italiane*.

71 Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'altomedioevo*.

72 Sagui/Serlorenzi, "Roma, Piazza Venezia", pp. 175–198.

73 Deichmann, *Ravenna. Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*.

74 Montevecchi, *Archeologia urbana a Ravenna*.

75 Cirelli, *Ravenna archeologia di una città*.

valuable data on the Classe's late antique and early Byzantine urban fabric, on its role with respect to the neighbouring city of Ravenna and the surrounding region, as well as the Mediterranean distribution system.⁷⁶

Beyond these three major centres, field research conducted during the last thirty years contributed to sketch the urban landscape of other small or medium size urban centres throughout regions of Byzantine Italy. There have been conferences and workshops organized in the last decades⁷⁷ which have focused on this and their proceedings qualify as a good source for syntheses at a local and regional scale.

A second theme which has been enriched by Italian post-classical archaeological research concerns defended and defensive settlements. As with the previous theme, this one also developed among two more general subjects: the transformation of the settlement model in late antique and early medieval times, and the progressive "militarization" of post-Roman Italic society. The available information has permitted a frame to be constructed which is also the consequence of the different approaches used to undertake research has had within the different regional contexts.⁷⁸ In a general way, we can affirm that our knowledge base is just large enough for some Italian regions, where individual scholars have concentrated their research interest, patiently collecting dispersal data, hardly ever coming from a clearly focused investigative point of view. Hence, we have at least some general knowledge of the early Byzantine defensive system in Liguria,⁷⁹ Abruzzo,⁸⁰ Puglia,⁸¹ Calabria,⁸² Sardinia,⁸³ and Sicily.⁸⁴

For what concerns single fortified sites, very few of them have been extensively excavated, allowing us to have a more complete image of a castrum of Byzantine Italy, from a morphological and functional point of view and with respect to the relationship with the surrounding territory and the global imperial defensive system. Some examples include: *castrum Perti* in western Liguria,⁸⁵ Loppio in Trentino,⁸⁶ and Squillace in Calabria.⁸⁷

76 Augenti, *Classe. Indagine sul potenziale archeologico*; Augenti, "Classe. Archaeology of a Lost City", pp. 45–76.

77 Augenti, *Le città italiane*.

78 Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*, pp. 364–399.

79 Christie, "Byzantine Liguria", pp. 229–271.

80 Staffa, "Le campagne abruzzesi", pp. 47–99.

81 Arthur, "Il Salento bizantino: alcune osservazioni", pp. 183–194.

82 Noyé, "Les premiers siècles", pp. 445–469.

83 Spanu, *La Sardegna bizantina*.

84 Uggeri, "I castra bizantini in Sicilia", pp. 319–336.

85 Mannoni/Murialdo, eds., *S. Antonino: un insediamento fortificato*.

86 Maurina, "L'insediamento fortificato tardoantico", pp. 1–16.

87 Racheli/Raimondo, "L'età bizantina", pp. 157–168.

Available information on countryside settlement and the models of exploitation of natural resources is even more fragmented.⁸⁸ The overall and long lasting theme of the fate of Italian countryside towards the end of the Roman system as a field of study is a relatively new entry into current research agenda; it could be said to be still in the phase of collection and organization of data deriving from field research in the last three decades.⁸⁹ Once more, the proceedings of some seminars held in 2000s could potentially serve as fundamental points of departure, and it may be useful to reread specific publications concerning several of these sites which have demonstrated somewhat evident phases of occupation in the early Byzantine times.⁹⁰

As one can see, all this framework is centred on a perspective which focuses on the change of settlement models in countryside. In very recent years, this point of view has been confronted by a more *longue durée* perspective focused on the villages, seen as a part of a path of continuity between Roman and post-Roman Italy. This seems particularly evident in some regions, mainly in southern Italy,⁹¹ or in some outstanding case studies as Caucana, on the southern coast of Sicily,⁹² or in cave sites located in Sicily,⁹³ Calabria,⁹⁴ and Puglia.⁹⁵

Many other areas of knowledge on Byzantine Italy still remain quite completely to be investigated, at least from the point of view of their material remains. This is the case, for instance, of the fate of the large infrastructural communication systems (roads, bridges, and harbours) and the management of natural resources (aqueducts and urban water systems, channels). It is easy to think that all of them would have been severely affected by the semi-permanent warfare which is one of the main characters of these centuries, but their substantial continuity can probably also be postulated on the basis of continuity of settlements.⁹⁶

88 Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*, pp. 462–464.

89 Lebole, *Metamorfosi di un territorio*.

90 For northern Italy see: Brogiolo/Chavarria Arnau/Valenti, eds., *Dopo la fine delle ville*. For southern Italy see: Turchiano/Volpe, eds., *Paesaggi e insediamenti rurali*; Giuliani/Volpe, eds. *Paesaggi e insediamenti urbani*.

91 Arthur, “L’archeologia del villaggio medievale”, pp. 97–121; Martin/Noyé, “Les villages de l’Italie méridionale byzantine”, pp. 149–164; Messina, “Il popolamento rurale nell’area iblea”, pp. 513–557; Rovina, *Santa Filitica a Sorso*; Small, ed., *Vagnari il villaggio, l’artigianato*.

92 Wilson, “Life, Death and Dining”, pp. 119–167.

93 Rizzo, ed., *Di abitato in abitato*.

94 Coscarella, “Strutture rupestri in Calabria”, pp. 489–504.

95 Parise/Sammarco, “Insediamenti rupestri nel basso Salento”, pp. 27–36.

96 See two works by Coates-Stephens, “The Walls and Aqueducts of Rome”, pp. 166–178; and “La committenza edilizia bizantina”, pp. 299–316.

The archaeological record of the “mobile” finds (artifacts, goods, coins, etc.) also depends in a very evident way upon the image of archaeology of settlements and territories we have outlined so far. We are in fact quite well informed on the evolution of goods consumption in urban centres and precisely in those large cities which were the focal points of the Byzantine domination over Italy. We are obviously less well informed with regard to the minor centres, the countryside and the lower levels of the economic system in general, where obtaining specific archaeological markers with a direct linkage to the early Byzantine Mediterranean macroeconomic system has remained a difficult task.⁹⁷ Moreover, advances made in our knowledge have been largely frustrated by a sort of “chronological barrier” which rises at approximately the middle of 7th century AD. There is a decline in the amount of easily-identifiable artifacts starting at around this period, as in the case, for instance, of fine African tableware,⁹⁸ and our panorama becomes increasingly nebulous. Hence, nowadays the search for new diagnostic artifacts and new interpretative paradigms appears to be the most important methodological issue to be addressed in order to overcome this barrier.

In this context, observations concerning the circulation of money must be included.⁹⁹ Only the ongoing publication of information describing the archaeological contexts in which the coins were used will build up the framework, thereby enabling us to better understand such a difficult subject as money usage in such structured world as the Byzantine Empire.¹⁰⁰ Lastly, another research perspective to be constructed is related to the possibility of analysing the different material registers (the characteristics of private buildings; patronage of public and religious buildings; value goods consumption; personal ornaments, etc.), and the presence and actions of the members of the new aristocracies connected with the Byzantine domination in Italy,¹⁰¹ to be seen as one of the most characterizing elements in the complex process of transformation of Italic society between late antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

97 Sagui, *Ceramica in Italia: VI–VII secolo*; Zanini, “La ceramica bizantina in Italia”, pp. 381–394.

98 Bonifay, *Etudes sur la céramique romaine*.

99 Arslan, “La circolazione monetaria in Italia”, pp. 365–385.

100 Prigent, “Le rôle des provinces d’Occident”, pp. 269–299.

101 Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*; Zanini, “Archeologia dello status sociale”, pp. 23–46.

Bibliography

Secondary Sources (Written Sources)

- Amelotti, M./Falkenhausen, von, V., "Notariato e documento nella Italia meridionale greca (secoli X–XV)", in M. Amelotti (ed.), *Per una storia del notariato meridionale* (Studi storici sul notariato italiano 6) Rome 1982, pp. 6–69.
- Bertolini, O., "Il 'Liber Pontificalis'", in *La storiografia altomedievale* (Settimane CISAM 17), vol. 1, Spoleto 1970, pp. 387–455.
- Caliri, E., *Società ed economia della Sicilia di VI secolo attraverso il Registrum epistularum di Gregorio Magno*, Messina 1997.
- Canart, P., "Le livre grec en Italie méridionale sous les règnes normand et souabe: aspects matériels et sociaux", *Scrittura e Civiltà* 2 (1978), 103–162.
- Canart, P./Lucà, S. (eds.), *Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale*. Rome 2000.
- Cavallo, G., "La cultura italo-greca nella produzione libraria", in G. Cavallo/V. von Falkenhausen/R. Farioli Campanati/M. Gigante/V. Pace/F. Panvini Rosati, *I Bizantini in Italia*, Milan 1982, pp. 497–612.
- Chiesa, P., "Le traduzioni dal greco: l'evoluzione della scuola napoletana nel X secolo", *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 24/25 (1989–1990), 67–86.
- Cosentino, S., "Byzantine Sardinia between West and East. Features of a Regional Culture", *Millennium* 1 (2004), 329–367.
- Cosentino, S., *Storia dell'Italia bizantina (VI–XI secolo). Da Giustiniano ai Normanni*, Bologna 2008.
- Cosentino, S., "Ricchezza e investimento della chiesa di Ravenna tra la tarda antichità e l'altomedioevo", in S. Gelichi/R. Hodges (eds.), *From one Sea to Another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2012, pp. 417–439.
- Cosentino, S., "Mentality, Technology and Commerce: Shipping Amongst the Mediterranean Islands in Late Antiquity and Beyond", in D. Michaelides/P. Pergola/E. Zanini (eds.), *The Insular System of the Early Byzantine Mediterranean: Archaeology and History* (BAR International Series 2523), Oxford 2013, pp. 65–76.
- Cosentino, S., "Society and epigraphy in Byzantine Sardinia (7th–10th Century)" in A. Rhoby/I. Toth (eds.), *Studies in Byzantine Epigraphy*, Turnhout 2021, forthcoming.
- Del Treppo, M./Leone, A., *Amalfi medioevale*, Naples 1977.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "La tecnica dei notai italo-greci", in F. Burgarella/A.M. Ieraci (eds.), *La cultura scientifica e tecnica nell'Italia meridionale bizantina* (Studi di filologia antica e moderna, 13), Soveria Mannelli 2006, pp. 31–47.
- Feniello, A., "Poteri pubblici nei ducati tirrenici", in Martin/Peters-Custot/Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 2, pp. 325–342.
- Gelichi, S., "La storia di una nuova città attraverso l'archeologia: Venezia nell'alto medioevo", in V. West-Harling (ed.), *Three empires, Three Cities: Identity, Material*

- Culture and Legitimacy in Venice, Ravenna and Rome, 750–1000* (Seminari del Centro Interuniversitario per la Storia e l'Archeologia dell'Alto Medioevo, 6), Turnhout 2015, pp. 51–89.
- Irigoin, I., "L'apport de l'Italie méridionale à la transmission des textes classiques", in A. Jacob/J.-M. Martin/ Gh. Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine. Acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 363), Rome 2006, pp. 5–20.
- Laurent, V., "Une source peu étudiée de l'histoire de la Sicile au haut Moyen-Âge: la sigillographie byzantine", in *Byzantino-Sicula* (Quaderni dell'Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici, 2), Palermo 1966, pp. 22–50.
- Marazzi, F., *I 'patrimonia sanctae Romanae ecclesiae' nel Lazio (secoli IV–X). Struttura amministrativa e prassi gestionali* (Nuovi Studi Storici, 37), Rome 1998.
- Martin, J.-M., *La Pouille du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 179), Rome 1993.
- Martin, J.-M., "Les aristocraties des duchés tyrrhéniens (X^e–XII^e siècle): parcours variés de Byzance à l'Occident", in Martin/ Peters-Custot/ Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 2, pp. 585–604.
- Martin, J.-M., "Les documents de Naples, Amalfi, Gaète (IX^e–XII^e siècle): écriture, diplomatique, notariat", in J.-M. Martin/A. Peters-Custot/V. Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 1, *La fabrique documentaire* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 449), pp. 51–85.
- Martin, J.-M., "Structures familiales, vocabulaire de la parenté, dévolution du patrimoine: les duchés de Gaète et d'Amalfi (X^e–XII^e siècle)", in Martin/ Peters-Custot/ Prigent, *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 2, pp. 117–139.
- Martin, J.-M./Peters-Custot, A./Prigent, V., (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 2, *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 461), Rome 2012.
- Metcalfe, D.M., *Byzantine Lead Seals from Cyprus*, Nicosia 2004.
- Neil, B., *Seventh-Century Popes and Martyrs. The Political Hagiography of Anastasius Bibliothecarius* (Studia Antiqua Australiensia, 2), Turnhout 2006, pp. 11–34.
- Prigent, V., "La Sicile de Constant II: l'apport des sources sigillographiques", in A. Nef/V. Prigent (eds.), *La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam*, Paris 2010, pp. 157–185.
- Recchia, V., *Gregorio Magno e la società agricola* (Verba Seniorum, 8), Rome 1978.
- Sansterre, J.-M., *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VI^e–fin du IX^e s.)*, 2 vols., Bruxelles 1980–1983.
- Sansterre, J.-M., "Monaci e monasteri greci a Ravenna", in A. Carile (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna*, vol. 2/2, *Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, Venezia 1992, pp. 323–329.
- Skinner, P., *Family Power in Southern Italy: The Duchy of Gaeta and its Neighbours, 850–1139*, Cambridge 1995.

Secondary Sources (Material Sources)

- Arena, M.S./Delogu, P./Paroli, L./Ricci, M./Sagui, L./Vendittelli, L. (eds.), *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo. Archeologia e storia nel Museo Nazionale Romano – Crypta Balbi*, Milan 2001.
- Arslan, E., "La circolazione monetaria in Italia (secoli VI–VIII): città e campagna", in A. Jacob/J.-M. Martin/Gh. Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine. Acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 363), Rome, pp. 365–385.
- Arthur, P., "Il Salento bizantino: alcune osservazioni", in P. Delogu/S. Gasparri (eds.) *L'Adriatico dalla Tarda Antichità all'età Carolingia*, Brescia 2001, pp. 183–194.
- Arthur, P., *Naples. From Roman Town to City-State*, Rome 2002.
- Arthur, P., "L'archeologia del villaggio medievale in Puglia", in M. Milanese (ed.), *Vita e morte dei villaggi rurali tra Medioevo ed età moderna, Quaderni dei villaggi abbandonati della Sardegna*, Florence 2006, pp. 97–121.
- Augenti, A., *Il Palatino nel Medioevo. Archeologia e topografia (secoli VI–XIII)*, Rome 1996.
- Augenti, A. (ed.), *Le città italiane tra la tarda Antichità e l'alto Medioevo*, Florence 2006.
- Augenti, A. (ed.), *Classe, indagini sul potenziale archeologico di una città scomparsa*, Bologna 2011.
- Augenti, A., "Classe: Archaeology of a Lost City", in A. Augenti/N. Christie (eds.), *Urbes Extinctae. Archaeologies of Abandoned Classical Towns*, Farnham, 2012, pp. 45–76.
- Bonifay, M., *Études sur la céramique romaine tardive d'Afrique*, Oxford 2005.
- Brogiolo, G.P./Chavarría Arnau, A./Valenti, M. (eds.), *Dopo la fine delle ville: le campagne dal VI al IX secolo*, Mantova 2005.
- Brown, T.S., *Gentlemen and Officers. Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy. A.D. 554–800*, Rome 1984.
- Cau Ontiveros, Á. M./Mas Florit, C. (eds.), *Change & Resilience. The Occupations of Mediterranean Islands in Late Antiquity* (Joukowsky Institute Publications, 9), Oxford – Philadelphia 2019.
- Cavallo, G./Falkenhausen, von, V./Farioli Campanati, R./Gigante, M./Pace, V./Panvini Rosati, F., *I Bizantini in Italia*, Milan 1982.
- Christie, N., "The archaeology of Byzantine Italy: a synthesis of recent research", *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 2(1989), 249–293.
- Christie, N., "Byzantine Liguria: an imperial province against the Longobards, AD 568–643", *Papers of the British School at Rome* 58 (1990), 229–271.
- Christie, N., *From Constantine to Charlemagne. An Archaeology of Italy AD 300–800*, Aldershot 2006.
- Cirelli, E., *Ravenna archeologia di una città*, Firenze 2008.
- Cirelli, E./Giorgi, E./Lepore, G., *Economia e Territorio: L'Adriatico centrale tra Tarda Antichità e Alto Medioevo*, Oxford 2019.

- Coates-Stephens, R., "The Walls and Aqueducts of Rome in the Early Middle Ages, A.D. 500–1000", *Journal of Roman Studies* 88 (1998), 166–178.
- Coates-Stephens, R., "La committenza edilizia bizantina a Roma dopo la riconquista", in A. Augenti (ed.), *Le città italiane tra la Tarda Antichità e l'Alto Medioevo*, Florence 2006, pp. 299–316.
- Coscarella, A., "Strutture rupestri in Calabria", in A. Jacob/J.-M. Martin/Gh. Noyé, (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine. Acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 363), Rome 2006, pp. 489–504.
- Crow, J., "Archaeology", in J. Liz (ed.), *A Companion to Byzantium*, Malden Mass. 2010, pp. 289–300.
- Deichmann, F.W., *Ravenna. Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, 3 vols., Wiesbaden 1969–1995.
- Iacobini, A., "Bisanzio e le città italiane: opere, artisti e committenti nello scenario mediterraneo (XI–XIV secolo)", in *La crescita economica dell'Occidente medievale. Un tema storico non ancora esaurito*, Roma 2017, pp. 325–362.
- Lebole, C., *Metamorfosi di un territorio. Scavi archeologici tra Locri e Gerace: dal tardoantico al post medioevo*, Torino 2020.
- Manacorda, D., *Crypta Balbi: archeologia e storia di un paesaggio urbano*, Milan 2001.
- Mannoni, T./Murialdo, G., *Sant'Antonino: un insediamento fortificato nella Liguria bizantina*, (Collezione di monografie preistoriche ed archeologiche. Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri), Bordighera 2001.
- Martin, J.-M./Noyé, Gh., "Les villages de l'Italie méridionale byzantine", in J. Lefort/C. Morrisson/J.-P. Sodini, (eds.), *Les villages dans l'empire byzantin (IV^e–XV^e siècle)*, Paris 2005, pp. 149–164.
- Maurina, B., "L'insediamento fortificato tardoantico dell'isola di S. Andrea-Loppio (Trentino)", *The Journal of Fasti Online* (2005), 1–16.
- Meneghini, R./Santangeli Valenzani, R., *Roma nell'altomedioevo*, Roma 2004.
- Messina, A., "Il popolamento rurale nell'area iblea in età bizantina", in R.M. Carra Bonacasa, *Bizantino-Sicula IV* (Atti del 1 Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia della Sicilia Bizantina), Palermo 2002, pp. 513–557.
- Michaelides, D./Pergola, P./Zanini, E. (eds.), *The Insular System of the Early Byzantine Mediterranean: Archaeology and History* (BAR International Series 2523), Oxford 2013.
- Montevecchi, G., *Archeologia urbana a Ravenna. La "Domus dei Tappeti di Pietra": il complesso archeologico di via D'Azeglio*, Ravenna 2004.
- Napoli, la città e il mare. Piazza Bovio: tra Romani e Bizantini Napoli* (Catalogue of the exhibition organized by Daniela Giampaola and presented at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, May 21–September 20, 2010), Milan 2010.
- Noyé, Gh., "Les premiers siècles de la domination byzantine en Calabre", in A. Jacob/J.-M. Martin/Gh. Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie Byzantine. Acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 363), Rome 2006, pp. 445–469.

- Paroli, L./Vendittelli, L. (eds.), *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo*, vol. 2. *Contesti tardoantichi e altomedievali*, Milan 2004.
- Prigent, V., "Le rôle des provinces d'Occident dans l'approvisionnement de Constantinople (618–717). Témoignages numismatique et sigillographique", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome Moyen-Âge* 118/2 (2006), 269–299.
- Racheli, A./Raimondo, C., "L'età bizantina", in R. Spadea (ed.), *Scolacium. Una città romana in Calabria. Il Museo e il Parco archeologico*, Milan 2005, pp. 157–168.
- Rizzo, F.P. (ed.), *Di abitato in abitato. In itinere tra le più antiche testimonianze cristiane degli Iblei*, Pisa-Roma 2005.
- Rovina, D. (ed.), *Santa Filítica a Sorso. Dalla villa romana al villaggio bizantino*, Viterbo 2003.
- Sagui, L. (ed.), *Ceramica in Italia: VI–VII secolo*, Florence 1998.
- Sammarco, M./Parise, M., "Insediamenti rupestri nel basso Salento (Lecce, Puglia)", *Opera Ipogea. Journal of Speleology in Artificial Cavities*, 1–2 (2011), 27–36.
- Serlorenzi, M./Sagui, L., "Roma, Piazza Venezia. L'indagine archeologica per la realizzazione della metropolitana. Le fasi medievali e moderne", *Archeologia Medievale* 35 (2008), 175–198.
- Small, A.M. (ed.), *Vagnari il villaggio, l'artigianato, la proprietà imperiale*, Bari 2011.
- Spanu, P.G., *La Sardegna bizantina tra VI e VII secolo*, Oristano 1998.
- Staffa, A.R., "Le campagne abruzzesi fra tarda antichità ed altomedioevo (sec. IV–XII)", *Archeologia Medievale* 27 (2000), 47–99.
- Uggeri, G., "I castra bizantini in Sicilia", in A. Jacob/J.-M. Martin/Gh. Noyé, (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine. Acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 363), Rome, pp. 319–336.
- Volpe, G./Giuliani, R. (eds.) *Paesaggi e insediamenti urbani in Italia meridionale fra tardoantico e altomedioevo*, Bari 2010.
- Volpe, G./Turchiano, M. (eds.), *Paesaggi e insediamenti rurali in Italia meridionale fra tardoantico e altomedioevo*, Bari 2005.
- Wilson, R.J.A., "Life, Death and Dining in Early Byzantine Sicily: UBC Excavations at Kaukana, 2008–2010", *Mouseion. Journal of the Classical Association of Canada* 10/2 (2010), 119–167.
- Zanini, E., *Le Italie bizantine. Territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia (VI–VIII secolo)*, Bari 1998.
- Zanini, E., "La ceramica bizantina in Italia tra VI e VIII secolo. Un sistema informativo territoriale per lo studio della distribuzione e del consumo", in *Actes du VII^e Congrès International sur la céramique médiévale en Méditerranée*, Thessaloniki 2003, pp. 381–394.
- Zanini, E., "Archeologia dello status sociale nell'Italia bizantina: tracce, segni e modelli interpretativi", in G.P. Brogiolo/A. Chavarria, A. (eds.), *Archeologia delle strutture sociali nell'Italia altomedievale (V–IX secolo)*, Padova 2007, pp. 23–46.

PART 1

Society and Institutions



Politics and Society

Salvatore Cosentino

1 An Unplanned Way to Make Italy Roman Again

In many ways, Justinian was an emperor who consciously planned several of the events of his reign, but the Gothic War was not one of them. He realized that the Roman Empire would only be able to re-establish itself in Italy after recapturing Africa, when he had at his disposal an army of about 18,000 men just over a hundred kilometres from Sicily.¹ While the Vandal dominion in Africa was collapsing, since 526 the regency of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy had been assumed by Amalasuentha, Theoderic's daughter, on behalf of her son, Athalaric. The latter, unfortunately, died at the age of eighteen in 534. Theodahad seized power (November 534), and two months after Amalasuentha's murder in April 535, general Belisarius took possession of Sicily in June of the same year while the *magister militum* Mundus invaded Dalmatia.² At this point, according to Procopius, the war could have already come to an end,³ but Theodahad refused the peace proposals made by Justinian and war truly broke out in June 536, resulting in Theodahad's deposition in favour of Witigis. The first part of the war (536–540) hit central and northern Italy and resulted in the capture of a number of urban centres including Naples, Rome, and Rimini by the empire (although Milan was sacked in 539 by the Goths). In late 539 Witigis entrenched in Ravenna. Justinian seems to have been willing to allow his regime to continue in the territories north of the Po in exchange for the delivery of half of the Ostrogothic treasure.⁴ Thus, the war seemed over, with the transfer of Witigis, his wife Matasuentha and few Ostrogothic notables to Constantinople. In such a scenario, the imminent collapse of the Ostrogothic kingdom was taken for granted by some important Italian senators, such as Cassiodorus, who in the late 530s would manipulate

¹ Meier, *Justinian*, pp. 65–68; Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, pp. 256, 259.

² The best reconstruction of the events remains that of Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, pp. 338–347.

³ Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, 1.6.1–5.

⁴ Procopius, *Bellum gothicum* 1.2.1–2.



MAP 1.1 The Byzantine Empire under Justinian (527–565)
© COSENTINO, LAMANNA

part of the *Variae* (Letters) written by him during the reigns of Theodahad and Witigis to make their contents appear culturally closer to the new regime.⁵

On the contrary, military operations in Italy took a completely different turn due to future events that, in May 540, no one would have been able to foresee. It was not so much the military reorganization of the Ostrogoths in 540–541 that ensured the continuation of war in Italy, but rather two episodes which occurred in the Far East. In March 540, *šāh* Khusraw I invaded Syria and captured Antioch three months later. Henceforth, the Persian front reopened and would remain active until 545 (up to 557 in Lazica). Even worse for the empire was the outbreak of bubonic plague beginning in June 541. The epidemic broke out in *Pelusium* (modern-day Tell el Farama, in Egypt), and within two years spread throughout the entire Mediterranean basin, causing a mortality rate that has been calculated to have been between 20 and 30 percent of all the inhabitants

⁵ Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*, pp. 19–33.

of the Eastern Roman Empire.⁶ The need to commit troops to the Persian front and the empire's population drop provoked an enduring weakness of the military dispositive against the Ostrogoths. Consequently, the war in Italy took on a new vigour and hit in-depth, even in southern Italy, which until then had been little affected by it. Military operations continued, with various vicissitudes, until 550. In that year, Justinian entrusted his cousin Germanus with the task of preparing a major military campaign to reconquer Italy. Thanks to his military prestige and the large availability of funds, Germanus was able to recruit a substantial army, but he unexpectedly died at Sardica on the eve of the expedition. The Gothic War came to an end only two years later, when a large army led by the eunuch Narses defeated the Ostrogothic forces in two pitched battles at Taginae in Umbria (June 552) and at Mons Lactarius (October 552), near Naples.⁷

We are not aware of any systematic administrative reorganization of Italy undertaken by Justinian after the end of the war, with the exception of Sicily (Sardinia was associated administratively with Africa).⁸ In the aftermath of his victory, Justinian was more concerned about the economic situation rather than the institutional structures of the peninsula. In reality, the economic fabric of Italy was exhausted after eighteen years of war. In 554 and 555 Justinian issued two laws aimed, respectively, at confirming the status of land ownership prior to the reign of Totila and alleviating the situation of debtors.⁹ Until 568 Narses was responsible for military operations in Italy, whereas civil affairs were managed through the praetorian prefecture. However, from 552 until 566 the situation remained unstable.¹⁰ In 568, just as Narses was removed from his command under unclear circumstances, the Lombards invaded Italy.¹¹ Eastern Roman forces on the ground proved to be absolutely inadequate in repelling the new invaders. The Lombards overflowed into northern Italy without facing serious resistance, except in Pavia. In approximately the same period, the

6 Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence*, pp. 113–24; Horden, “Mediterranean Plague”, pp. 134–160; Meier, “Die sogenannte Justinianische”, pp. 86–107; Harper, *The Fate of Rome*, pp. 262–297 (he thinks, excessively, that the plague killed half the population of the empire: p. 294; but see the argumentations by Mordechai, *Rejecting Catastrophe*).

7 Regarding the dates of the battles, I follow the chronology proposed by Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, pp. 601–604.

8 In 537 Justinian issued a law addressed to Tribonianus *quaestor sacri palatii* which sanctioned a new administrative status of the island in the empire: Justinian, *Novellae*, 75. For more information see the contribution by Vivien Prigent in this volume.

9 See Justinian *Novellae*, Appendix 7. 1–4, 7 and Appendix 8.

10 Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, pp. 605–622.

11 The information has only been recorded in Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 2.5 ed. L. Bethmann, G. Waitz, in *MGH, SS Lang. et It.*, Hannover 1878, pp. 45–187.

situation was worsening in the entire Byzantine West, for in 569 the Moors revolted in Africa and the Visigoths attacked the imperial territories in Spain, conquering Asidona in 571 and Cordoba in 572.¹² Conflict with the Sasanian Empire also broke out again in 572. Only after a truce was concluded with the Persians in 574 the central government was able to send an expedition to Italy led by the son-in-law of Emperor Justin II, the *kouropalatēs* Baduarius. However, the enterprise failed and Baduarius died shortly after 577.¹³ Some progress was made in the fight against the Lombards during the 590s. The new invaders' expansion only came to a halt around 605, when their kingdom was consolidated in the north and the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento had been established in central and southern Italy.¹⁴ By then it was clear that the empire would never successfully repel them from Italy.

2 Shifting Signs of Distinction in Italian Society during the 6th Century

In the closing chapter of the *Getica*, Jordanes gives great prominence to the wedding celebrated between Germanus, cousin of the Emperor Justinian, and Matasuentha, widow of the late Ostrogothic king, Witigis.¹⁵ The blue-blooded couple had a son, also called Germanus, who was born after his father's death in 550 on the eve of an expedition that the same Germanus senior was to lead against the Ostrogoths. In Jordanes's words, the marriage between Germanus and Matasuentha symbolised the union between the Anicii and the Amali, a bond of kinship which, in the eyes of Justinian, was aimed towards justifying the collaboration between Theoderic and the Italian senators who had fled to Constantinople during the 540s. This position voiced the expectations of men as Cassiodorus, Cethegus, Liberius, Albinus Basilius or Decius¹⁶ – all former collaborators of the Gothic regime – who, in view of the imminent recapture of Italy, wanted to be sure that the new government would not wipe out their fortunes. After 552 the wishes of the Italian refugees in Constantinople seem to have been, all in all, respected by Justinian. This can be inferred by the ruling of the *Pragmatica sanctio*, issued by Justinian in 554 under pressure by

12 Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, vol. 1, p. 305.

13 John of Biclar, *Chronica*, a. 576. 1, ed. Theodor Mommsen, in *MGH, AA*, 11/2, Berlin, 1894, pp. 207–220. On Baduarius see *PLRE*, vol. 3, p. 165.

14 Delogu, "Il regno longobardo", pp. 3–216; Ravagnani, *I Bizantini in Italia*, p. 102.

15 Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getorum*, 313–314 ed. Theodor Mommsen, in *MGH, AA*, 5/1, Berlin 1882, pp. 53–138.

16 Regarding these persons see *PLRE*, vol. 2 and *PLRE*, vol. 3, *sub voce*.

Pope Vigilius, who was himself descended from a Roman senatorial family. In the law, there were several articles which cannot have been conceived were it not for the support of important Italic landowners, amongst whom the Roman senators were well represented.¹⁷

Whether they were living at Constantinople or Rome, Italian senators were perfectly aware that their role as a political body was coming to an end in reconquered Italy. The group which fled to Constantinople especially had the more limited purpose of safeguarding its own economic interests in the peninsula. Some of them, such as Cassiodorus, would later spend the rest of their existence living on their estates in southern Italy or Sicily. In the Italian scenario, after 552 we no longer see senators still active in public affairs, with very few exceptions – such as that of a certain Pamphronius, who in 578 led an embassy at the court of Tiberius II Constantine asking him for help against the Lombards.¹⁸ The last mention of a ceremonial role of the Roman senate dates to 603, when its members received, along with the Roman clergy, the images of Emperor Phocas and his wife Leontia from Constantinople.¹⁹ By no means does this signify that old senatorial families could not continue to wield power and prestige, but they did so as private persons and in a different function than formerly. Their ability to act as a lobby in Italy was probably much reduced by the Lombard invasion, in the face of which they reacted in different ways depending upon their place of residence.

The very lowest echelon of late antique aristocracy, that of the *curiales* (members of the municipal councils), would eventually almost completely disappear during the second half of the 6th century. This crisis was determined primarily by the decline of the municipal councils within the administration of towns.²⁰ In 6th-century Italy, their existence is still recorded in Cagliari, Fermo, Naples, Ravenna, Rieti, Syracuse, and Tindari (about 50 km west of Messina).²¹ The fate experienced by the curial class is difficult to ascertain due to lack of evidence. Some of their members completely disappeared, while

17 See Justinian, *Novellae*, Appendix VII, § 2, 3, 19, 27.

18 Menander, fr. 49 (*The History of Menander the Guardsman: Introductory Essay, Text, Translation, and Historiographical Notes*, ed. and trans. R.C. Blockley, Liverpool 1985); Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, p. 33.

19 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum* 13.1.

20 The crisis had begun in the late 4th century: see Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall*, p. 3; Laniado, *Recherches sur les notables*, p. 5; and, for Italy, Ausbüttel "Die Curialen und Stadt-magistrate", pp. 207–14; Di Paola, "Vita cittadina e 'ordo decurionum'", pp. 655–668; Tabata, *Città dell'Italia nel VI secolo*, pp. 266–276.

21 See respectively Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum*, 4. 26 (Cagliari); 13. 18 (Fermo); 9. 53 (Naples); 9. 58, 180. Ravenna: Ausbüttel, "Die Curialen", pp. 207–214; Rieti and Syracuse, respectively: Jan Olof Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der*

others entered the service of bishops or became priests or notaries. The vast class qualified by the honorary title of *virī honesti* in the surviving records was socially contiguous to the members of the *curiae*.²² Although this qualification tends to be used less and less after the 6th century, it continued to be mentioned in documents which concerned the Byzantine areas in Italy until the 9th century.²³

Bishops were certainly part of the elite. In the 6th century, figures like Celsus of Vercelli, Datius of Milan, Agapitus, Silverius, Vigilius and Gregory of Rome, and Agnellus of Ravenna came from aristocratic families.²⁴ Other bishops were not descended from aristocratic lineages, but they were still able to acquire leading positions in their communities by virtue of their office. From the end of the 4th century, bishops had been enjoying their own courts (*episcopalis audientia*), with jurisdiction over clergy and crimes against orthodoxy. During the 5th century, their prerogatives in the public field had increased, especially under the reign of Anastasius I (491–518), and reached culmination under Justinian.²⁵ The apex of this process of inclusion of bishops in the public administration was reached in 554 with the abovementioned *Pragmatica sanctio pro petitione Vigili*, when they were entrusted with the election of the provincial governor, along with the members of the local councils.²⁶ This measure was extended to the East by Emperor Justin II (565–578) in 568.²⁷ Another important field in which bishops had been relevant beginning with the second half of the 5th century was that of urban building activity throughout the empire, of which they became patrons.²⁸ Along with the military (which will be discussed in a moment), the episcopacy was essentially one of the aristocratic layers of late antique origin which saw a greater continuity in the early

Zeit 445–700. vol. 1, *Papyri 1–28*, Lund 1955, pap. 7, 10–11 A. See also Cosentino, “Istituzioni curiali”, pp. 249–250.

22 Cosentino, “Il ceto dei virī honesti”, pp. 16–22.

23 As in Ravenna, Rome, Naples, Amalfi, Fondi, Gaeta: see Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, p. 186.

24 Agnellus: S. Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina (494–804)*, 2. vols., Bologna 1996–200 (henceforth *PIB*), vol. 1, pp. 111–112; *PCBE*, pp. 59–63; Celsus: *PIB* 1, p. 279; Datius: *PIB* 1, pp. 347–348; *PCBE*, pp. 532–5340; Agapitus, Silverius, Vigilius, Gregory: *Enciclopedia dei papi*, Rome 2000, pp. 1504–507, 508–511, 512–528, 546–574, respectively.

25 On legislation and civil powers of bishops in late antiquity see Puliatti, “Le funzioni civili del vescovo”, pp. 139–68; on their positions as new elite: Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*.

26 Justinian, *Novellae*, Appendix 7.12.

27 Justinian, *Novellae*, 149. 15.

28 For Italy, see Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, pp. 49–154; in the East, Saradi, *The Byzantine City*, pp. 157, 181–184 and Jacobs, *Aesthetic Maintenance*, pp. 272–276, 488–490.

Middle Ages. However, it can be best described as a 'continuity' within a 'transformation'. In the passage from the 6th to the 7th century, two factors came to influence the bishops' standing position within their local communities. First, the trend toward the simplification of social hegemony contributed greatly to their rise to prominence. Second, after the Lombard invasion of Italy their political and public role increased. The greater capillarity of their presence in the urban settlements compared with that of the imperial officials had results which were evident in both policies of territorial organization and the transmission of imperial authority, which would have to pass through the filtering action of bishops.²⁹

Since the 5th century, Italy was accustomed to have powerful warlords as protagonists in the political scene such as Stilicho, Aetius, Ricimer or Odovacar. Of course, under Gothic rule and during the long Gothic War the military retained greater influence, when the best Eastern Roman generals tread the Italian battlefields. Yet, neither the Byzantine *magistri militum* nor their 5th century predecessors were native Italians. Italian society, in all its components, was largely unaccustomed to military service since the mid-3rd century. During Late Antiquity, the military profession had lost its appeal to Italian provincials and, as a whole, it was not a career geared towards social ascendancy. Military service was characterized ethnically or regionally and did not belong to Italian civic traditions. This is mirrored in the structure of landed property in the peninsula during the 5th and 6th centuries. Although it is impossible for us to give precise estimates, the percentage of estates held by the military in relation to that held by civilians (senators, *curiales*, clergymen, craftsmen, merchants, free peasants) had to be limited. We refer to a sample from the Ravennate area; here the penetration of the military in the landed property seems not to have consistently occurred until the second half of the 7th century, to the detriment of other social categories.³⁰ Yet beginning with the Lombard occupation of vast parts of Italy, the attitude toward military service on the part of the Italians living in the Byzantine territories began to change. Given the impossibility of the Constantinopolitan government to deploy a high number of troops recruited from the East on the Italian peninsula during the 570s due to the reprise of the Persian War under Justin II, the recourse to local recruitment increased. This phenomenon is reflected in the nomenclature of the units quoted in Italian sources from the late 6th to the early 8th century. Many of them bear ethnic, imperial or regional names which recall their original constitution, as the *numerus equitum Persoioustinianorum*, the *numerus*

29 A point rightly emphasized by Haldon, *The Empire That Would Not Die*, p. 59.

30 See Cosentino, "I viri honesti", pp. 37–41.

Theodosiacus or the *numerus Dacorum*.³¹ At least half of them carry the name of the Italian towns in which the unit had been formed in its origin, as the *numerus Mediolanensium*, *Tarvisianus*, *Ravennatium*, *Veronensium*, *Ariminensium*, *Centumcellensis*, or *numerus Tergestinus*.³² Of course, this by no means signifies that all soldiers enrolled in these units were actually from Milan, Treviso, Ravenna, Verona and so on, for over time the ethnic uniformity of the regiment, if any, changed consistently. In any case, such evidence may be interpreted as an unprecedented indicator that the military profession even became an option for social ascendancy for the Italo-Byzantines. Groups of them, through service in the middle and upper ranks of the Byzantine army, during the 7th century would eventually acquire an elite status economically rooted in the ownership of land.

3 Looking towards Italy and Africa from Constantinople during the Stormy 7th Century

During the long reign of Emperor Heraclius (610–641), the military situation in Italy remained calm with regards to the Lombards. In striking coincidence, more or less, the latter retook the offensive only in the early 640s with the accession to the Byzantine throne of the child emperor Constans II – aged only eleven years when he was elected – and the first Muslim conquest of Alexandria in September 642.³³ Heraclius had paid little attention to Italy, perhaps because during the most difficult times of his stay outside of Constantinople, between 622 and 631, the regency of the exarchate was entrusted to one of his most loyal servants, the exarch Isaakios.³⁴ It is true that there were the rebellions of John of Conza in 616 and that of the exarch Eleutherius in 619, but they were repressed without great effort.³⁵ The conquest of the Fertile Crescent by the Muslims and their penetration into Africa changed the situation, pushing the young Constans II and his counsellors to look towards the West. In the meantime King Suinthila in 625/626 had occupied the last towns remained to

31 On the nomenclature of military units in Byzantine Italy during the 6th and the 7th centuries see Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 85–93; Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, pp. 150–153.

32 See above, note 31.

33 On the events see Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, pp. 1–37.

34 On exarch Isacius see: Cosentino, “L'iscrizione ravennate”, pp. 23–43.

35 Ravegnani, *I Bizantini in Italia*, pp. 104–105.

the empire in Spain, with the exception of the Balearics.³⁶ The attention paid by the Byzantine government towards Italy and Africa was not only dictated by military reasons. The importance gained by Sicily, the Peninsula and Africa in the empire's political agenda during the 7th century had also economic and religious reasons, as we will soon see.

As far as economic matters were concerned, the pivotal character of the Byzantine West in the second quarter of the 7th century was emphasized by the appearance of the *kommerkiarioi*' seals. In Africa, a group of such seals dating from 626 to 647 testifies to the presence of members of the *domus divina per Africam*, rank-bearers like *apo eparchōn* or *apo hypatōn* and praetorian prefects as their owners.³⁷ In Sicily, specimens with the legend *basilika kommerkia* dating to the mid-7th century have also been found.³⁸ From the 660s onwards similar seals begin to be documented even in the eastern parts of the empire. The real nature of the functions performed by the *kommerikiarioi* has raised a considerable debate among scholars and no consensus has been reached to date.³⁹ In any case, if the *kommerkiarioi* were engaged in the supply of the army (and occasionally also of that of Constantinople), it is quite natural that their seals would appear in Africa and Sicily, and later in Anatolia and the Balkans. Persian and Muslim occupation of Egypt since the 620s precluded this region – the most important for the Eastern Roman Empire in terms of granary resources – from being fully exploited to supply the capital and the military apparatus, hence the necessity to take advantage of the African and Sicilian rural economies. A certain number of old copper coins found in Sicily with a countermark indicating their new value demonstrates that in the first decade of the reign of Heraclius the Byzantine authorities had already begun making massive purchases of grain on the island.⁴⁰

During the 640s and 650s, the African and Italian scenario strongly imposed itself upon the Byzantine court even in religious matters. In the edict issued in 638 by Emperor Heraclius known as *Ekthesis* (Notification), he tried, in accordance with Sergius, the patriarch of Constantinople, to put to an end to the

36 It is difficult to be precise due to the lack of information concerning the last phases of the Visigothic occupation of Byzantine Spain: see Vallejo Girvés, *Hispania y Bizancio*, pp. 364–365.

37 Morrisson/Seibt, "Sceaux de commerciaires byzantins", pp. 222–239.

38 Prigent, "Le rôle des provinces d'Occident", p. 291.

39 Last overviews of the problem: Cosentino, "Economia e fiscalità", pp. 59–72; Montinaro, "Les premiers commerciaires", pp. 351–538 and "Killing Empire" pp. 165–172; Prigent, "The Mobilization of Fiscal Resources", pp. 195–200; Haldon, *The Empire that Would Not Die*, pp. 274–277.

40 Prigent, "Le rôle des provinces d'Occident", pp. 291–293.

dissention toward Monoenergism by affirming that in Christ there was only one will operating in a dual nature and prohibited any further discussion of the argument (Monotheletism).⁴¹ The principal opponent of Monoenergism had been Sophronius of Jerusalem, who in 638 was bishop of the eponymous city which was now under Muslim rule.⁴² Equally out of the range of Heraclius' authority was the principal group of supporters of Dyothelitism represented by Palestinian monasticism, in which Maximus the Confessor had a leading role. Dissention broke out again after the accession to the throne of Constans II and was particularly strong during the period from 641 to 652, when the young emperor needed to consolidate his power. Sergius's successor as patriarch of Constantinople, Pyrrhus (638–641), supported the *Ekthesis* but left his episcopal office after a plot organized by Martina against Constans II, to which he had given his support, was discovered. Patriarch Paul II (641–653) and Pyrrhus were excommunicated by Pope Theodore because of their acceptance of the *Ekthesis*, which was rejected by Rome.⁴³ Maximus the Confessor, after having fled from Egypt to Africa, subsequently supported the rebellion of the local governor, Gregory, in 647. This *coup d'état* had no consequences, as Gregory was later killed on battlefield fighting with the Muslims.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, Constans II issued the *Typos*, an edict forbidding further discussion on Christ's energies and wills.⁴⁵ This measure was taken to mollify opposition against Monotheletism; but in Rome it was not accepted by Pope Martin and was condemned by the Lateran council of October 649. While the council was probably still ongoing, the new exarch Olympius arrived in Italy with the task with persuading the Italian bishops to accept the *Typos*. However, under obscure circumstances, he rebelled against the emperor, possibly with the tacit support of Pope Martin. However, as in Africa some years before, this attempt to seize power was short-lived, for Olympius died from plague around 652 in Sicily, where he had gone with his army to arrest a Muslim raid.⁴⁶

41 Lange, *Mia Energeia*, pp. 606–614; Booth, *Crisis of Empire*, pp. 228–241. Text of the *Ekthesis*: ACO 2, *Concilium Lateranense*, pp. 156–162.

42 Booth, *Crisis of Empire*, pp. 225–269.

43 Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes*, pp. 97–100.

44 Kaegi, "The Islamic conquest", pp. 71, 81.

45 Text of the *typos*: ACO 2, *Concilium Lateranense*, pp. 208–211. It was issued sometime between winter 648 and spring or summer 649. Winkelmann, *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, p. 123 (dates to 648).

46 Events are narrated in Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, pp. 93–111 and Ravegnani, *I Bizantini in Italia*, pp. 110–113. Note that Stratos, "The exarch Olympius", does not think that Olympius went to Sicily in order to fight the Muslims, as he denies the historicity of a Muslim expedition against the island in 652.

The economic and religious importance the Byzantine West had been acquiring for Constantinople during the first half of the 7th century constitutes the background for the expedition led by Constans II to Italy in 663. The ultimate goals of the emperor are not clearly illuminated by our sources.⁴⁷ After leading a victorious expedition in Transcaucasia against the Muslims in 660–661, he left the imperial capital with a strong army in 662 and disembarked at Taranto in the spring of 663. He unsuccessfully besieged Benevento, then retreated to Naples and in July 663 visited Rome. In the old capital, his arrival was greeted by celebratory inscriptions and processions; here, he met Pope Vitalianus and ordered the removal of the bronze tiles of the Pantheon (which just at that time was transformed into a church). After two weeks, he left Rome and toward the end of 663 reached Syracuse, where he stayed until his assassination on July 668 by the hands of one of his chamberlains.⁴⁸ Scholars have emphasized a passage of the *Book of the Roman Pontiffs* (*Liber pontificalis*) in which it is stated that the emperor imposed oppressive tax demands upon both the Italian and African provinces.⁴⁹ The presence of Constans II in Sicily must have implied an update of the fiscal registers with an inclusion of new taxpayers in the tax record by generating social discontent. Yet one has to be careful in exaggerating the rapacity of such an operation, considering that the condemnation against it came from the biggest landowner in all of Italy, the papacy. Complaints against taxation in Late Antiquity depended to a certain extent upon the interests of lobbies or particular socioeconomic groups.⁵⁰ The same attitude is evident in writings by late antique or early medieval authors who complained about Muslim taxation, as recounted by John of Nikiou for Egypt, Ghevond (Leontius) for Armenia or Dionysius of Tell-Mahré for Syria.⁵¹ As we shall later see, when it is possible to compare charts or judicial acts in which two systems of rural exploitation are faced, the weight of Byzantine taxation does not seem to be truly ‘unbearable’. Constans II’s stay in Sicily certainly implied more pressure on Sicilian, Italian and African taxpayers. Yet it is hard to conclude that the emperor fiscally drained the areas affected by his presence, as the *Book of the Roman Pontiffs* would like us to believe, as he

47 The best reconstruction of events of the Constans II’s expedition remains that by Corsi, *La spedizione italiana*.

48 *PMBZ* I, 3691 = *PBE*, <http://www.pbe.kcl.ac.uk>, Constans 1.

49 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 344. Recent comments on this passage: Zuckerman, “Learning from the Enemy”, pp. 80–84; Cosentino, “Constans II and the Byzantine Navy”, pp. 595–600; Noyé, “L’économie de la Calabre”, pp. 352–353, 365–371; Haldon, *The Empire That Would Not Die*, pp. 41–42.

50 Sources quoted in Cosentino, “Politica e fiscalità”, p. 37, n. 3.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 38, no. 4.

would have had no advantages in destroying the rural economy of the western territories.

Constans II's journey to Sicily was probably motivated by a plurality of factors. His final residence in Syracuse makes it possible to believe that he intended to promote a vast military campaign against Muslim Egypt through Africa that he was never able to achieve.⁵² What happened after his murder is equally obscure. His murderer, Andreas, was the son of a Constantinopolitan patrician called Troilos and must have had some supporters among the general staff of the troops quartered in Sicily. It is not even known how long the rebellion lasted. According to some scholars, there was actually not one, but two rebellions: the first led by Mezezios, and a second led by his son John.⁵³ According to eastern sources, his successor Constantine IV would have then commanded a maritime expedition in Sicily against the rioters, while western sources do not mention it.⁵⁴ On the contrary, the latter sources stress that the rebellion was suppressed by the joint intervention of regiments from Istria, Campania, Sardinia and Africa.⁵⁵ In any case, Emperor Constantine IV seems to have gained full control of the situation only around 671/672. The beginning of his regime was difficult. Along with the insurrection on Sicily, Theophanes recounts a series of Muslim raids against Anatolia culminating in a siege against the capital in 672–674, which ended with the defeat of the assailants.⁵⁶ Under these harsh circumstances Pope Vitalianus (657–672) remained loyal to the legitimate emperor. Consequently, in order to improve his relationship with the Roman church, Constantine IV favoured the abrogation of the Ravennate autocephaly, issued by his father prior to 666. He also promoted a new ecumenical council in Constantinople (which lasted from 7 November 680 to 16 September 681) in which the Fathers condemned Monotheletism.

52 Review of opinions about the assassinations of Constans II by Motta, "Politica dinastica", pp. 659–683; Jankowiak, "The First Arab Siege", pp. 305–309.

53 The idea of a double rebellion promoted first by Mezezios and later by his son John has been argued by Prigent in "La Sicile de Constant II", pp. 175–185 and "Des pères et des fils", pp. 594–597; this suggestion has been challenged by Kaegi, "The Islamic Conquest", p. 76.

54 Leontsini, *Κωνσταντίνος Δ'*, pp. 79–84; Prigent, "La Sicile de Constant II", p. 178.

55 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 346 (*Vita Adeodati*).

56 About the date and duration of the siege, Jankowiak proposes the years 668–669 in "The First Siege." Doubts (which I share) against this proposal have been cast by Prigent, "Des pères et des fils", pp. 603–610.

4 Militarization and Landed Property in the 7th and 8th Centuries

Although it is difficult to detect its real purpose, Constans II's expedition to Italy prefigured a deep transformation of the Byzantine West. The situation in Africa worsened during the 680s, and in 698 Carthage was captured by the Muslims. The final conquest of northwest Africa undertaken by Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr and his son Marwān between 705 and 708 marked the definitive retreat of the southern frontier of the Byzantine Empire along the islands of the Mediterranean. In such a context, the military importance of Sicily and Sardinia improved. In the former, a new office of *stratēgos* was instituted during the 690s.⁵⁷ The island experienced a process of militarization of its social structures that was unknown in Late Antiquity. Sigillography demonstrates the presence of members of the *basilikon Opsikion* (second half of the 7th century and later), the *Exkoubitoi*, the *Scholae* and the *Vigla*.⁵⁸ In the 8th century, sigillographic evidence also testified to the presence of military officials called *topotērētai* in several Sicilian towns such as Syracuse, Cefalù, Enna, Catania, Tropea (in Calabria), leading to hypothesize the existence of urban garrisons.⁵⁹ Starting from the 7th century onward an analogous process of reinforcement of military groups may also be argued for Sardinia. Carthage's mint was moved to Cagliari after the African capital fell into the hands of the Muslims.

In the long run, this increased militarization contributed towards making all regions of Byzantine Italy socially uniform. However, there existed an important difference between the peninsular and insular situations. While in the latter, at least in Sicily, a substantial part of the military groups was composed of elite units coming from the East, in the former, recruitment had increasingly relied on local communities since the late 6th century. In the Exarchate – namely in the Venetian lagoons, Istria, Ravenna, Pentapolis, Rome, Naples, and Tyrrhenian duchies – this resulted in a greater entrenchment of soldiers in the social fabric and in an easier access on their part to local resources. We have evidence that until the mid-7th century the regiments cantoned in Italy received a payment in cash on an irregular basis called *rhoga* or *donativum*.⁶⁰ They must have also enjoyed further economic support by the state, perhaps in the form of distribution of food rations, but no clear information exists regarding this. Justinianic legislation prohibited soldiers from working land by themselves,

57 Oikonomides, "Une liste arabe", pp. 121–130; Níchanian, Prigent, "Les stratèges de Sicile", pp. 97–141.

58 Evidence is quoted and analysed by Prigent in "Byzantine military forces", pp. 161–176.

59 Prigent, "Notes sur les topotērētēs", pp. 145–159.

60 Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 87–86; Cosentino, "Politica e fiscalità", p. 46.



MAP 1.2 Byzantine Italy (7th–8th century)
© COSENTINO, LAMANNA

but not from possessing, buying or donating it.⁶¹ However, it is possible that this rule was frequently disregarded. Actually, in documentation from the 6th to 8th century we find several examples of soldiers who buy, sell, donate or receive land in lease. Some scholars think that they did so by operating exclusively in the private market.⁶² If such a process must have certainly occurred, sources allow us to analyse in a more precise manner the channels through which the military penetrated in rural ownership in Byzantine Italy. Firstly, the available documents emphasize the high number of those who acquired lands in emphyteusis from the churches, especially the biggest ones such as those of Rome and Ravenna.⁶³ This mechanism had advantages for both the tenant and the owner. The former could usually exploit vast rural properties by paying a very small amount of money, while the latter could exercise a sort of patronage over its clients. Secondly, evidence seems to demonstrate the existence of public lands that over the time came to be absorbed in the property of private citizens. It is worth examining in depth this phenomenon, because it lends itself to be misunderstood.

Some witnesses from late 8th to the 9th century testify to the presence of soldiers possessing properties, which, judging by their toponymy, must have formerly belonged to the state. This is clear in the case of the district of the castle of Conca (southeast of San Marino), where the *Breviarium Ecclesiae Ravennatis* documents soldiers who possess plots of land situated in *fundo dulia*, in *fundo dulanò*, in *fundo lamaticia qui vocatur duliolo*.⁶⁴ These expressions seem to be derived from the Greek δουλεία, “service”, namely “land burden by service” or “attached to service of (sc. the castle)”, considering that the area in which the toponyms are attested is near *castrum Concae*. In nearby Rimini some plots called *geniciano*, *ieniciano*, *geniciano* (from the Greek γενικός, “public”) are also attested; in Senigallia, is quoted a parcel of land the original property of which was qualified as *ex iura quondam genecia* “land of former public ownership.”⁶⁵ In Rome, some formulas written in private charters of the 8th and 9th centuries (namely the prohibition to alienate goods leased to churches, public institutions or *numeri militum seu banda*) make it possible to believe that regiments

61 See *CJC*, vol. 2, *Codex Justinianus*, ed. P. Krüger, Dublin 1970 (15th edition), 4. 65, 35; 12.35, 15.

62 This is the opinion by Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 46, 102 and Brown/Christie, “Was There a Byzantine Model”, p. 385.

63 Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 184–185.

64 For quotation of the sources and their analysis I refer to the articles by Carile, “Continuità e mutamento”, pp. 140–142 and Carile “Terre militari”, pp. 81–94.

65 See above, note 64.

might have received plots of land for their collective use.⁶⁶ In Sardinia, the *condaghe* (register of properties) of San Michele of Salvenor attests the existence of a *castru de Presnake* ("the castle of Prasinakios"), possibly a former Byzantine fortification whose goods had been later incorporated among the assets of a certain Prasinakios.⁶⁷

The evidence quoted above demonstrates that not all lands that composed the patrimony of soldiers came to them thanks to the private market. Along with estates acquired in lease, it seems that also lands which originally pertained to the endowment of castles or military units were absorbed into private patrimonies some centuries later. This phenomenon presupposes that from the late Justinianic age onward soldiers serving in the peninsula were maintained not only by means of occasional salaries or distribution of weapons and other equipment, but also by the sharing of produce coming from lands assigned collectively to the regiments quartered in towns or castles. As long as the central government, through the exarch, was able to control the provincial institutions in the various regions of Italy, this system worked. However, by the early 8th century many of these public lands originally assigned to military garrisons for collective use must have been usurped by senior officers and acquired for their private possession. The higher the rank of the officers responsible for these abuses, the more this passage of public lands into private patrimonies had to be successful. If the secular ruling class of Byzantine Italy in the 8th century was composed above all by leading members of the army, it is clear that every direct intervention of the central government over local communities could have destabilized the structure of rural property. In fact, at least part of the wealth of the Italian elites was composed of estates received in lease by episcopates, along with portions of public land. Obviously, the maintenance of a similar economic structure created strong solidarities between the Italo-Byzantine aristocracies and their bishops. This circumstance played an essential role during Iconoclasm and in the emerging political autonomism in Byzantine Italy.

5 Political Revolutions in the 8th Century

In the half century from the 670s to the 720s, the relationships between the local societies of Byzantine Italy and Constantinople had remained more or less stable, with the exception of the expedition against Ravenna ordered by

66 Di Carpegna Falconieri, "La militia a Roma", p. 577.

67 Paulis, *Lingua e cultura*, p. 58.

Justinian II in 708 or 709, which brutally impacted the city's urban elite.⁶⁸ Towards 680 a formal agreement between the Eastern Roman Empire and the Lombards was reached, according to which both parties would have recognized the status quo of their frontiers,⁶⁹ but beginning in 717 the military situation in the core of the empire as well as that of Italy worsened. In July 717 one of the best generals of the Umayyads, Maslamah (son of the caliph Abd-al Malik ibn Marwan), placed Constantinople under a tight siege both on land and at sea for thirteen months.⁷⁰ Meanwhile, during the same year in Italy, King Liutprand retook the offensive against Byzantine territories by attacking Ravenna; some ten years later, in 727/728, several towns and *castra* of the *Aemilia* were subjugated by the Lombards or surrendered to them.⁷¹ Taking advantage of the difficult situation in which Emperor Leo III found himself, the *stratēgos* of Sicily, Sergius, rebelled by proclaiming one of his followers emperor.⁷² The new state of war in the peninsula caught the Byzantine side unprepared and dissatisfied with the Constantinopolitan court's orientations. The reason for the dissent, according to the Roman *Liber pontificalis* (certainly not an impartial source), revolved around the demand for new taxes by Emperor Leo III after his big victory against the Muslims beneath the Constantinopolitan walls. We are not told by our sources what precisely happened in Italy during the 720s, but it seems that Pope Gregory II was targeted by a plot organized by some leading members of the Roman civil and ecclesiastical aristocracy.⁷³ The reasons of the conjure are unknown, but they likely interlaced Roman tensions amongst the local elites with a more general dissent – perhaps the request of new taxes – affecting all of Byzantine Italy. What is certain is that in Ravenna the exarch Paul (who had supported the conspiracy against the pope, if we are to believe the Roman *Book of Pontiffs*) was killed, probably in 726. Paul's successor, the exarch Eutychius, did not have enough forces to fight the Lombards. A new reconciliation between the papacy and the exarchal power occurred towards 730, when Gregory II gave his support to Eutychius in suppressing the revolt of a certain Tiberius Petasius, who had rebelled against the emperor in the castle of Manturiano, near Rome (in the area of the modern Canale Monterano).⁷⁴

68 Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, p. 98, no. 43.

69 Delogu, "Il regno longobardo", p. 100.

70 Christides, "The second Arab siege", pp. 511–533; Petersen, *Siege Warfare*, pp. 700–01, 703–08.

71 Delogu, "Il regno longobardo", p. 150.

72 On this rebellion see Caruso, "Sulla rivolta dello stratego Sergio", pp. 87–95.

73 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, pp. 403–405.

74 On these events see Bertolini, *Roma di fronte a Bisanzio*, pp. 447–450; Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance*, pp. 219–220.

Yet sometime around the early 730s something important must have happened in the Italian peninsula. In the years 731–732 the *Chronographia* by Theophanes reports that Emperor Leo III, furious with Pope Gregory II for the “secession of Rome and Italy”, sent a fleet under the command of Manes, *stratēgos* of the Kibyrrhaiōtai, to Italy. However, the fleet sank in the Adriatic before reaching its objective.⁷⁵ Thereafter, continues Theophanes, as a retaliation against Rome, the emperor imposed a capitation tax on one third of the inhabitants of Sicily and Calabria, seized the landed patrimonies of the Roman church in those regions and ordered the new-born male infants to be registered in a fiscal register.⁷⁶ Such a passage has been the subject of much scholarly debate, with no consensus on its interpretation having been reached among specialists.⁷⁷ In the Theophanian narrative, the Emperor Leo III’s anger towards Pope Gregory II – who, incidentally, Theophanes seems to confuse with Gregory III – is motivated, some lines previous to the passage in question, by this pope’s refusal to accept the ecclesiastical communion with Anastasius, the Constantinopolitan patriarch elected after patriarch Germanus had resigned in protest to the iconoclastic policy of Leo III.⁷⁸ Yet in the quoted passage, the measures undertaken by Leo III against Rome were apparently only of an administrative and fiscal nature; and the Roman *Book of Pontiffs* recounts that already in 725 Gregory II was not on good terms with the emperor due to the new taxes that the latter was willing to impose onto Italy. On the other hand, it seems unjustified to deny any implication of a religious nature in the conflict between Constantinople and Rome, as some scholars do. As a matter of fact, in November 731 Pope Gregory III celebrated a council in the Basilica of Saint Peter in which the cult of images was proclaimed to be orthodox.⁷⁹ Moreover,

75 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 410, 4–9. The fleet was not directed against the pope, but against the Lombards, who had temporarily captured Ravenna: Bertolini, “Quale fu il vero obiettivo”, pp. 15–49; for a different interpretation see Brandes, “Pejorative Phantomnamen im 8. Jahrhundert”, pp. 98–100, 118, 121, 123–125, who questions the historicity of the name ‘Manes’ and that of the same events.

76 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 410.

77 Review of the recent positions by Prigent, “Un confesseur de mauvaise foi”, pp. 279–304. Even in this volume, the reader may find different interpretations regarding this point.

78 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 408. The resignation by Germanus and the election of Anastasius took place in January 730. Also, the *Book of Pontiffs*, reports that Gregory II refused the *synodica* sent him by Patriarch Anastasius (*Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 409).

79 Even if the acts of the council have not been handed down to us, it was a real historical event. The list of its participants was later used for forging the false document of composition of the ecclesiastical conflict between Antoninus, bishop of Aquileia and Grado, and Serenus, bishop of Aquileia and Forum Iulii: see *IP* vol. 7/2, p. 37, no. +18; R. Cessi, *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia anteriori al Mille*, 2 vols., Padua 1942–1943, 1, p. 34. This proves that before November 731, Emperor Leo III, as claimed by Theophanes, had

within this basilica he constructed a chapel devoted to the Saviour, the Mother of God, and All Saints by sanctioning the decision with a council celebrated on 12 April 732.⁸⁰ The deliberations of the council were transcribed in three epigraphs, whose dating was made without resorting to the traditional system of the emperors' regnal years.⁸¹ Therefore, in the *annus mundi* 6224 Theophanes concentrates various events by superposing the figure of Gregory II with that of Gregory III. The reasons which urged Emperor Leo III to take drastic measures against the church of Rome possibly originated from a fiscal conflict,⁸² but such a conflict was undoubtedly magnified by the opposition that both Gregory II and Gregory III manifested against Iconoclasm.

What kind of measures, concretely, did Leo III take against the church of Rome? There is only one 8th-century source that can be compared with the information provided by Theophanes, which adds another dimension to the story. In a letter from 781 addressed to Charlemagne, Pope Hadrian I, at the end of a long comment about the deliberations taken by the Frankish episcopate regarding the Council of Nicaea of 787, informs his addressee of his request to the Byzantine emperors (Irene and Constantine VI) for the restitution of the dioceses and patrimonies subtracted earlier from the Roman church.⁸³ Another papal missive sent about seventy years later (860) by Pope Nicholas I to Emperor Michael III casts light upon the meaning of "dioceses". The letter – written to contest the deposition of the patriarch Ignatius and the election of Photius, among other things – exhorts Michael III to return the vicariate of Thessaloniki and the Calabrese and Sicilian patrimonies to the Roman church.⁸⁴ From the two abovementioned letters, there seems to be little doubt that the Roman patrimonies in Calabria and Sicily (and all the incomes they produced) were actually placed under the control of the Byzantine government. Moreover, their seizure was also coupled by the passage of Sicily and Calabria, as well as eastern Illyricum, from the papal jurisdiction to that of the bishop of Constantinople. Though the two actions did not necessarily occur at the same time, it is highly probable that this was the case. As we shall see in another chapter, there are clues suggesting that the passage of the ecclesiastical

really taken some measures against the cult of religious images. Scepticism about the council has been raised by Brubaker/Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, pp. 84–85.

80 The text was edited by O. Günther, "Kritische Beiträge zu den Akten der römischen Synode vom 12. April 732", *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 16/2 (1891), pp. 244–247.

81 Günther, "Kritische Beiträge".

82 Marazzi, "Il conflitto tra Leone III Isaurico", pp. 213–257.

83 See *MGH, Epp. Kar. Aevi*, 3, Berlin 1899, no. 2, p. 57.

84 See *MGH, Epp. Kar. Aevi*, 4, Berlin 1925, no. 82, pp. 438–439.

jurisdiction over southern Italy and Illyricum from the church of Rome to that of Constantinople occurred right around the 720s or the 730s.⁸⁵

This was a period of very anxious relations between the *basileis* and the popes. Both were worried about the Lombard advance, but they pursued strategies to resist it that were often uncoordinated one with the other.⁸⁶ Additionally, Pope Zachary supported Artavasdus's rebellion against Constantine v, as the former presented himself as a defender of icons.⁸⁷ Only towards 745 was the son of Leo III recognised as the legitimate emperor by the church of Rome. Meanwhile, the military situation of the Byzantine territories in northern and central Italy worsened in the face of the Lombards. Liutprand died in 744, on the eve of a projected attack against Ravenna; after the first brief reign of Ratchis (744–749), Lombard expansionism resumed under Aistulf, who conquered Ravenna sometime before March 751.⁸⁸ Since 739 Pope Gregory III had been in contact with the Frankish leader Charles Martel and urged him to be the defender of the Holy See against the Lombards. His first son, Carloman, after having embraced the monastic life in 747, was received by Pope Zachary in Rome, who endowed him with the monastery of Saint Andrew *al Monte Soratte*. Charles Martel's second-born, Pepin, forced Childeric into a monastery in 751 and had himself proclaimed king of the Franks with the support of Pope Zachary. Faced with the collapse of the Byzantine military apparatus in central and northern Italy, Pope Stephen II went to France in 754, where he met Pepin and, not without difficulty, persuaded him to lend military assistance against the Lombards.⁸⁹

In such a situation, the military inactivity by Constantine v is striking. His reaction was only on diplomatic level, for he did not send any expeditionary corps to reconquer Ravenna, perhaps because at that moment all his energies were absorbed by the fight against the Bulgars.⁹⁰ The relationship between the papacy and the Frankish kingdom became stronger and had heavy repercussions on the peninsular military scenario. The Lombard kingdom collapsed as a consequence of the campaigns led by Pepin in 754 and 756, and later by Charlemagne in 773–774.⁹¹ The two powerful bishoprics of Rome and Ravenna proclaimed themselves, on different bases, as heirs of the Byzantine territories

85 See Cosentino, "Ecclesiastic life" in this same volume.

86 Delogu, "Il regno longobardo", pp. 152–163.

87 Brubaker/Haldon, *Byzantium in The Iconoclast Era*, pp. 156–163.

88 Delogu, "Il regno longobardo", pp. 163–172.

89 Delogu, "Il regno longobardo", pp. 172–175.

90 Brubaker/Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, pp. 163–166; Treadgold, *History of the Byzantine State*, pp. 363–366.

91 Delogu, "Il regno longobardo", pp. 175–178, 188–191.

in central and northern Italy. The *Book of Roman Pontiffs* offers an illuminating example of how papal collaborators reconstructed the memory of what happened. In the *Vita* of Pope Stephen II, the populations of the former Byzantine regions were equated to “lost sheep” (*perdites oves*)⁹² assigned by God to “the holy church of God [i.e. the church of Rome] of the Roman Republic.”⁹³ The latter concept was intellectually inventive; it implied a borderline and ambiguous superposition of the traditional notion of *res publica Romanorum*, namely the Empire of the Romans, with that of the communities living in the Byzantine territories of central and northern Italy (in opposition to the Lombard zones). Such an ambiguous terminology could not represent an enduring ideological fundament for the constitution of a territorial state. As a matter of fact, from the pontificate of Hadrian I onward it was abandoned and henceforth papal sovereignty over former Byzantine territories was simply assigned to the patronage of Saint Peter.⁹⁴ The Byzantine heritage was claimed in a different way by the archbishops of Ravenna. Here the continuity from one regime to another was less ideological and more based upon the concrete exercise of seignorial rights by the archbishops over Romagna and Marche, which constituted the core of their landed patrimony.⁹⁵ The latter was the territorial extension outlined in a famous passage of the *Book of Ravennate Pontiffs* in which, with reference to archbishop Sergius (ca. 748–ca. 769), Agnellus claimed that “he, like an exarch, presided over everything as the Romans did from the borders of Persiceto and all across the Tuscia up to the Po of Volano.”⁹⁶

Both the popes and the archbishops of Ravenna in the second half of the 8th century sought to strengthen their ties with the Frankish power. The Roman *Book of Pontiffs*, yet again, offers a distorted story of such a relationship by conferring upon it a privileged and sacred character, which it probably did not have, at least as seen from the Frankish point of view. The collapse of the Byzantine power in the northern Adriatic and the birth of the Italian kingdom in 781 fostered a higher level of political self-determination on the part of local communities in this area. This is patent in the activism showed

92 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 444, 3–4.

93 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, pp. 448, 15–16; 449, 19.

94 On the controversial concept of *res publica Romanorum* see: Miller, “The Roman Revolution” especially pp. 122–124; Arnaldi, “Le origini del Patrimonio”, p. 126; Delogu, “The Papacy, Rome and the Wider World”, especially pp. 214–216; Capo, *Il Liber Pontificalis*, pp. 199–211.

95 Fasoli, “Il patrimonio della chiesa ravennate”, pp. 389–400; Cosentino, “Potere e autorità”, pp. 287–293.

96 Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. D. Mauskopf Deliyannis (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 199), Turnhout 2006, ch. 180 (= ch. 159 ed. Holder Egger).

by the new commercial hub of Comacchio, which throughout the 8th and 9th century acted as a redistribution centre for merchandises from the northern Adriatic to the Po Valley, in competition with the duchy of Venice.⁹⁷ Yet this is even more evident in the latter, whose ruling class from late 8th to the early 9th century oscillated its support from the Franks to that of the Byzantines while maintaining a relatively autonomous political line.⁹⁸ Istria, on the contrary, was directly occupied by the Franks towards 790.⁹⁹ After the imperial coronation of Charlemagne on Christmas eve of 800, ideological components began to be introduced in the confrontation between Franks and Byzantines. A state of open conflict in the northern Adriatic broke out between the two powers from 802 to 811. In 812, Emperor Michael I (811–813) granted Charles the title of ‘emperor’ (but not that of ‘Emperor of the Romans’) in exchange of the sovereignty of Byzantium over the Venetian littoral and Dalmatia. The birth of a second empire had long-lasting consequences in the history of Italy. In the institutional architecture with which Charlemagne organized his vast domination, Italy became a reign, the so-called *Regnum Italicum*, naturally projected to enlarge its authority over the whole peninsula. In the moments when the Italian crown was united with that of the western emperor – under Lothar I (820–855), Louis II (855–875) or the Saxon dynasty (962–1024) – the conflict between the two empires in southern Italy became more and more acute, for territorial competitions were enhanced by a strong ideological superstructure.¹⁰⁰

6 Fighting with Islām on the Western Frontier of the Byzantine Empire in the 9th Century

In certain aspects, the political revolutions which occurred in the peninsula during the 8th century had their origins in southern Italy. The centrality that Sicily, Calabria and Sardinia (which was targeted by a Lombard attack in the age of Liutprand) played in the Isaurian age was only the epiphenomenon of the most important event that took place at the end of the 7th century, namely the conquest of North Africa by the Muslims.¹⁰¹ From this period onwards, Sicily, as we have already seen, underwent a process of militarization

97 Gelichi et al., “History of a Forgotten Town”, pp. 169–205; Gelichi, “Comacchio: A Liminal Community”.

98 Gasparri, “The Formation of an Early Medieval Community”, pp. 35–50.

99 Borri, “L’Istria tra Bisanzio e i Franchi”, pp. 297–323.

100 Cosentino, *Storia dell’Italia bizantina*, pp. 280–285.

101 Kaegi, “The Islamic Conquest”, p. 72.

that gradually changed its social structure from how it was in Antiquity. In the late 7th or early 8th century a long-sighted planning of territorial defence was initiated that involved the building of military structures for the housing and supply of troops along the main communication routes within the island, such as the Kassar of Castronuovo, perhaps an *aplēkton*.¹⁰² Traces of militarization of the rural landscape are also evident in Calabria during the same period, where large 'enceintes-refuges' were put into operation, as that of Tiriolo on a hilltop site aimed at giving shelter to the civil population.¹⁰³ Eighth-century Calabria witnessed an intense activity involving the refoundation of bishoprics, hellenization and fortification of settlements.¹⁰⁴ The situation in Sardinia remains less clear, but there is no doubt that the Greek element also rose in importance there.¹⁰⁵

The vitality and concurrent political unrest in 8th-century Sicily was marked by the rebellions of two Sicilian generals, the abovementioned Sergius in 717–718 and Elpidius in 781.¹⁰⁶ In 826 another high official of the Sicilian army, the turmarc Euphemius, rebelled.¹⁰⁷ After killing the governor of the island, he defeated an army sent against him by Emperor Michael II, but thereafter he was forced by his former fellows to escape to Qayrawān. Here he asked for the help of Ziyādāt Allāh, the emir of the Aghlabids. From Tunisia, he disembarked at Mazara in 827 with a contingent of Muslim troops headed by Asad b. al-Furat. Euphemius was killed the following year at Castrogiovanni (Enna), but the invaders remained on Sicily and began conquering it. These events allegedly occurred in the same year in which a force of Andalusian Muslims disembarked on Crete; and yet, whereas the occupation of Crete took about fifteen years (the crucial period was from 827 to 843), that of Sicily was achieved in a much longer period (from 827 to 902). Scholars have explained the length of the war according to three basic factors: first, the weakness of the military forces on the ground of both parties; second, the necessity for the Muslims to consolidate their position before undertaking new conquests; third, the Aghlabids themselves did not have an interest in stopping guerrilla warfare

102 The site is currently being excavated by an Italian-British team: Molinari, "Fortified and unfortified settlements", pp. 324–327.

103 Noyé, "L'économie de la Calabre", p. 342.

104 Noyé, "L'économie de la Calabre", p. 371.

105 Cosentino, "Byzantine Sardinia", pp. 337–351.

106 On Sergius's rebellion see above no. 72; on Elpidius: Kislinger, "Elpidios (781/782)", pp. 193–202.

107 Prigent, "La carrière du tourmarque Euphémios", pp. 278–317.

made up of continuous raids and booty.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps one can also add to these three factors the presence of fortified settlements that had been built during the 8th century, resulting in a strongly militarised landscape.

While the Muslim conquest was gradually progressing in Sicily, the importance of Calabria increased in the eyes of the Constantinopolitan government. After the conquest of Syracuse, the mint was transferred to Reggio Calabria, where it continued to operate until the 920s.¹⁰⁹ In 885/886, Muslim troops from Sicily occupied the fortified settlements of Tropea, Amantea and Santa Severina.¹¹⁰ In 901 they sacked Reggio Calabria. The presence of the Muslims affected not only the stability of the Byzantine territories, but involved the entire political scenario of the *Mezzogiorno*, or southern Italy, eventually reaching the city of Rome.¹¹¹ In 839 groups of Saracens occupied Brindisi and Taranto; in 846 they raided Rome; in 847 they took possession of Bari, where they implanted an emirate which lasted until 871. In 881 and 883 the Benedictine abbeys of San Vincenzo al Volturno and Montecassino were sacked. In 880s Saracen pirates settled at the mouth of the Garigliano River, from which they carried out devastating incursions on Rome and the territories surrounding their own settlement. The Muslim presence in southern Italy was an element of political fragmentation, which was accrued by the disintegration of the duchy of Benevento during the middle of the 9th century.¹¹² Such fragmentation considerably augmented the state of conflict in the *Mezzogiorno*, whose principalities began to use Muslim mercenaries in their conflicts with each other.

Stopping Muslim expansionism was the motivation that encouraged Byzantine emperors to seek cooperation with the Carolingian rulers. Initially it was Theophilus (829–842) who proposed joint action in the Adriatic to Emperor

108 Basically, in a first phase the Muslims conquered western Sicily, by consolidating their dominium in Palermo (827–831); in a second phase (831–858/859), they progressed until the conquest of two important strongholds, Cefalù and Castrogiovanni, whose occupation permitted the attack against eastern Sicily; in a third phase (858/859–902), they advanced in the east until the capture of Syracuse (878) and Taormina (902). See Nef/Prigent, “Guerroyer pour la Sicile”, pp. 14–19.

109 Castrizio, “La zecca bizantina di Reggio”, pp. 859–861.

110 See Noyé’s two articles “Byzance et Italie méridionale”, pp. 230–231; and “La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands”, pp. 96–104.

111 Muslim presence in southern Italy: Gabrieli, “Storia cultura e civiltà”, pp. 109–147; Metcalfe, *The Muslims in Medieval Italy*; Marazzi, “Ita ut facta videatur”, pp. 159–202; Di Branco, Wolf, “Terra di conquista?”, pp. 125–165; Rome: Gantner, “New Visions of Community”, pp. 403–426; Di Branco, 915. *La battaglia del Garigliano*. See also the contribution by Annliese Nef in this volume.

112 Cosentino, *Storia dell’Italia bizantina*, p. 247.

Lothar I (820–855) with no results; then Basil I (867–889) and Louis II (855–875) tried to cooperate in order to recapture Bari, but still again the project failed, as the city was freed by Louis in 871 without the support of the Byzantine fleet.¹¹³ Despite these failures, competition with the Carolingian empire combined with the Muslim attacks against Istria (841) and Ragusa (867–868) pushed the Constantinopolitan government to reinforce its military presence in the southern Adriatic by potentiating the theme of Cephalonia and the base of Otranto. Byzantine troops from Otranto came to the aid of Bari when the city was about to succumb once again to the Muslims. The city was relieved by the imperial *primicerius* Gregory, who, after having occupied it, sent its leaders to Constantinople so that they could submit themselves to the emperor. Aio of Benevento retook possession of Bari in 886; but this ephemeral success provoked the Byzantine counteroffensive led by general Symbatichios, who in 891 entered Benevento.¹¹⁴ Some years later, the imperial authorities abandoned the city, but in any case, these events were great successes for Byzantium in southern Italy. A large part of the duchy of Benevento (central and northern Apulia as well as Lucania) and of the principality of Salerno (southern Calabria) had been reconquered. At the beginning of the 10th century, all of the potentates of the complicated political scenario of southern Italy – apart from the Muslims – recognized the nominal sovereignty of Byzantium. The growth of its prestige was measured by the destruction of the nest at the Garigliano, achieved by the *stratēgos* of Langobardia, Nicola Picingli in 915.

7 Byzantium and Southern Italy in the 10th and 11th Century: Power and Society

The conquests acquired by Byzantium in Apulia and Calabria during the reign of Basil I conferred to the Eastern Empire a renowned prestige at the eyes of the Italian elites.¹¹⁵ It is not by chance that the military coalition led by Picingli (incidentally, a Latin family name) also included Atenulf II, prince of Capua and Benevento, John II and Docibile II, the dukes of Gaeta, Gregory duke of Naples and troops sent by Pope John X, who had been the architect of the initiative.¹¹⁶ It also appears that between 938 and 940 Byzantine contingents

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 247–248.

¹¹⁴ Regarding these events see von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, pp. 20–25.

¹¹⁵ However, Basil I failed to retake possession of Sicily, despite the organisation of six expeditions under his reign organised to achieve this purpose (the first in 868, two in 878, followed by others in 880, 882/3, 885/6): Nef and Prigent, “Guerroyer pour la Sicile”, p. 20.

¹¹⁶ Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, p. 248.

were able to return to Sicily by occupying the north-eastern point of the island (Messina, Rametta and Taormina).¹¹⁷ The Italian territories were reorganised by the Byzantine government in essentially two blocks: the theme of *Langobardia* (since 970 referred to as the catepanate of Italy, and the duchy of Italy after 1057) and that of Calabria.¹¹⁸ These two provinces mirrored cultural and socioeconomic situations very different from each other. Calabria and Lucania were inhabited by large groups of Greek-speakers. Their aristocratic components were endowed with small and fractioned portions of land; from the point of view of economic substance, they did not demonstrate much difference in comparison with owners that did not have titles of rank.¹¹⁹ The Presbyterianoï, an eminent family of Stilo, in 1054 divided the landed properties of seven brothers among fourteenth heirs.¹²⁰ Among the Calabrese 'gentry' there emerged very few truly important aristocratic families, as the Maleinoi from Stilo or the Mesimerioi from Catanzaro.¹²¹ A similar social profile can also be applied to the local Apulian ruling class as far as its landed ownership is concerned. In Apulia, the big difference was that the vast majority of population was Latin-speaking, excepting a few Greek enclaves like Taranto or Salento. Aside from the upper echelons of the thematic administration, which often came from the Balkans or Asia Minor,¹²² the central government involved local aristocrats in the functioning of the bureaucratic machine by giving them minor offices or by granting them titles of rank. Single members of the Apulian aristocracy concurrently bore Lombard and Byzantine titles. For centuries, Byzantium had been influencing the key notions of political culture in southern Italy. The sphere of authority exercised by an individual could be significantly enhanced by the role he had in the imperial hierarchy. For this reason, members of the Lombard aristocracy often requested to be admitted in the imperial *taxis* (the administrative hierarchical order), as Landulf I did in 921, who after killing the *stratēgos* of Langobardia unsuccessfully requested the murdered officer's position.¹²³

117 Prigent, "La politique sicilienne", pp. 83–84. Skepticism about this reconquest was expressed by Kislinger/Maurici, "Rometta nel contesto del conflitto", p. 119, n. 89.

118 See the contribution of Prigent in this same volume.

119 Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, pp. 100–102.

120 The document can be read in C. Giannelli, A. Guillou, and S.G. Mercati, *Saint-Jean Théristsès (1054–1266)* (CAG, vol. 5), Vatican City 1980, no. 5.

121 Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, p. 101.

122 Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, pp. 111–116; von Falkenhausen, "A Provincial Aristocracy", pp. 211–235; Cheynet, "La place des catépans d'Italie", pp. 143–161.

123 Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, p. 251.



MAP 1.3 Byzantine Italy (9th–11th century)
© COSENTINO, LAMANNA

In both Calabria and Apulia the biggest landowners were the ecclesiastical institutions or monastic foundations. In Calabria, bishoprics such as Reggio Calabria or Oppido seem to have been the most powerful landowners. Similarly, Apulia housed influential Benedictine abbeys such as San Vincenzo al Volturno or San Benedetto of Montecassino, whose abbots obtained several privileges from the *stratēgoi* of Langobardia (which were confirmed by Emperors Romanus I and Constantine VII).¹²⁴ Often, ecclesiastical or monastic goods were leased to members of the aristocracy by means of emphyteusis contracts. As in other provinces of the Byzantine Empire, still in southern Italy local elites patronised the refurbishment of churches or foundation of monasteries. Patronising monasteries was a common practice, since the new foundations became part of the family's patrimony and were managed by the founder.¹²⁵ A dozen of private foundations are known from sources across Basilicata (Calvera), Calabria (Oriolo, Rossano, Gerace), and Apulia (Bari). Motivations that led to such a practice originated certainly from religious devotion, but they also had economic and even political implications. The establishment of a monastery could be thought of as a profitable investment for a family thanks to the offerings it received from the churchgoers. Monasteries situated in rural areas could accrue the social influence of their patrons over their local communities or, if they had a fortified structure (as is documented in a charter from Oriolo dated to 1015¹²⁶), acted as nuclei of organisation for the rural populations. High dignitaries as *stratēgoi* or catepans preferred to exercise their role as patrons of pious foundations in their native regions, nevertheless, there is some evidence of them sometimes granting public goods to private citizens, churches or monasteries.¹²⁷

The periods of most intense military effort for the empire in southern Italy (namely 867–891 and 983–1043) paralleled a conspicuous activity in territorial planning realised by means of the foundation of new bishoprics and settlements. In the late 9th to the early 10th century this activity was essentially aimed at repopulating the newly conquered areas and placing them within the Greek ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In Apulia, Monopoli, Polignano, Giovinazzo (on the coast), Andria, Minervino, Bitetto, Montemilone, Gravina, Tricarico (central Apulia), Vaccarizza, and Vieste (northern Apulia) were founded; likewise in Lucania, Tursi, and Montescaglioso; in Calabria, Pentadattilo,

124 Ibid., p. 249.

125 Cilento, *Potere e monachesimo*, pp. 131–165.

126 See the document in F. Trinchera, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum*, Naples 1865, no. 15.

127 Von Falkenhausen, "A Provincial Aristocracy", 214–215; Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, p. 94.

Bova, Sant'Agata, San Martino, Mesiano, Stilo, Nicastro, Amantea, Isola of Capo Rizzuto, Santa Severina, Acerenza, Umbriatico, and Malvito.¹²⁸ Catepan Basil Boioannes (1019–1028) promoted the building of new castles in the Capitanata and Gargano, as well as in Rapolla, Melfi, Cisterna, Troia, Biccari, Tertiveri, Montecorvino, Fiorentino, Dragonara, Civitate, Ripalta, and Devia. Similarly, in Calabria new foundations were established in Oppido, Mileto, Catanzaro, Taverna, Martirano, Aiello, Scalea, Castoregio, and Oriolo during the 11th century.¹²⁹ In the areas which came under Byzantine control, the empire introduced the same fiscal institutions known in its eastern provinces.¹³⁰

8 Politics and Competition in an Open Society: the End of Byzantine Italy

Throughout the first half of the 10th century Byzantium remained the dominant power in southern Italy. There were intense relationships with the Lombard principalities and the Tyrrhenian duchies documented in chapter 48 of the *De cerimoniis* by Constantine VII Porphyrogennitos, in which the emperor prescribes the diplomatic formulas to be used when corresponding with the Italian potentates.¹³¹ The political scenario changed with the imperial coronation of Otto I in 962, which gave rise to a new phase of the ideological competition between the two empires. Pandulf I, prince of Capua and Benevento, swore allegiance to him. For his part, Nicephorus II in 963 launched a big expedition against Muslim Sicily, led by his nephew Manuel Phokas, and Niketas, the droungarios of the fleet. Had it been successful, it could have enormously enhanced Byzantium's prestige within the local societies in all of southern Italy, but the expedition failed, and Manuel Phokas himself fell on the battlefield. In 965 a revolt broke out in Rossano against the *magistros* Nicephorus Hexakionites, the first catepan of Italy. Otto I tried to take advantage of this situation and in 968 campaigned in southern Italy; at the same time, he sent his ambassador, Bishop Liutprand of Cremona, to Constantinople in order to negotiate a royal wedding between a Byzantine princess and his son, Otto II.¹³² Truthfully, the conflict protracted, with a low intensity, until the marriage between Teophano and Otto II was celebrated in April 973.¹³³ The latter

128 Martin/Noyé, "Les villes de l'Italie byzantine", pp. 33–35.

129 Ibid., pp. 31–34.

130 Von Falkenhausen, "Amministrazione fiscale", especially pp. 534–548.

131 Martin, "L'Occident chrétien", pp. 617–637.

132 Treadgold, *History of the Byzantine State*, p. 504.

133 Ibid., p. 510.

personally led his army against the Muslims in 982, but he was defeated and died the following year. Under the reign of Otto III (983–1002) the situation remained calm, but in 1022 Henry II (1002–1024) descended with an army to Capitanata, besieging Troia unsuccessfully; afterward he returned to Germany. In Bamberg he received Melo, an aristocrat from Bari who had rebelled against Byzantium and appointed him *dux Apuliae*. However, Melo died in 1020 and the Saxon emperor was unable to use him as a pawn against Basil II.

After the death of Henry II, the Byzantine court once again was struck with the idea of recapturing Sicily. The re-conquest of the island would not only have increased the prestige of the Eastern Empire vis à vis the western one, but it would also have presented a real element for the pacification of the military situation in the *Mezzogiorno*. Although Sicily had fragmented during the 10th century into a plurality of small potentates, the periodical raids launched from her against Christian territories continued to be very dangerous for Christian communities. During the 10th century, the entire region of Calabria was plundered and sacked periodically. In 988, 994, and 997 the Saracens raided several locations in Apulia. Towards the end of the 10th century, a renegade named Luca settled at Pietrapertosa, near Tricarico (Matera), and spread fear and insecurity in the surrounding region until 1002.¹³⁴ At the height of his prestige, Basil II sent a large army headed by the *koitonitēs* Orestes into southern Italy. In the projected expedition against Sicily the brilliant catepan Basil Boioannes was also involved; but shortly after the landing of the army on Sicily, Boiannes was recalled from Italy and Orestes was defeated.¹³⁵ In 1035 the Byzantines were again in Sicily. From 1038 the operations were conducted by one of the best generals of the empire, George Maniakes, who achieved significant successes by recapturing Messina and Rometta, and by defeating the enemies at Troina in 1040. However, in 1042 the new empress, Zoe, worried about rumours that Maniakes wanted to usurp the throne, recalled him from Sicily. Unfortunately, during this decade the political and military situation in Apulia was also dangerously worsening for the Byzantine regime. Argyrus, Melus of Bari's son, rebelled against Constantinople with the aid of Norman mercenaries. Maniakes, therefore, was sent by Emperor Michael V for a second time to Italy in order to suppress the revolt, but soon after his deposition (April 1402), the new emperor, Constantine IX, changed the plan. He successfully sought a reconciliation with Argyrus by means of diplomatic tools and once again summoned George Maniakes to Constantinople. This time, the general openly

134 Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, p. 251.

135 Ibid., p. 264.

rebelled and marched with his army towards Constantinople, but died on his way to the capital at Ostrovo, in Macedonia.¹³⁶

The appearance of the Normans in the political scenario of southern Italy during the 1030s, set in motion processes of competition among the local potentates that had been already experienced with the Muslims two centuries earlier. The newcomers were employed as mercenaries by Guaimarius, prince of Salerno, Pandulf, prince of Capua, as well as Sergius, duke of Naples and Melus of Bari; a group of them was enrolled in the Byzantine army that attempted the recapture of Sicily in 1038.¹³⁷ In short, they became an essential military element for all parties competing for power in southern Italy. They do not seem to have been characterized by a great sense of ethnic cohesion,¹³⁸ but the contradictory attitude showed toward them by the local lordships made it possible that they became masters of political life. In the early 1050s Byzantium, the papacy, the Lombard principalities, and even the Western Empire had realized that the Normans constituted a real threat to their own interests in southern Italy. Thanks to Argyrus, to whom the Byzantine government had granted in 1051 the pompous title of “duke of Italy, Calabria, Sicily, and Paflagonia”, an anti-Norman coalition was created, which included Byzantine, papal, and western imperial forces. Yet this heterogeneous alliance was defeated at Civitate in 1053.¹³⁹ After this event, the relationship between the papacy and the patriarchate of Constantinople worsened, and in 1054 they resulted in the excommunication of Michael Cerularius. Pope Nicholas II in 1059 met the Normans leaders at Melfi and appointed Robert Guiscard as duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, while Richard of Aversa was endowed with the county of Capua. The conferred territories had not yet been conquered; the papal act was nothing more than a political programme for the future, as the former appointment as duke of Italy conferred to Argyrus by Emperor Constantine IX had been. However, the outcome of the two decisions turned out to be completely different, for the Norman leaders were able to realize what had previously been a simple wish for the future. In that same year of 1059, they took possession of Reggio Calabria; in 1071 they captured Bari, the seat of the catepan of Italy; and

136 Ibid., p. 265. On Maniakes's career see also von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, pp. 95–96.

137 Expansion of the Normans into southern Italy: Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 92–145.

138 Nicol, “Simbiosis and Integration”, pp. 113–135; McQueen, “Relations between the Normans and Byzantium”, pp. 435–436, 449–450.

139 Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, p. 252.

in 1072 they entered Palermo.¹⁴⁰ Thus, the direct dominion of the Byzantine Empire on the peninsula formally came to an end.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Le "Liber Pontificalis". Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Dushesne, 2 vols. Paris 1886–1892.
- ACO 2. *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum*, vol. 1, ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin 1984.
- Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum*, edd. P. Ewald/ L.M. Hartmann, in *MGH, Epp.* 2 vols. Berlin 1887–1899.
- Justinian, *Novellae*, edd. R. Schoell/ W. Kroll, *CJC*, vol. 3, Dublin 1968 (8th edition).
- Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, edd. J. Haury/ G. Wirth, in *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1962, pp. 4–678.
- Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1895 (repr. Hildesheim 1980).

Secondary Literature

- Arnaldi, G., "Le origini del Patrimonio di S. Pietro", in G. Arnaldi et alii (eds.) *Comuni e signorie nell'Italia nordorientale e centrale: Lazio, Umbria e Marche, Lucca* (Storia d'Italia, edited by G. Galasso, VII, 2), Turin 1987, pp. 112–134.
- Ausbüttel, F., "Die Curialen und Stadt-magistrate Ravennas im späten 5. und 6. Jahrhundert", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 67 (1987), 207–14.
- Bertolini, O., "Quale fu il vero obbiettivo assegnato in Italia da Leone III Isaurico all'armata di Manes, stratego dei Cibyrraeoti?", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 2 (1967), 15–49.
- Bertolini, O., *Roma di fronte a Bisanzio e ai Longobardi*, Rome 1941.
- Bjornlie, M.S., *Politics and Tradition between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople: A Study of Cassiodorus and the Variae, 527–554*, Cambridge 2013.
- Booth, P., *Crisis of Empire. Doctrine and Dissent at the End of Late Antiquity*, Berkeley 2014.
- Borri, F., "L'Istria tra Bisanzio e i Franchi: istituzioni, identità e potere", in Martin/ Peters-Custot/ Prigent, *L'héritage byzantin en Italie*, vol. 2, pp. 297–323.
- Brandes, W., "Pejorative Phantomnamen im 8. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik des Theophanes und deren Konsequenzen für die historische Forschung", in L.M. Hoffmann/ A. Monchizadeh (eds.), *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, Wiesbaden 2005, pp. 93–125.
- Brown, T.S., *Gentlemen and Officers. Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554–800*, Rome 1984.

140 Ibid., pp. 252–253.

- Brown, T.S./Christie, N., "Was There a Byzantine Model of Settlement in Italy?" *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge – Temps Modernes* 101/2 (1989), 377–399.
- Brubaker, L./ Haldon, J., *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680–850. A History*, Cambridge 2011.
- Calaon, D./ Gelichi, S./Grandi, E./ Negrelli, C., "History of a forgotten town: Comacchio and its archaeology", in S. Gelichi/ R. Hodges (eds.), *From One Sea to Another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Age* (Seminari SAAME, 3), Turnhout 2012, pp. 169–205.
- Capo, L., *Il Liber Pontificalis, i Longobardi e la nascita del dominio territoriale della chiesa di Roma*, Spoleto 2009.
- Carile, A., "Continuità e mutamento nei ceti dirigenti dell'Esarcato fra VII e IX secolo", in *Istituzioni e società nell'alto medioevo marchigiano*, Ancona 1983, pp. 115–145.
- Carile, A., "Terre militari, funzioni e titoli bizantini nel 'Breviarium'", in A. Vasina (ed.), *Ricerche e studi sul 'Breviarium ecclesiae Ravennatis' (Codice Bavaro)* (Studi Storici, 148–149), Rome 1985, pp. 81–94.
- Caruso, S., "Sulla rivolta dello stratego Sergio", in F. Conca (ed.), *Byzantina Mediolanensia. V Congresso Nazionale di Studi Bizantini*, Soveria Mannelli 1996, pp. 87–95.
- Castrizio, D., "La zecca bizantina di Reggio dopo la conquista araba di Siracusa", in B. Kluge/ B. Weisser (eds.), *XII. Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress Berlin 1997. Akten – Proceedings – Actes*, vol. 2, Berlin 2000, pp. 859–861.
- Cheynet, J.-C., "La place des catépans d'Italie dans la hiérarchie militaire et sociale de Byzance", *Nea Rhômē. Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 4 (2007), 143–161.
- Christides, V., "The Second Arab Siege of Constantinople (717–718?): Logistics and Naval Power", in D. Bumazhnov/E. Grypeou/T.B. Sailors/A. Toepel (eds.), *Bibel, Byzanz und christlicher Orient: Festschrift für Stephen Gerö zum 65. Geburtstag* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 187), Leuven 2011, pp. 511–533.
- Cilento, A., *Potere e monachesimo. Ceti dirigenti e mondo monastico nella Calabria bizantina*, Florence 2000.
- Corsi, P., *La spedizione italiana di Costante II*, Bologna 1983.
- Cosentino, S., "L'iscrizione ravennate dell'esarco Isacio e le guerre di Rotari", *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Antiche Province Modenesi* 11 (1993), 23–43.
- Cosentino, S., "Il ceto dei viri honesti (οἱ αἰδέσιμοι ἄνδρες) nell'Italia tardoantica e bizantina", *Bizantinistica. Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi*, s. 2a, 1 (1999), 13–50.
- Cosentino, S., "Byzantine Sardinia Between West and East. Features of a Regional Culture", *Millennium* 1 (2004), 329–367.
- Cosentino, S., "Politica e fiscalità nell'Italia bizantina (secc. VI–VIII)", in A. Augenti (ed.), *Le città italiane tra la tarda Antichità e l'alto Medioevo*, Florence 2006, pp. 37–53.

- Cosentino, S., "Constans II and the Byzantine Navy", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 100 (2007), 577–630.
- Cosentino, S., *Storia dell'Italia bizantina (VI–XI secolo). Da Giustiniano ai Normanni*, Bologna 2008.
- Cosentino, S., "Economia e fiscalità nei 'secoli oscuri': in margine alla questione dei *kommerkiarioi*", in R. Gentile Messina (ed.), *Bisanzio e le periferie dell'impero*, Rome 2011, pp. 59–72.
- Cosentino, S., "Istituzioni curiali e amministrazione della città nell'Italia ostrogota e bizantina", *Antiquité Tardive* 26 (2018), 241–254.
- Cosentino, S., "Potere e autorità nell'esarcato in età post-bizantina", in Martin/Peters-Custot/Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie*, vol. 2, pp. 279–295.
- Delogu, P., "Il regno longobardo", in P. Delogu/ A. Guillou/ G. Ortalli, *Longobardi e Bizantini* (Storia d'Italia, edited by G. Galasso, vol. 1), Turin 1980, pp. 3–216.
- Delogu, P., "The Papacy, Rome and the Wider World in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries", in J.M.H. Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West. Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, Leiden 2000, pp. 197–220.
- Di Branco, M., 915. *La battaglia del Garigliano. Cristiani e musulmani nell'Italia medievale*, Bologna 2019.
- Di Branco/M., Wolf, K., "Terra di conquista? I musulmani in Italia meridionale nell'epoca aghlabita (184/800–269/909)", in M. Di Branco/K. Wolf (eds.), *"Guerra santa" e conquiste islamiche nel Mediterraneo (VII–XI secolo)*, Rome 2014, pp. 125–165.
- Di Carpegna Falconieri, T., "La *militia* a Roma: il formarsi di una nuova aristocrazia (secoli VII–VIII)", in Martin/ Peters-Custot/ Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie*, vol. 2, pp. 559–583.
- Di Paola, L., "Vita cittadina e 'ordo decurionum' in Cassiodoro: alcuni casi esemplificativi", in *Teoderico il Grande e i Goti d'Italia*, vol. 2, Spoleto 1988, pp. 655–668.
- Ekonomou, A.J., *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, A.D. 590–752*, Lanham 2007.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Amministrazione fiscale nell'Italia meridionale bizantina (secoli IX–XI)", in Martin/ Peters-Custot/ Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie*, vol 2, pp. 533–556.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo*, Bari 1978 (originally published as *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1967).
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "A Provincial Aristocracy: The Byzantine Provinces in Southern Italy (9th–11th Century)", in M. Angold (ed.), *The Byzantine Aristocracy 9th to 13th Century* (BAR International Series, 221), Oxford 1984 pp. 211–235.
- Fasoli, G., "Il patrimonio della chiesa ravennate", in A. Carile (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna. Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, vol. 2/1, Venice 1991, pp. 389–400.
- Gabrieli, F., "Storia cultura e civiltà degli Arabi in Italia", in F. Gabrieli/ U. Scerrato (eds.), *Gli Arabi in Italia. Cultura, contatti, tradizioni*, Milan 1979, pp. 15–269.

- Gantner, C., "New visions of community in Ninth-century Rome: The impact of the Saracen threat on the papal world view", in C. Gantner/ W. Pohl/ R. Payne (eds.), *Visions of Community in the Post-Roman World. The West, Byzantium and the Islamic World, 300–1100*, Farnham 2012, pp. 403–426.
- Gasparri, S., "The formation of an early medieval community: Venice between provincial and urban identity", in V. West-Harling (ed.), *Three Empires, Three Cities: Identity, Material Culture and Legitimacy in Venice, Ravenna and Rome, 750–1000* (Seminari SAAME, 6), Turnhout 2015, pp. 35–50.
- Gelichi, S., "Comacchio: A Liminal Community in A Nodal Point during the Early Middle Ages", in S. Gelichi/S. Gasparri, *Venice and Its Neighbors from the 8th to the 11th Century through Renovation and Continuity*, Leiden 2018, pp. 142–167.
- Guillou, A., *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'empire byzantine au VII^e siècle. L'exemple de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie* (Studi Storici, 75–76), Rome 1969.
- Haldon, J., *The Empire That Would Not Die. The Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival, 640–740*, Cambridge Mass. 2016.
- Harper, K., *The Fate of Rome. Climate, Disease, and the End of an Empire*, Princeton 2017.
- Horden, P., "Mediterranean Plague in the Age of Justinian", in M. Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, Cambridge 2005, pp. 134–160.
- Howard-Johnston, J.D., *Witnesses to a World Crisis: Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century*, Oxford 2010.
- Jacobs, I., *Aesthetic Maintenance of Civic Space: The Classical City from the 4th to the 7th C. AD*, Leuven 2013.
- Jankowiak, M., "The first Arab siege of Constantinople", in C. Zuckerman (ed.), *Constructing the Seventh Century, Travaux et Mémoires* 17 (2013), pp. 237–320.
- Jones, A.H.M., *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602. A Social Economic and Administrative Survey*. 3 vols, Oxford 1964.
- Kaegi, W.E., "The Islamic Conquest and the Defense of Byzantine Africa. Reconsiderations on Campaigns, Conquests, and Contexts", in S.T. Stevens/ J.P. Conant (eds.), *North Africa Under Byzantium and Early Islam*, Washington D.C. 2016, pp. 65–86.
- Kislinger, E., "Elpidios (781/782) – ein Usurpator zur Unzeit", in *Byzantino-Sicula*, 111, *Miscellanea di scritti in memoria di B. Lavagnini*, Palermo 2000, pp. 193–202.
- Kislinger, E., Maurici, F., "Rometta nel contesto del conflitto arabo-bizantino (IX–X sec.) Topografia e monumenti, storia e geopolitica", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici* n. s. 51 (2014), pp. 97–136.
- Lamma, P., *Comneni e Staufer. Ricerche sui rapporti fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente nel secolo XII* (Studi Storici, 14–18), vol. 1, Rome 1955.
- Lange, C., *Mia Energeia. Untersuchungen zur Einigungspolitik des Kaisers Heraclius und des Patriarchen Sergius von Constantinopel* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 66), Tübingen 2012.
- Laniado, A., *Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l'empire protobyzantin* (Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance), Paris 2002.

- Leontsini, M., *Κωνσταντίνος Δ' (668–685). Ο τελευταίος πρωτοβυζαντινός αυτοκράτορας*, Athens 2006.
- Liebeschuetz, J.H.W.G., *Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, Oxford 2001.
- Loud, G.A., *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest*, London 2000.
- Marazzi, F., “Il conflitto fra Leone III Isaurico e il papato tra il 725 e il 733 e il ‘definitivo’ inizio del medioevo a Roma: un’ipotesi in discussione”, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 59 (1991), 213–257.
- Marazzi, F., *I “patrimonia sanctae Romanae ecclesiae” nel Lazio (secoli IV–X). Struttura amministrativa e prassi gestionali* (Nuovi Studi Storici, 37), Rome 1998.
- Marazzi, F., “*Ita ut facta videatur Neapolis Panormus vel Africa*. Geopolitica e presenza islamica nei domini di Napoli, Gaeta, Salerno e Benevento nel IX secolo”, *Schede Medievali* 45 (2007), 159–202.
- Martin, J.-M., “L’Occident chrétien dans le Livre de Cérémonies II, 48”, *Travaux et Mémoires* 13 (2000), 617–646.
- Martin, J.-M./ Noyé, Gh., “Les villes de l’Italie byzantine (IX^e–XI^e)”, in V. Kravari/ J. Lefort/ C. Morisson (eds.), *Hommes et richesses dans l’Empire byzantin, VIII^e–XV^e siècle* (Réalités byzantines, 3), vol. 2, Paris 1991, pp. 27–62.
- Martin, J.-M./Peters-Custot, A./, Prigent, V. (eds.), *L’héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 2, *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques* (Collection de l’École Française de Rome, 461), Rome 2012.
- McCormick, M., “The Imperial Edge: Italo-Byzantine Identity, Movement and Integration, A.D. 650–950”, in H. Ahrweiler/A.E. Laiou (eds.), *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, Washington D.C. 1998, pp. 17–52.
- McQueen, W.B., “Relations between the Normans and Byzantium, 1071–1112”, *Byzantion* 56 (1986), 427–476.
- Meier, M., *Justinian: Herrschaft, Reich, und Religion*, Munich 2004.
- Meier, M., “Die sogenannte Justinianische Pest und ihre Folgen”, in M. Meier (ed.), *Pest. Die Geschichte eines Menschheitstraumas*, Stuttgart 2005, pp. 86–107.
- Metcalfe, A., *The Muslims in Medieval Italy*, Edinburgh 2009.
- Miller, D.H., “The Roman Revolution of the Eighth Century: A Study of the Ideological Background of the Papal Separation from Byzantium and Alliance with the Franks”, *Medieval Studies* 36 (1974), 79–133.
- Molinari, A., “Fortified and unfortified settlements in Byzantine and Islamic Sicily: 6th to 11th century”, in N. Christie/ H. Herold (eds.), *Fortified Settlements in Early Medieval Europe. Defended Communities of the 8th–10th Centuries*, Oxford 2016, pp. 320–332.
- Montinaro, F., “Les premiers commerçants byzantins”, *Travaux et Mémoires* 17 (2013), 351–538.
- Montinaro, F., “Killing ‘Empire’: Goldilocks and the Three Byzantine Kommerkiarioi”, *The Journal of European Economic History* 46/2 (2017), 165–172.

- Mordechai, L., "Rejecting Catastrophe: The Case of the Justinianic Plague", *Past & Present* 244/1 (2019), 3–50.
- Morrisson, C./Seibt, W., "Sceaux de commerciaux byzantins du VII^e siècle trouvés à Carthage", *Revue Numismatique*, 4^e ser., 24 (1982), 222–239.
- Motta, D., "Politica dinastica e tensioni sociali nella Sicilia bizantina. Da Costante II a Costantino IV", *Mediterraneo Antico* 1 (1998), 659–683.
- Nef, A./Prigent, V., "Guerroyer pour la Sicile (827–902)", in M. Congiu/ S. Modeo/ L. Santagati (eds.), *La Sicilia del IX secolo tra Bizantini e Musulmani*, Caltanissetta 2013, pp. 13–40.
- Nichanian, M./Prigent, P., "Les stratégies de Sicile. De la naissance du thème au règne de Léon V", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 61 (2003), 97–141.
- Nicol, D.M., "Symbiosis and integration. Some Greco-Latin families in Byzantium in the 11th to 13th centuries", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 7 (1979), 113–135 (reprinted in D.M. Nicol, *Studies in Late Byzantine History and Prosopography*, London 1986, 111).
- Noyé, Gh., "Byzance et Italie méridionale", in L. Brubaker (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?*, Aldershot 1998, pp. 229–244.
- Noyé, Gh., "La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands", in E. Cuozzo/ J.-M. Martin (eds.), *Cavalieri alla conquista del Sud. Studi sull'Italia normanna in memoria di Léon-Robert Ménager*, Bari 1998, pp. 90–116.
- Noyé, Gh., "L'économie de la Calabre de la fin du VII^e au VIII^e siècle", in S. Cosentino (ed.), *L'Italia bizantina: una prospettiva economica*, special issue, *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 28 (2015), 323–388.
- Oikonomidès, N., "Une liste arabe de stratégies byzantins du VII^e siècle et les origines du thème de Sicile", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n. s., 1 (1964), 121–130.
- Paulis, G. *Lingua e cultura nella Sardegna bizantina. Testimonianze linguistiche dell'influsso greco*, Sassari 1983.
- Petersen, L.I.R., *Siege Warfare and Military Organization in the Successor States (400–800 AD). Byzantium, the West and Islam* (History of Warfare, 91), Leiden 2013.
- Prigent, V., "La carrière du tourmarque Euphémios, basileus des Romains", in A. Jacob/ J.-M. Martin/Gh. Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine: acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 363), Rome 2006, pp. 278–317.
- Prigent, V., "Le rôle des provinces d'Occident dans l'approvisionnement de Constantinople (618–717). Témoignages numismatique et sigillographique", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome-Âge* 118/2 (2006), 269–299.
- Prigent, V., "Note sur le topotèrètès de cité en Italie méridionale durant les siècles obscurs", in J.-C. Cheynet, C. Sode (eds.), *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, vol. 9, Munich 2006, pp. 145–159.
- Prigent, V., "La politique sicilienne de Romain I^{er} Lécapène", in D. Barthélemy/ J.-C. Cheynet (eds.), *Guerre et société au Moyen Âge: Byzance – Occident (VIII^e–XIII^e siècle)*, Paris 2010, pp. 63–84.

- Prigent, V., "La Sicile de Constant II: l'apport des sources sigillographiques", in A. Nef/ V. Prigent (eds.), *La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam*, Paris 2010, pp. 157–185.
- Prigent, V., "The Mobilization of Fiscal Resources in the Byzantine Empire (Eighth to Eleventh Centuries)", in J. Hudson/ A. Rodriguez (eds.), *Diverging Paths? The Shapes of Power and Institutions in Medieval Christendom and Islam*, Leiden 2014, pp. 182–220.
- Prigent, V., "Byzantine Military Forces in Sicily: Some Sigillographic Evidence", in H. Ivakin/ N. Khrapunov/ W. Seibt (eds.), *Byzantine and Rus' Seals: Proceedings of Rus'-Byzantine Sigillography*, Kiev 2015, pp. 161–176.
- Prigent, V., "Un confesseur de mauvaise foi. Notes sur les exactions financières de l'empereur Léon III en Italie du Sud", in S. Cosentino (ed.), *L'Italia bizantina: una prospettiva economica*, special issue, *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 28 (2015), 279–304.
- Prigent, V., "Des pères et des fils. Note de numismatique sicilienne pour servir à l'histoire du règne de Constantine IV", in O. Delouis/S. Métivier/P. Pages (eds.), *Le saint, le moine et le paysan. Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Michel Kaplan*, Paris 2016, pp. 589–616.
- Puliatti, S., "Le funzioni civili del vescovo in età giustiniana", *Athenaeum* 92/1 (2004), 139–68.
- Rapp, C., *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity. The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition*, Berkeley 2005.
- Ravegnani, G., *I Bizantini in Italia*, Bologna 2004.
- Recchia, V., *Gregorio Magno e la società agricola* (Verba Seniorum, 8), Rome 1978.
- Saradi, H., *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Images and Historical Reality*, Athens 2006.
- Stathakopoulos, D.C., *Famine and Pestilence in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Empire. A Systematic Survey of Subsistence Crises and Epidemics*, Aldershot 2004.
- Stein, E., *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. 2: *De la disparition de l'empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476–565)*, Amsterdam 1949.
- Stratos, A.N., *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, vol. 3, 642–668, Engl. transl. Amsterdam 1975.
- Stratos, A.N., "The exarch Olympius and the supposed Arab invasion of Sicily in AD 652", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 25 (1976), 63–73.
- Tabata, K., *Città dell'Italia nel VI secolo d. C.* (Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, a. 404, 2007, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche – Memorie, s. IX, vol. XXIII, fasc. 1.), Rome 2009.
- Treadgold, W., *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, Stanford 1997.
- Vallejo Girvés, M., *Hispania y Bizancio. Una relación desconocida*, Madrid 2012.

- Ward-Perkins, B., *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy A.D. 300–850*, Oxford 1984.
- Winkelman, F., *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit* (Berliner Byzantinische Studien 6), Frankfurt am Main 2001.
- Zuckerman, C., “Learning from the Enemy and More: Studies in ‘Dark Centuries’ Byzantium”, *Millennium* 2 (2006), 79–135.

Ecclesiastic Life and Its Institutions

Salvatore Cosentino

1 Introduction

The meaning of “life” in this chapter refers to a set of cultural, organisational and material elements concurring to characterise the existence of the “Church” as an institution, namely as a structured social body, from the 6th to the 11th century. Obviously, the perspective presented here is intended to exclusively address ecclesiastic life of Byzantine Italy rather than the complete religious history of Italy in the early Middle Ages. While there certainly existed a “Church” in Italy during the early Middle Ages, one wonders whether there were specific characteristics of ecclesiastic life in Byzantine Italy. It is possible to answer positively to such a question by envisaging two main features typical of Italo-Byzantine church history. First, from Late Antiquity until the 8th century, all the wealthiest and most influential episcopates (with the partial exception of Milan) developed themselves in regions under Byzantine control. Second, beginning with the first half of the 8th century, an area under the ecclesiastic jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople was created in southern Italy, in which some enclaves outlasted the political presence of Byzantium itself in the peninsula. For sake of clarity, this presentation shall be organised in three paragraphs. In the first, some basic information about ecclesiology will be given, with special reference to the relationships between Rome and Constantinople. In the second, a chronological overview of the doctrinal discussions and ecclesiastic debates which occurred in the Italo-Byzantine episcopate will be described. The final section will deal with the institutional and organisational aspects of the church in Byzantine Italy.

2 Ecclesiological Issues

After the age of Theodosius I, the mystic notion of a church as body composed of believers cemented together in the love of God went hand in hand with the increased presence of ecclesiastic structures in the public space. During the 5th century, the conditioning that the new religion gradually imposed upon the level of morality and social control was accompanied by a strong growth of

the church itself as an organized institution.¹ The complexity of its administration was influenced by the social, economic, and demographic environment in which it operated. At the first ecumenical council, held at Nicaea in 325, the prestige of the bishops that took part in it depended on both the importance of the cities in which they were seated and the antiquity of the local Christian communities (canons 4, 5, and 6).² In Nicaea, the church fathers recognised a special role in the episcopal hierarchy for the churches of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem on the basis of their ancient ecclesiastic traditions (canons 6 and 7). This hierarchy was modified in the second ecumenical council held at Constantinople in 381 in which, among the most prestigious sees, the church of Constantinople was also mentioned and attributed with an honorific rank after that of Rome (canon 3).³

The strong public role acquired by the church during the 5th century, along with the numerical growth of the community of faithful, meant that the occasions in which the episcopacy would find it necessary to regulate important aspects of dogma, liturgical practices, or orthodox morality would increase. In other words, an expanding Christianity brought with itself the problem of controlling and regulating its own beliefs and behaviours; in turn, this aspect would entail the recognition of a leadership or primacy among bishops in case of conflict. With regards to this, one can state that from the 5th to the 7th century, no clear solution concerning the problem of episcopal authority was found. Roughly speaking, some shared practices were put into action; however, the ecclesiological justification of these practices was accepted only by the party that proposed them. The disputes over the nature of Christ in the 5th century made it clear that the problem of ecclesiastic primacy mainly concerned the relationships between the churches of Rome and Constantinople. Despite the modest origins of his church, it was impossible to ignore the fact that the bishop of Constantinople was seated on the chair of the imperial city, if only for the strong interplay between religion and politics. Whereas the council of Constantinople of 381 attributed a dignity to his bishop which was purely honorific, the council of Chalcedon of 451 awarded this titular with jurisdiction over the dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace.⁴ Canon 28 of Chalcedon granted Rome primacy in ecclesiastic precedence as former capital of the Roman Empire. Yet, such an ecclesiology was strongly refused by Roman

1 General overviews: Gaudemet, *L'église dans l'empire romain*; Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, pp. 873–937; Wipszycka, *Storia della chiesa*.

2 Joannou, *Discipline générale*, pp. 26–29.

3 Joannou, *Discipline générale*, p. 47.

4 Joannou, *Discipline générale*, p. 91.

pontiffs. As matter of fact, Pope Leo I (440–461) did not accept canon 28, for it disregarded his key concept regarding Roman ecclesiastic primacy,⁵ which had been based on Petrine ideology since the second half of the 3rd century.⁶ According such a doctrine – based upon Matthew 16:18: “and I say to you that you are Peter, and on this rock will my church be based” – the episcopal office of the apostle Peter would have been inherited by the bishop of Rome, who would act as *vice Petri* (as a vicar of Peter). Leo I specified the contents of this conception by arguing that Christ gifted Peter alone the primacy within the apostolic assembly. As a result, Peter’s authority over the other apostles shared the power of Christ himself.⁷ The refusal of an ecclesiology mixing principles of religious and political authority was strongly reaffirmed by Pope Gelasius I (492–496) within the climate of the Acacian schism. Gelasius I supported the right of the Roman church to act as the supreme ecclesiastic court with no necessity to recur to a council just by claiming a continuity between Roman pontiffs and Peter’s teachings.⁸ Moreover, he argued for a clear separation between episcopal and imperial functions.⁹

Byzantine theologians would interpret Matthew 16:18–19 differently than the Roman church. For them the significance of “rock” meant the faith professed by Peter, in a sense according to which without his faith (“rock”), the church would not have existed in the world.¹⁰ During the 6th century and later, the Gelasian paradigm of separation of powers proved to be difficult to realize within the context of the history of Byzantine Empire. Gelasius had reserved the task of bringing salvation the human being solely to the episcopal body, while according to late Roman and Byzantine ideology, such an action would have been shared by secular kingship. Even if the emperor did not have the right to establish dogmas, his office obliged him to preserve religious orthodoxy among

5 Leo, *Epistulae* in *PL* 54, nos. 105 (to Pulcheria *augusta*), 106 (to Anatolios, bishop of Constantinople), 119 (to Maximus, bishop of Antioch).

6 Maccarrone, “Sedes apostolica – vicarius Petri”, pp. 8–15; Blaudeau, *Le siège de Rome*, pp. 197–211.

7 Leo, *Tractatus Septem et Nonaginta* [Sermons], ed. A. Chavasse (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 138–138A), 2 vols., Turnholt 1973, no. 83, 1–2.

8 Gelasius, *Epistulae*, no. 10.9–10 (year 493) to Faustus *magister*.

9 See the famous letter sent by Gelasius I to Emperor Anastasius of 494: Gelasius, *Epistulae*, no. 12. 2–3.

10 See Meyendorff’s two texts, *Byzantine Theology*, pp. 97–99; and “St. Peter in Byzantine Theology”, pp. 69–75; Spiteris, *La critica bizantina del primato*, pp. 1–23. Even in the Carolingian ecclesiology the transmission of the keys to Peter is not seen as referred personally to Peter but to all apostles and their successors: Savigni, “Ruolo storico e teologia del papato”, p. 51.

his subjects.¹¹ This was both theorised and practised by Justinian throughout his long reign. Justinian agreed with the idea that priesthood (*hierosynē*) and kingship (*basileia*) were both divine gifts aimed towards achieving Christian duties (the first) and concerns for secular affairs (the second).¹² However, he emphasised and wished for cooperation, namely agreement (*harmonia*), between the two powers more than a separation of their functions; this interpretation would find in subsequent centuries a long application in the ecclesiology of the Byzantine Empire. Justinian acknowledged the primacy of Rome, not because of the Petrine ideology, but because he envisaged it as based upon a mystic union between the old and new Rome. The behaviour he exhibited during the ecumenical council of Constantinople in 553, acting as a decisive and intrusive protagonist, reflects the high role he assigned to his leadership for eschatological salvation. In the ecclesiological praxis of Late Antiquity, the principle that orthodox creed was established by consensus among the more authoritative patriarchates of Christianity, namely Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem – the *pentarchia*, that is, “the government of the fives” – found a *de facto* application. Yet contrary to what is to occur during the first half of the 9th century, the prerogatives of this type of restricted ecclesiastic assembly would never be theorised or officially approved during Late Antiquity, instead they rather constituted an informal practice.¹³ The church of Rome never officially accepted the pentarchy, as it always believed that its own precedence over the other churches was based upon Petrine ideology. None of the other important patriarchates, not even Constantinople, denied the bishop of Rome its honorific precedence, not only because the city hosted the sanctuary of the apostles Peter and Paul, but also because its status as the former capital of the Roman Empire. Actually, during the 5th and 6th centuries the position of the bishop of Constantinople increased in tandem with that of the role played by the metropolis on the Bosphorus in political life. To prove this, in 588 Patriarch John IV the Faster (582–595) assumed the title of “universal patriarch” (*oikoumenikos patriarchēs*), provoking harsh protests from Popes Pelagius II (579–590) and Gregory I (590–604).¹⁴

The 7th and 8th centuries were marked by sharp clashes between emperors and popes due to debates concerning Monoenergism/Monothelism and

11 Dvorník, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, pp. 724–850; Ahrweiler, *Idéologie politique*, pp. 141–147; Pertusi, *Il pensiero politico bizantino*, pp. 32–37.

12 See the *proemium* of Justinian, *Novellae*, 6 edd. R. Schoell, W. Kroll, *CJC*, vol. 3, Dublin 1968.

13 Peri, “La pentarchia”, pp. 209–318; Morini, “Roma nella Pentarchia”, pp. 832–939; Herrin, “The Pentarchy”, pp. 591–628.

14 Dvorník, *Byzance et la primauté romaine*, pp. 69–72; Dagron, “Constantinople, la primauté”, pp. 30–31.

Iconoclasm. During the 7th century, such contrasts occurred in the background of a territorial reduction of the empire, which, after the capture of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem by the Muslims, resulted in an amplification of the dualism between Rome and Constantinople. One meaningful event was the so-called council “Quinisext” or “in Trullo” called by emperor Justinian II in 691–692 in order to complete the deliberations of the Fifth and Sixth Ecumenical Councils (held in Constantinople in 553 and 680–681, respectively). The assembly was held in a large domed room of the imperial palace, without representatives of the church of Rome.¹⁵ Some of its deliberations as far as the discipline of clergy is concerned were in contrast with practices utilised within the Roman church. More importantly, canon 36 sanctioned rights for the church of Constantinople which were equal to those of Rome.¹⁶ As a matter of fact, the popes did not immediately ratify its measures. It is worth mentioning that during approximately the same period as the council “in Trullo”, an anonymous writer (or writers) in Constantinople composed the false narrative according to which the first bishop of Constantinople, Stachys, would have been consecrated by the hand of the apostle Andrew, Peter’s brother.¹⁷ Although this legend was not immediately used in the ecclesiological competition between Rome and Constantinople, it is significant, however, of an attitude spread among the Constantinopolitan ecclesiastic circles to equalize the rights of the old and new Rome.

Iconoclasm affected the ecclesiological debate in basically two aspects. We have already touched upon the fact that the separation between episcopal and imperial powers assumed by Gelasius did not easily adhere to Byzantine political ideology. With Emperors Leo III (717–741) and Constantine V (741–775), the space of superposition of the imperial figure over the ecclesiastic sphere enlarged consistently as the two emperors each claimed a double function for themselves, that of being concurrently emperors and priests. This patently emerges in the *proemium* of the *Eklogē*, where they affirm that God ordered them to graze the flock of faithful on the model of Saint Peter.¹⁸ However, such an affirmation proved to be unacceptable not only for the church of Rome, but also for the Byzantine ecclesiastic apparatus itself. As a matter of fact, after the

15 Council in Troullos: H. Ohme, *Das Konzil Quinisextum* (Fontes Christiani 82), Turnhout 2006; Joannou, *Discipline générale*, pp. 98–241; G. Nedungatt/M. Featherstone (eds.), *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, (Kanonika 6), Rome 1995, pp. 43–186. List of bishops: Ohme, *Das Concilium Quinisextum*.

16 Joannou, *Discipline générale*, p. 170.

17 Dvorník, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, pp. 171–173, 180.

18 *Ecloga. Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantinos’ V., proem. ll. 21–24* ed. L. Burgmann (Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte 10), Frankfurt am Main 1983.

end of Iconoclasm the *basileis* no longer claimed this duty, even if Byzantine theology continued to insist that their cooperation with episcopacy was essential for salvation.¹⁹ The second aspect which rendered Iconoclasm relevant for the ecclesiological context concerns Roman metropolitan jurisdiction. As we shall later see, during the reign of either Leo III or in that of Constantine V – there is no consensus among scholars – Sicily, Calabria, and eastern Illyricum were subtracted from papal control and passed under that of the patriarch of Constantinople.²⁰

The end of Iconoclasm provoked a rift in the ecclesiastic and monastic classes of the Byzantine Empire which concerned the course of action to be taken against those bishops who had initially supported Iconoclasm but later returned to orthodoxy.²¹ A far-reaching consequence of such a dispute is at the origin of the so-called Photian schism.²² Initially it concerned ecclesiological issues; it was only circa 865/867 that the theological, liturgical, and disciplinary aspects surrounding the controversy began to emerge. During this period, Pope Nicholas I reiterated the Roman ecclesiastic primacy with vigour. From one of his letters sent to the bishops of the Carolingian Empire, we apprehend the position held by Constantinople regarding the Roman see's claim to primacy. According to Photius, when the emperors moved themselves from Rome to Constantinople, they would have also transferred to the new location not only the regal dignity of the former capital, but its ecclesiastic privileges as well.²³ Under this interpretation, ecclesiastic primacy would have migrated from Rome to Constantinople as the legal rights of the secular power. Moreover, in his "Introduction" (*Epanagōgē*), written between 879 and 886, Photius argued that the precedence of the Constantinopolitan church had been approved by the emperors' behaviour and council deliberations.²⁴ As far as papal positions were concerned, they remained entrenched in the claim of Roman superiority based upon Petrine ideology. Moreover, Nicholas I underlined the paucity of the ecclesiastic traditions of Constantinople as compared to Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, which were apostolic sees.²⁵ The harshness

19 Pertusi, *Il pensiero politico bizantino*, pp. 91–97.

20 See below, note 63.

21 Dagron, "Le christianisme byzantin", p. 129; Morini, *La chiesa ortodossa*, pp. 64–65.

22 On the Photian schism see Dvorník, *The Photian Schism*; Dagron, "Le christianisme byzantin", pp. 167–186; Morini, *La chiesa ortodossa*, pp. 66–78.

23 As we apprehend from the letter sent by Pope Nicholas to the Carolingian bishops in 867: in *MGH, Epp.*, vol. 6, Berlin 1925, no. 100, p. 605.

24 *Eisagōgē* [Introduction] 3.9, in *Jus Graecoromanum*, eds. J. Zepos/P. Zepos, vol. 2, Athens 1931, pp. 242–243.

25 *MGH, Epp.*, vol. 6, no. 88, p. 475 (letter by Nicholas to Photius).

of the dispute prevented the two opposing ecclesiological interpretations which had contended with each other since Late Antiquity from being able to find a mediation between themselves: on the one hand, a claim for ecclesiastic primacy based on the principle of the apostolic foundation of their churches and their resulting hierarchical order affected their capacity to judge on ecclesiastic matters; on the other, an attitude that, without refusing completely to give honorific precedence to churches by virtue of their antique traditions, emphasises the political role of cities in determining episcopal prestige, as well as the centrality of ecclesiastic councils in establishing their authority. In the Photian schism, jurisdictional issues played an enormous role, since they entailed the capacity of the papacy and Constantinopolitan patriarchate of exerting their leadership in the new bishoprics among Slavs and Bulgars which were being founded at that time.²⁶ For this very reason, it has also been suggested that the harshness of the Photian position actually concealed a desire to find a compromise with Rome aimed at defining two separate jurisdictional areas, in which (with the acknowledgement of the honorific primacy of Rome) the two big churches could share the same privileges and metropolitan superiority over the other churches.²⁷

In the 11th century, the clash between Rome and Constantinople re-emerged again in a completely different political context than two centuries earlier. This time the quarrel primarily concerned dogmatic and liturgical aspects and ended with the excommunication imposed by the legates of Pope Leo IX upon Patriarch Michael Cerularius on 16 July 1054, along with the subsequent condemnation by Cerularius of the same excommunication letter.²⁸ From the viewpoint of ecclesiology, an important innovation in comparison to Photian times regarded the use of the *Constitutum Constantini* by Pope Leo IX among the intellectual tools motivating the primacy of the church of Rome. In a letter sent in 1054 to Michael Cerularius, Leo quoted ample extracts of the *Constitutum* in order to demonstrate that the papacy possessed both an earthly and heavenly imperium. This marks the abandonment of the Gelasian idea of separation between the “two powers” and, at least to some extent, a willingness to politicise ecclesiology.²⁹ In a sense, this ‘politicised’ ecclesiology was much different in comparison to the late antique and Byzantine tradition, where

26 Dagron, “Le christianisme byzantin”, pp. 216–226.

27 Dagron, “Constantinople, la primauté”, p. 37.

28 Regarding these events, see: Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, pp. 2–54; Petrucci, *Ecclesiologia e politica*, pp. 11–100; Dagron, “Le christianisme byzantin”, pp. 338–348; Bayer, *Spaltung der Christenheit*, pp. 63–106.

29 Petrucci, *Ecclesiologia e politica*, pp. 201–246; Morini, “1054: due ecclesologie”, pp. especially 84–101.

hierosynē and *basileia* never claimed superiority one over another, agreeing instead to provide mutual support in the governing of Christianity. This would have been much more accentuated by Leo IX's successors in the context of church reform. The latter, of course, was not addressed against Byzantine Empire; however, the claim of superiority by the Roman church towards all the other churches existing on the earth and its request for freedom from interference by the Western Empire contributed to render unproductive dialogue with the patriarchate of Constantinople for the centuries to come.

3 Byzantium and Italy: Aspects of Religious History

There can be little doubt that, on the whole, the Italian episcopacy supported the Eastern Roman conquest of Italy against the Ostrogoths for at least three sound reasons: first, the most important Italian sees, from Rome to Milan, were grown under the Roman rule, having received from former emperors important privileges; second, the final period of Theoderic's government had been particularly harsh towards Catholicism; third, an anti-Arian persecution had been put into action by the Emperor Justin I since 523, and the Eastern Roman establishment was undoubtedly Catholic, not Arian. Since the 520s there were groups of Arians who had converted to Catholicism, a process that probably increased during the first phase of the Gothic War.³⁰ The recapture of Italy from the Ostrogoths entailed the passage of buildings and goods from the Arian clergy to their Catholic counterparts. We do not have detailed information regarding this, except at Ravenna, where the ceding of legal rights and all Arian possessions to the local church was sanctioned by an imperial grant which was probably issued by Justinian.³¹ Yet, whereas Theoderic had been always very discrete in conditioning ecclesiastic life for most of his reign, perhaps due to his tenuous legitimacy to rule Italy, the new regime, which appeared to feel fully entitled to govern over the peninsula, proved to be much more invasive where ecclesiastic affairs were concerned. The sensitivity and cognizance showed by the eastern Roman leadership towards ecclesiastic life depended on several factors, as we will see. However, first and foremost, it reflected the moral duty that the *basileia* itself, as an institution willed by God,

30 Cosentino, "Social instability", pp. 136–141, 146–147.

31 See J.-O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, vol. 1, *Papyri 1–28*, Lund 1955, no. 3, a donation remembered in Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. D. Mauskopf Deliyannis (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 199), Turnhout 2006, ch. 85.

had in promoting orthodoxy within the Christian community. Such an ideological motivation was at the bottom of the effective presence of the emperors in the sphere of religiousness.

Apart the last years of his regime, Theoderic had been reluctant to involve himself in religious issues. Not so Justinian. In the decade between 536 and 546, the two most important episcopal sees of Italy, Rome, and Ravenna, were awarded to two bishops close to the Byzantine emperor, Vigilius (537–555) and Maximianus (546–557), respectively. During the 530s Justinian had unsuccessfully tried to mediate between dyophysites and miaphysites, for in the council of Constantinople of 536 the most important ecclesiastic leaders – among whom there was also Anthimus, patriarch of Constantinople – who negotiated an agreement with Severus of Antioch, the most authoritative miaphysite spokesman of the period, were later excommunicated. The convergence with miaphysite Christianity restarted in 544 with the posthumous condemnation of three bishops who had lived in the first half of the 5th century, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoretus of Kyrrros, and Ibas of Edessa, whose works were considered to be imbued with Nestorianism.³² However, the three abovementioned bishops had not been condemned during their lifetime and their opinions were considered fully orthodox according to the dyophysites. In 544–545 Justinian issued a decree in which three condemnations or *kephalaia* concerning the writings of Theodore, Theodoretus, and Ibas were proclaimed. The decree was signed by Menas, patriarch of Constantinople, on the condition that it also be accepted by the pope. Patriarch Zoilos of Alexandria, Ephrem of Antioch, and Peter of Jerusalem initially rejected it, but Zoilos and Peter later accepted it. On the contrary, the Italian, Illyrian, African, and Gallic episcopate refused the condemnation with force. In January 545 Pope Vigilius was summoned to Constantinople for discuss the issue with the emperor. At Constantinople the pope kept an uncertain, sometimes contradictory, attitude toward the question, in part due to the strong pressure and threats exerted against him by Justinian. In May 553 an ecclesiastic synod gathered in the capital and some months later, on 23 February 554, Pope Vigilius eventually issued a document in which he agreed to condemn the so-called “Three Chapters.”³³

Vigilius’ about-face regarding the “Three Chapters” was significant and was sharply criticised by the western episcopate.³⁴ In order to reward him for

32 Events discussed in Maraval, “La politique religieuse de Justinien”, pp. 402–423; Sotinel, “Emperors and Popes”, pp. 279–287.

33 ACO 1, vol. 4/1, *Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum sub Iustiniano habitum*, ed. J. Straub, Berlin 1971, pp. 239–240.

34 Sotinel, “L’échec en Occident”, pp. 427–455; Fedalto, “Lo scisma tricapolino”, pp. 629–659.

having embraced his position, on 14 August 554 Justinian issued a law concerning the socioeconomic situation of Italy at the request of Vigilius himself (the famous act known as *Pragmatica sanctio pro petitione Vigili*).³⁵ The pope, however, did not have the opportunity directly to confront the dissenting Italian and African clergy because he died in Syracuse during his return to Rome, on 7 June 555. Afterward one of his former and most fierce opponents was elected to the Roman see, Pelagius I (556–561), who had previously been the *apocri-siarius* (papal ambassador) to Constantinople, but upon being ordained pope, Pelagius changed his mind and became a steadfast supporter of the condemnation of the “Three Chapters”. The Ravennate church aligned itself with Rome on these positions, while Milan, Aquileia, and several central Italian bishoprics, as well as those of *Venetia et Histria* refused to condemn the memory of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoretus of Kyrrhos, and Ibas of Edessa. The schism between Rome and Milan came to an end in 573, when the Milanese bishop fled to Genova to escape the Lombards, who already had occupied a large part of the Po Valley. However, the bishops of *Venetia et Histria* continued to maintain their position until 608. In this year two bishops were elected to the patriarchal seat of Aquileia: Marcianus in Grado, in the Byzantine territory; and John in Cividale (*Forum Iulii*), a town under Lombard control. The two disputed with each other for the title of patriarch of Aquileia, but while the former eventually returned to communion with Rome, the latter persevered the schism along with other bishops in Lombard territory until the end of the 7th century.³⁶

The Lombards were neither ethnically nor religiously homogeneous as a people when they invaded Italy. According to some scholars, it is difficult to say much regarding their creed before late 7th/early 8th century, when the first archival documents attest to their Catholic faith.³⁷ The problem of their Christianisation is beyond the scope of this contribution, since it only marginally concerns the religious history of Byzantine Italy. The patchy conquest of the peninsula by the Lombards prevented the Byzantine civil administration from sending its representatives into every territory, in sharp contrast with the more widespread diffusion of the ecclesiastic institutions. In such conditions, the support of the episcopal apparatus proved to be vital for the consensus to the Byzantine regime on the part of local communities. By the same token, even religious dissent could easily have repercussions on political life. Moreover, it is worth stressing another long-lasting characteristic of

35 Justin, *Novellae*, Appendix VII, p. 799.

36 Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, pp. 301–302.

37 La Rocca, “La cristianizzazione dei Barbari”, pp. 15–18.

the Italian situation which matured in the first half of the 7th century. Persian and Muslim invasions of the Fertile Crescent and Africa fostered the process of immigration of consistent groups of Greek-speakers to the peninsula.³⁸ These new immigrants especially tended to settle in those areas where Greek communities already existed, such as eastern Sicily or southern Calabria. In those areas, the percentage of priests Greek-speaking consistently increased throughout the 7th century. Greek immigration from the Fertile Crescent and Africa displayed its effects even in Rome.³⁹ It is here that nine Greek or oriental monasteries were founded from the middle of the 7th to the end of the 8th century.⁴⁰ Knowledge of Greek increased among popes and the Roman clergy. In the period from 642 to 752, out of nineteen popes, three came from southern Italy, two from Sicily, four from Syria, one from Thrace, and two from Greece. In a council held in Rome in 704, if we are to believe an observer who came all the way from distant York, all of the representatives of the Roman church began suddenly speaking Greek amongst themselves.⁴¹

The problem regarding the different professions of Christianity intermingling with political activity strongly re-emerged during the tormented reigns of Emperors Heraclius and Constans II. The former had supported a new theology concerning the 'one energy' (*mia energheia*) of Christ acting in his two natures, a theology promoted by Bishop Theodore of Faran (Sinai) (also known as Theodore the Monk or Theodore of Raithou), and accepted by Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople.⁴² Until 641 this new doctrine, which was intended to foster a reconciliation between Dyophysitism and Miaphysitism, found some consensus among the most prestigious sees of the empire, having been accepted by Constantinople, Alexandria, and Rome in the form divulged by Patriarch Sergius in his *Psēphos* issued in 633.⁴³ The main opponent of this doctrine was Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem (a former Alexandrian monk), who insisted on the dual 'energies' or 'activities' of Christ, which were the reflection of his dual natures.⁴⁴ In 638 Emperor Heraclius enacted an edict, known as *Ekthesis*, in support of Patriarch Sergius. In it, discussion concerning the 'energies' or 'activities' of the Logos was forbidden, by claiming the existence

38 Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, 71–76, 427 (with further bibliography).

39 Burgarella, "Presenze greche a Roma", pp. 943–992; D'Aiuto, "Per una riconsiderazione dell'epigrafia greca", pp. 553–612; von Falkenhausen, "Roma greca", especially pp. 39–57.

40 Sansterre, *Moins grecs et orientaux* and "Le monachisme byzantin à Rome", pp. 701–746.

41 Sansterre, *Moins grecs et orientaux*, vol. 1, p. 20, n. 118.

42 Winkelmann, *Die monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, pp. 13–21; Booth, *Crisis of Empire*, pp. 188–208; Lange, *Mia Energeia*, pp. 534–536, 540–543.

43 Winkelmann, *Die monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, pp. 3–74; Booth, *Crisis of Empire*, 213–214. Lange, *Mia Energeia*, pp. 592–596 (dates the *Psēphos* to 634).

44 Booth, *Crisis of Empire*, pp. 209–224; Lange, *Mia Energeia*, 601–606.

in Christ of one will.⁴⁵ An open dissent between Constantinople and Rome broke out after Sergius' death (638), when his successors, Pyrrhus (638–641) and Paul (641–653), were excommunicated by Popes John IV and Theodore. In 648, sixteen-year-old Emperor Constans II, Heraclius' nephew, issued another edict, the *Typos*, prohibiting any further discussion on Monotheletism.⁴⁶ Pope Martin (649–653) rejected it and summoned a council at the Lateran Palace on October 649 in which the Fathers also rejected the *Typos*. They avoided involving the emperor in their condemnation, by charging the Patriarch Paul with the responsibility of having conceived the document in the first place.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, two rebellions were raised against Constans II, that of exarch Gregory in Africa, in 646–647, and that of exarch Olympius in Italy, in 650–652.⁴⁸ On both occasions, the two disloyal officers, whose aim was to ascend the throne, exploited religious opposition for their political purposes. Exarch Gregory was killed while fighting against the Muslims; Olympius died of plague in Sicily, where he had seemingly gone to face an attack against the island by the Muslims.

After the murder of Olympius, the new exarch, Theodore Calliopa, was ordered to arrest Pope Martin and have him transferred to Constantinople. At the imperial capital, Martin was charged with having supported Olympius's rebellion and was exiled to Cherson (Crimea), where he died on 16 September 654.⁴⁹ Constans II's repression also affected Maximus the Confessor, leader of the dythelism dissent. He was put on trial at Constantinople in May 655 on charges of having aided the Muslims and was exiled to Thrace.⁵⁰ Curiously, Maurus, bishop of Ravenna, did not personally take part in the Lateran council, choosing instead to send a substitute. We do not know for sure whether his absence was a means of distancing himself from Pope Martin's positions. What is certain is that between 652 and 666 emissaries from the church of Ravenna were granted privileges by Emperor Constans II.⁵¹ The manoeuvring space of dyothelete party shrank considerably after the arrival of Constans II in Italy in

45 Booth, *Crisis of Empire*, pp. 228–241; text of the *Ekthesis*: ACO 2, vol. 1, pp. 156–162.

46 *Typos*: ACO 2, vol. 1, pp. 208–211. It was issued between winter 648 and spring / summer 649; Winkelmann, *Die monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, p. 123; Booth, *Crisis of Empire*, pp. 291 (where he proposes 647/648).

47 Booth, *Crisis of Empire*, p. 294. Lateran council: ACO 2, vol. 1, *Concilium Lateranense a. 649*.

48 Haldon, *The Empire That Would Not Die*, pp. 201–202 (Gregory), 206 (Olympius).

49 Best reconstructions of events concerning the processes against Martin and Maximus: Brandes, "Juristische' Krisenbewältigung", pp. 141–212.

50 Maximus was later tried a second time, in 662, and then sent into exile in Lazica, where he died.

51 Cosentino, "Constans II, Ravenna's autocephaly", pp. 158–159. On the relationships between Rome and Ravenna in the 7th century, see: West-Harling, "The Church of Ravenna", pp. 199–210.

663. Perhaps it was during his stay on Sicily (663–668) that some Italian bishops adhered openly to Monotheletism, as Eutalius, bishop of Sulcis (Sardinia) did, for example.⁵² Once in Italy, Constans II visited Rome and met Pope Vitalianus in July 663. A few years later in March 666, he reconfirmed the privileges which had already been granted to the church of Ravenna previously, including ecclesiastic autocephaly for the seat of Saint Apollinaris, namely its jurisdictional autonomy from Rome.

However, after Constans' murder in Syracuse most likely around October 668 (the date is disputed), the situation changed once more, this time towards a more evident distension between the *basileia* and the papacy. During the rebellion which followed the assassination of Constans II, Pope Vitalianus remained loyal to Constantine IV. The latter, in the 670s had to cope with a dangerous assault against the imperial capital led by the Umayyads. In the aftermath of his victory, he announced an ecumenical council to be held in Constantinople to discuss Monotheletism, after consulting the patriarch of Constantinople, Constantine, and that of Antioch, Macarius, who at that moment was temporarily residing in Constantinople. Subsequently, Constantine IV sent ambassadors to Pope Agatho (678–681) with the request to send delegates to participate in the projected council.⁵³ Around this same time, while reconfirming economic privileges to the church of Ravenna, Constantine IV made every effort to realize the return of the Ravennate archbishopric and its leader to the Roman ecclesiastic jurisdiction. In light of the ecumenical council, Pope Agatho, Donus' successor, summoned a synod of western bishops at Rome in 679, in which Monotheletism was condemned.⁵⁴ The council of Constantinople opened its congress on 7 November 680 and ended on 16 September 681.⁵⁵ During the council, a convergence between the Roman delegates and the patriarch of Constantinople arose which provoked the defeat of the main sponsor of monothelete positions, Macarius of Antioch. Still, part of the eastern Roman elite, both secular and ecclesiastic, would remain devoted to Monotheletism, since it had again become newly-sanctioned under Emperor Philippicus Bardanes (711–713). This proves that this creed was not at all an ossified doctrine for theologians only, as it was once believed, but had strong roots within the wider imperial society.

52 His profession of faith, in which he rejected this former support to Monotheletism has been published by Soden, *Schriften des Neuen*, pp. 638–641. See also *PMBZ* I, 1834.

53 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 350.

54 *ACO* 2, vol. 2/1 *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium*, pp. 123–159.

55 *ACO* 2, *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum*, vol. 2/1–2.

The strength of Monoenergism/Monothelism throughout of the 7th century was rooted in the dilemma that Christianity had endured since the 5th century: that of conceiving a God who incarnated himself in the form of *Logos* (Son) for the salvation of humanity. The Old Testament preserves several passages, as Exodus 20:4 or Leviticus 26:1 prohibiting idolatry and some early Christian thinkers, such as Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea, and Epiphanius of Cyprus were against the cult of sacred images.⁵⁶ The council of Chalcedon in 451 had acknowledged two natures in Christ, which were thought to be unconfused, unchangeable, invisible, and inseparable; their distinction was by no means taken away by the union, hence the Son was not conceived as parted or divided into two persons. On the one hand, the consequences of Chalcedon provoked a major schism among Christians, on the other, it increased the diffusion of images of Christ, the saints and their devotion. Toward the end of the 7th century, such humanized images were so widely disseminated and venerated in the Christianity that the Troullan council prohibited the representation of Christ as a lamb.⁵⁷ During the 720s, disagreement regarding sacred images arose among Byzantine episcopacy. In three letters addressed to Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople (715–730), we are told how two Anatolian bishops, Constantine of Nakoleia (Phrygia) and Thomas of Claudiopolis (Bithynia) refused to prostrate themselves in front of icons. Thomas even went so far as to remove them from his church.⁵⁸ The refusal to worship sacred images seems to have also influenced Emperor Leo III, as it was endorsed by him. In 726 or 730 he had probably prohibited their veneration when he is said to have ordered the removal of an icon of Christ from the main gate of the Great Palace, though some scholars are sceptical about the historicity of this event.⁵⁹ In any case, there are no reasons to deny the iconoclastic tendency of Leo III, even though it is difficult to say how and why he became an iconoclast.⁶⁰ News about the new religious address of the court of Constantinople must have reached Italy around 730, the same year when Patriarch Germanus resigned his position in disagreement with the emperor. In November 731, a synod was held at Rome

56 Dagron, "Le christianisme byzantin", pp. 94–97; Brubaker/Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, pp. 40–41.

57 Joannou, *Discipline générale*, p. 218 (canon 82).

58 Dagron, "Le christianisme byzantin", pp. 97–101; Brubaker/Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, pp. 94–105.

59 Auzépy, "La destruction de l'icône", pp. 445–492; Brubaker/Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, pp. 128–132.

60 Brubaker/Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, p. 85 challenge the idea that Leo III had issued a general edict against the veneration of icons.

under the authority of Pope Gregory III that confirmed the orthodoxy of the veneration of sacred images.⁶¹

This date approximately coincides with the narrative by Theophanes about the increase of taxation in Sicily and the seizure by Leo III of the Roman landed patrimony both there and in Calabria.⁶² Moreover, we are informed from a letter from Pope Hadrian that at some point before 781 the Byzantine emperors had also transferred the papal jurisdiction of Sicily, Calabria, and eastern Illyricum to the patriarchate of Constantinople.⁶³ When did this last event precisely happen? Scholars have suggested three different dates about it. The first possibility is that the event took place at the same time as the seizure of the Roman patrimonies, namely around 731/732, and would have been ordered by Leo III.⁶⁴ The second possibility is that it would have been ordered by Constantine V in 743–745 in retaliation against Pope Zachary for the support given by him to the rebellion by Artavasdos.⁶⁵ The third suggestion states that it would have been ordered by Constantine V, but sometime after 754, that is after that pope Stephen II had gone to France with the intention to strengthen his alliance with Pepin, king of the Franks.⁶⁶ None of these dates can be positively proven and all have elements of plausibility. It would seem logical that after the seizure of the patrimonies, which were composed of large estates, the latter would have been put under the metropolitan jurisdiction of the patriarchate. In any case, regardless of whether it was Leo III or Constantine V, the measure was not impulsive but implied a gravitation of those areas – Sicily and Calabria – towards the patriarchate of Constantinople due to the Hellenization of consistent parts of the clergy and population. This was clearly the case in

61 Some scholars believe that the references found in the *Book of Roman Pontiffs* (*Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, pp. 403–404, 415–416, 476–477) to Emperor Leo III are later interpolations. Nevertheless, the acts of the Roman council of November 731 appear to prove that before that date Emperor Leo III, as claimed by Theophanes, really did take some measures against the cult of sacred images. Even if the acts of the council have not been handed down to us, it really occurred, namely it was a real historical event. The list of its participants was later used for forging the false document of composition of the ecclesiastic conflict between the bishops Antoninus of Aquileia/Grado and Serenus of Aquileia / Forum Iulii: see *IP*, vol. 7/2, 37, no. +18; R. Cessi, *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia anteriori al Mille*, 2 vols, Padua 1942–1943, 1: p. 34.

62 See the contribution *Politics and Society*, in this volume.

63 See *MGH, Epp.*, vol. 3, no. 2 (p. 57).

64 Anastos, “The Transfer of Illyricum”, pp. 14–31; Burgarella, “La chiesa greca di Calabria”, pp. 89–120.

65 Prigent, “Les empereurs isauriens”, pp. 557–594.

66 Grumel, “L’annexion de l’Illyricum oriental”, p. 376 (dates the event between 752 and 757); Brubaker/Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclastic Era*, p. 87 (inclined to date the transfer to the mid-8th century).

eastern Illyricum, where there are evident hints of a weakening of the metropolitan role of the pope from the 690s.⁶⁷ With respect to Sicily, a recent reexamination of the *Life* of bishop Gregory of Agrigento has proposed a date for the text around the late 7th/early 8th century, instead of the late 8th or early 9th century.⁶⁸ The *Life* might reflect the attempt by a part of the Sicilian episcopacy to disassociate itself from papal jurisdiction. The Hellenization of the eastern Sicilian and Calabrese clergy in the early 8th century must have been quite diffuse. In such conditions, it would appear natural that the seizure of Roman patrimonies on Sicily and Calabria would also be accompanied by their submission to the patriarchate of Constantinople.

In the same year that Pope Stephen II met Pepin at Ponthion, Constantine V promoted an ecclesiastic council at the imperial palace of Hieria. The *horos* (dogmatic definition) decided upon by the Fathers was recorded in the acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787). From the *horos* we are informed that at Hieria the adoration of sacred images, especially those of the Christ, was considered idolatry.⁶⁹ As far as the cult of saints was concerned, it underlined the spiritual value of their intercession for the faithful; yet it was also deliberated that it was much better to honour their memory by reading their lives than to represent them by means of images. It is difficult to ascertain the degree of consensus that iconoclasm had among the Italian populations. It has been convincingly suggested that the Neapolitan church under the bishopric of Sergius supported the new theological policy.⁷⁰ It probably also had some consensus among the Sicilian and Sardinian clergy.⁷¹ The orthodox cult of sacred images was re-established thanks to the initiative of Empress Irene, who seems to have acted from her own personal devotion. It was not without difficulties that she, along with Patriarch Tarasius, organised a new synod at Nicaea in September 787.⁷² Pope Hadrian I was also involved in the project, who approved it without enthusiasm. The pope sent two delegates to Nicaea, the *archipresbyter* Petrus and the homonymous abbot of the Greek monastery

67 See below, note 69.

68 Earlier date: Cosentino, "Quando e perché fu scritta" pp. 18–36; later date: Leontios Presbyteros von Rom, *Das Leben des heiligen Gregorios von Agrigent*, ed. Albrecht Berger (Berliner Byzantinischen Arbeiten 60), Berlin 1995, p. 48.

69 Thümmel, *Die Konzilien zur Bilderfrage*, pp. 63–77; Brubaker/Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, pp. 192–196. The *horos* of Hieria has been translated into English by Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm*, pp. 68–94.

70 Luzzati Laganà, "Tentazioni iconoclaste a Napoli", pp. 99–115.

71 Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, p. 310.

72 Dagron, "La christianisme byzantin", pp. 121–127; Brubaker/Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, pp. 260–276.

of St. Saba in Rome, neither of whom were of episcopal rank.⁷³ The reception of the Second Nicaean council proved to be troublesome for the western church. A synod of Frankish bishops held at Frankfurt in 794 still disapproved of the reasoning that images of saints could be real manifestations of the sacred, seeing them as a simple pedagogic element for instructing the faithful.⁷⁴ The church of Rome approved the acts of the second Nicaean council only a century later, during the Constantinopolitan council held in 879–880. At the Byzantine court, iconoclasm was once again promoted by Emperor Leo V in 815 and was supported by Emperors Michael II and Theophilus until 843, when Orthodoxy was definitively reinstated under the initiative of Empress Theodora, Theophilus's widow.⁷⁵ Even in this second phase, iconoclasm found some consensus in the ecclesiastic apparatus of Salento and Sicily. According to the *Life* of Gregory Decapolites, when he landed in Salento after escaping from Constantinople to Italy, he found here an iconoclast bishop. In Sicily, he was obliged to seek refuge in a ruined tower near the house of a prostitute; this information has been interpreted as a clue that Sicilian authorities had respected the imperial order prohibiting the hosting of traveling iconophile monks.⁷⁶ The archiepiscopal see of Syracuse was held toward 829 by Theodore Krithinos, who was a fervent iconoclast.⁷⁷

It is difficult to assess the role played by Iconoclasm in increasing the divide between the churches of Rome and Constantinople during the 8th century. As we have seen, the new religious movement promoted by the Isaurians was received in several places of southern Italy such as Naples, Salento, Sicily, and Sardinia. On the one hand, this appears to confirm the strict involvement of such provincial societies in the broader cultural life of the *Rhōmania*, the Empire of the Romans protected by God; on the other, it emphasizes that Iconoclasm was not a movement that was necessarily destined since its origins to fail. Its theology did not have a revolutionary content in comparison

73 Petrus *archipresbyter*: *PMBZ* I, 6024; Petros, abbot of the monastery of Saint Saba: *PMBZ* I, 6023.

74 Auzépy, "Frankfort et Nicée II", pp. 289–297; Thümmel, *Die Konzilien zur Bilderfrage*, pp. 218–228 (*Libri Carolini* and council of 794); McCormick, "Text, images et iconoclasm", pp. 153–154.

75 Dagron, "Le christianisme byzantin", pp. 147–155 (theology of the Second Iconoclasm) 155–162; Brubaker/Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, pp. 372–385.

76 *Life* of Saint Gregory Decapolites: G. Makris, ed., *Ignatios Diakonos und die Vita des HL. Gregorios Dekapolites* (Byzantinischen Archiv, 7), Stuttgart 1997, 23–24 (pp. 88–89, for Sicily), 34 (p. 98, for Salento). Iconoclasm in Sicily and Salento: see two works by Acconcia Longo, "La passio di s. Nicone", pp. 66–68; and "I vescovi nell'agiografia italo-greca", especially pp. 140–150.

77 *PMBZ* I, 7675.

with former Christian tradition, since it re-proposed the troubled problem of Christ as man and God at the same time, albeit using a new approach. That Iconoclasm was not superficially rooted in the Byzantine ecclesiastic apparatus is proved indirectly by the acute tension that its condemnation in 787 and 843 provoked among bishops and monks. During the Second Council of Nicaea, Patriarch Tarasius rejected the request of Platon, *hēgumenos* of the monastery of Sakkoudion (Bithynia), who wanted to depose all bishops that had formerly adhered to Iconoclasm. In order to have those bishops rehabilitated, Tarasius established that they had to declare their repentance and pronounce a new profession of orthodox faith, a decision that left the monastic faction highly unsatisfied. Tensions between supporters of religious inflexibility or rigour (*akribeia*) and supporters of ecclesiastic compromise (*oikonomia*) re-emerged after 843.⁷⁸ In fact, the re-establishment of orthodoxy was sanctioned with the deposition of the iconoclast patriarch John the Grammarian and the appointment of a new patriarch, a Sicilian called Methodius, who had formerly been a monk. The latter ordered to the monks of Stoudios to disown the teachings of Theodore of Stoudios written against the former patriarchs Tarasius and Nicephore. When they refused, Methodius excommunicated them. After the death of Methodius, another former monk, Ignatius, son of Emperor Michael I, was elected to the patriarchate; still, he was not able to mediate between the different Constantinopolitan factions. This led to a conflict between Ignatius and Gregory Asbestas, archbishop of Syracuse, who aspired to succeed Methodius. Gregory was then excommunicated by Ignatius, but he appealed the sentence with the papal authority.⁷⁹ In 858 Ignatius was deposed, as he did not support the *kaisar* Bardas, uncle of Emperor Michael III and his main advisor after the removal from the court of the empress-mother Theodora and the logothete Theoktistos.

In this climate of strong conflict within the Byzantine church, Michael III appointed another patriarch, Photius, who at that time held the office of *prōtosēkretis* of the imperial chancery. Despite his high stature as an esteemed cultural figure, he had been elected to the new office un-canonically. Therefore, Ignatius appealed Rome, but at the beginning of this disagreement Pope Nicholas I did not take any measures. During the 860s Christianity was expanding its borders towards eastern Europe, in a movement of evangelisation involving both the papacy and the patriarchate of Constantinople. In 863 a mission led by two brothers from Thessaloniki, Constantine (later renamed

78 For the events, see Dvornik, *Photian Schism*, first part; Dagron, "Le christianisme byzantin", pp. 155–162, 167–172.

79 Dagron, "Le christianisme byzantin", p. 173.

Cyril as a monk) and Methodius, went to ancient Moravia after Prince Rostislav urged Pope Nicholas to send missionaries. They stayed in Moravia until 867. At around the same time, emissaries of the patriarch of Constantinople baptized the khan of the Bulgars, Boris, in 867. He assumed the Christian name of Michael, the same of the Byzantine regnant emperor, who in turn served as Boris's godfather. Eastern Illyricum never lost its importance for Rome, and the new situation of missionary expansion towards the Slavonian regions increased its strategic position. In 861 Pope Nicholas sent two delegates, the bishops Rodoald of Porto and Zachary of Anagni, to take part in a synod in Constantinople intended to define an orthodox and shared doctrine regarding sacred images. They were also tasked with inquiring about the election of Photius and the restitution of Sicily and Calabria to the Roman see.⁸⁰ During the synod, amongst other things, Ignatius was anathematised with the apparent consent of the Roman delegates. However, in 863 Pope Nicholas I rejected their actions and in a synod held at the Lateran palace, excommunicated both Photius and Gregory Asbestos.⁸¹ The turn made by the pope was probably motivated by the fact that Michael III showed no openness to the question of the Illyricum. Thus, between 863 and 867, the friction between Rome and Constantinople became increasingly tense. In an 865 letter from Nicholas I to Michael III (in response to a preceding exchange of missives between the pope, the emperor, and Photius), he claimed his right to intervene in the internal affairs of the church of Constantinople by emphasizing the poverty of its ecclesiastic traditions, as contrary to Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, it was not an apostolic see. In the meanwhile, khan Boris had initiated contact with Rome, which led to Photius' refusal to establish an autonomous archbishopric for Bulgaria. As a consequence, in August 866, Boris sent emissaries to Rome in order to request that the pope appointed an archbishop for his realm. The Bulgar ambassadors also presented the pope with a series of questions concerning dogmatic problems and liturgical practices. The responses to these questions are preserved in a text known as *Responsa ad consulta Bulgarorum*, in which some aspects of the Constantinopolitan liturgy are criticised. Almost contemporarily, in 866–867 a Constantinopolitan council sharply accused the Frankish and Roman clergy of introducing unorthodox customs and doctrines in Bulgaria, such as fasting on Saturdays (instead of Fridays), prohibition of marriage for simple priests, as well as a belief according to which the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son, and not, as the Byzantines believed, from the Father through the Son. The rift reached its apex in 867, when the

80 Dvorník, *Photian Schism*, pp. 88–91.

81 Dvorník, *Photian Schism*, pp. 97–98; Dagron, "Le christianisme byzantin", pp. 173–174.

pope himself was excommunicated by Photius. In that same year, Michael III was murdered by his former counsellor, Basil, who then ascended the throne. Aware that his seizure of power was unlawful, he chose to put to an end the conflict with Rome by sacrificing his patriarch. Photius was deposed and Ignatius was elected again in his place. In the meanwhile, Pope Nicholas died.

In 869–870 a new council convened in Constantinople, in which the emissaries sent by pope Hadrian II (867–872) asked the participants to endorse a Roman document, the so-called *Libellus satisfactionis*. In 870 Bulgar ambassadors arrived at the Byzantine capital to once again ask the patriarch to consecrate an autocephalous archbishop for their realm, since Nicholas I had refused to do this. This time both the *basileus* and his reluctant patriarch, Ignatius, answered positively, allowing a primate of Bulgaria to be consecrated, and the Latin clergy was expelled from Bulgaria and was substituted by Greek priests and monks. In 878 Ignatius died and Photius was recalled to the patriarchal office.⁸² Basil I negotiated with Pope John VIII, Hadrian II's successor, for the reestablishment of ecclesiastic communion with Constantinople that the pope approved under certain conditions, namely the request of forgiveness by Photius himself and the restitution of Bulgaria to the ecclesiastic jurisdiction of Rome. A new council was organized at Constantinople to sanction the new ecclesiastic communion. During the council, the requests of the pope were disregarded, the deliberations of the Constantinopolitan synod held in 869–870 rejected and the ecumenicity of Nicaea II was acknowledged. When John VIII died five years later, the new pope, Stephen V (885–891) took no new measures, since Photius had abdicated his office in 886, when Leo VI, Basil I's son, became emperor.⁸³

Under the papacy of Stephen V (891–897), Byzantium began its new expansion in southern Italy.⁸⁴ The occupation by the Byzantine troops of territories under Roman ecclesiastic jurisdiction, such as Apulia and northern Calabria could have possibly entailed the insertion of these new conquests under the patriarchate of Constantinople. Such an action, indeed, was attempted for Taranto in 887–888, the population of which had a vast Greek-speaking community, but it failed thanks to the vibrant opposition mounted by Pope Stephen V.⁸⁵ However, after this episode there were no further occurrences of this type and all of the Apulian episcopates preserved their Latin bishops, with the exception of Gallipoli and Otranto, whose Greek prelates were subject to

82 Dvorník, *Photian Schism*, pp. 163–173.

83 Dvorník, *Photian Schism*, pp. 46–47; Dagron, “Le christianisme byzantin”, p. 186.

84 See Cosentino, “Politics and Society”, in this volume.

85 *MGH, Epp.* vol. 7, pp. 343–344.

rule from Constantinople. Starting in the 10th century Byzantine Italy constituted a region in which the interplay between Latin and Greek clergy became stronger.⁸⁶ There are no clues in our sources regarding sharp tensions between the two churches. The Byzantine government tried to gain the support of Latin bishops through a selection of candidates who had a favourable attitude towards it, especially in Longobardia. Both Byzantium and Rome in late 10th century attempted in some cases to enlarge their ecclesiastic influence by promoting certain sees, such as Otranto or Salerno, to the rank of archbishoprics.

A new crisis in the relationships between the papacy and the patriarchate of Constantinople erupted in the middle of the 11th century.⁸⁷ During the 10th century, as it is well known, the papacy underwent a serious weakening of its international dimension by becoming an apanage for Roman aristocratic families, but beginning with the middle of the 11th century this situation was modified by the influx of Cluniac reformism. In 1048 a proponent of these ideals, Leo IX, former bishop of Toul, was elected pope. Toward the end of his pontificate, in 1052 or 1053, a letter attributed to Leo of Ochrid, archbishop of Bulgaria, addressed to bishop John of Trani, began circulating among the Latin bishops of southern Italy.⁸⁸ In the letter, the Latin clergy was accused of practicing some liturgical customs thought to be similar to those of the Jews, such as the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist or the fasting during the Saturdays of Lent. Such accusations had already been launched during the Photian schism, and they did not represent something new. What was new was the personality sitting in that moment on the Constantinopolitan seat, Michael Cerularius, who, like Pope Leo IX, was known for his industrious and dynamic character. Since 1024 the names of the Roman popes were no longer being remembered in the liturgical function, but in 1053 Michael Cerularius went another step further and ordered the closure of all churches that in Constantinople employed unleavened bread for the Eucharist. After being informed of Leo of Ochrid's missive, as well as of the measures taken by Cerularius, Pope Leo IX sent a crude letter to the Constantinopolitan patriarch (September 1053).⁸⁹ In it, he depicted the church of Constantinople as the source of all heresies, claimed Roman primacy over the patriarchate and accused the latter of prevaricating

86 Enzensberger, "La chiesa greca", pp. 265–287; Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church", pp. 213–255; Jacob/Martin, "L'église grecque en Italie", pp. 355–356.

87 The names of the popes had ceased to be commemorated in the liturgy at Constantinople since the pontificate of Sergius IV: see Morini, "1054: due ecclesiologie", pp. 74–78.

88 Will, *Acta et scripta*, pp. 56–60.

89 Will, *Acta et scripta*, pp. 65–85.

the rights of the church of Antioch.⁹⁰ He contested also to Cerularius's self-appointment of the title of *oikoumenikos patriarchēs*.

In the spring of 1054 Leo IX sent an embassy to Constantinople composed of Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida, Frederick of Lorraine (the future Pope Stephen IX), and Archbishop Peter of Amalfi.⁹¹ Papal delegates arrived at the Byzantine capital in April, just as Pope Leo was passing away. The four months they spent at Constantinople were passed on very bad terms with Patriarch Cerularius. Humbert publicized a pamphlet in which he contested the accusations made against the Latin church, which in turn was criticised by Niketas Stetatos, a monk of Stoudios. Emperor Constantine IX, who needed papal support against the Normans, tried to mediate between the two conflicting parties, but Michael Cerularius refused to deal with the liturgical and dogmatic problems at issue for the papal seat was vacant at that moment. Eventually, on 16 July 1054, the papal delegates presented a document of excommunication for Michael Cerularius and his followers which was delivered to the altar of Saint Sophia. Subsequently, Michael convened a synod in Constantinople where a solemn anathema was launched against the sacrilegious letter and those who had written it. This event is usually referred to as the 'Schism of Orient', which really only involved Cerularius and the Roman delegates.⁹² However, one has to add that if even it is not formally appropriate to talk about a 'schism', the ecclesiastic relationships between Rome and Constantinople seem to have remained interrupted for about thirty years. Setting apart the possible contacts between Pope Alexander II (1061–1073) and Emperor Constantine X (1059–1067), it was only in 1073 that Emperor Michael VII (1067–1078) sent a letter to Gregory VII (1073–1085), who has just been consecrated as a pope.⁹³ The political context that urged the emperor to initiate contacts with the papacy was serious for the Byzantine Empire, since only two years before, in 1071, the Seldjuks had defeated Emperor Romanus IV's army at Mantzikert and the Normans had captured Bari. We know that Gregory VII's answer to the emperor was courteous but remained determined to demonstrate that it considered the church of Constantinople as the 'daughter' of her spiritual mother, Rome.⁹⁴ Beyond this, the power of persuasion of the Byzantine emperors in Italy was dramatically decreasing at that time and that of the patriarchs was destined to follow. The

90 Naccari, "Tra Roma e Costantinopoli?", pp. 47–76.

91 Events: see above, note 28.

92 Chrysos, "1054: Schism?", pp. 547–552; Kolbaba, "The Legacy of Humbert and Cerularius", pp. 48–49; Morini, "1054: due ecclesiologie".

93 Gregorius VII, *Registrum* 1. 18, ed. E. Caspar, in *MGH, Epistolae selectae in usum scholarum*, 2 vols., Berlin 1955, pp. 29–30.

94 Gregorius VII, *Registrum* 1. 18 (p. 29).

signs that times had changed were evident when Michael VII was overthrown by Nicephorus Botaniates in 1078.⁹⁵ Gregory VII excommunicated the usurper and gave his support to the Norman expedition against Dyrrhachium.

4 Ecclesiastic Institutions and Their Economic Structures

The most important principle of the ecclesiastic organisation since Late Antiquity was the centrality of the town as the directional centre from which bishops exercised their jurisdiction over the surrounding area.⁹⁶ Political power had a strong influence in determining the importance of episcopal sees, for the prestige of the latter was greatly conditioned by their proximity to imperial residences or those of high dignitaries. In late antique Italy, this is clear by the evolution of the metropolitan networks.⁹⁷ In the course of the 4th century, the bishop of Milan – hosted in what had an imperial residence since late 3th century – extended his control over a vast area of the *Italia annonaria*, whereas the metropolitan jurisdiction of Rome remained limited to the *Italia suburbicaria*. During the 5th century in northern Italy, the church of Aquileia (also a former tetrarchic residence) began increasing its pre-eminence over the civil province of *Venetia et Histria*. The same can be said with regards to the bishop of Ravenna, a city that since 402 had become the main imperial residence in the West. Its titular greatly increased his prerogatives and by the end of the 5th century he already seemed to have extended his jurisdiction from *Flaminia* to *Aemilia*, to the detriment of Milan.⁹⁸

In the Justinianic age, the framework of metropolitan jurisdictions of Italy was articulated as follows.⁹⁹ The authority of the bishop of Rome, whose seat was the most prestigious one of Christianity, extended over central and southern Italy (*Tuscia et Umbria suburbicaria*, *Picenum suburbicarium*, *Samnium*, *Campania*, *Lucania et Bruttii*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicilia*). Within these regions he convened and presided ecclesiastic councils and was the hierarchical superior of his subordinates (*suffraganei*), having the right to contest their sentences. The bishop of Milan had authority over *Liguria* (part of the

95 Gregorius VII, *Registrum* 1. 18 (p. 29).

96 On ecclesiastic circoscriptions in late antiquity see: Gaudemet, *L'église dans l'empire romain*, vol. 2, pp. 883–894; Schweizer, *Hierarchie und Organization*, pp. 34–70 (6th century only).

97 Billanovich, “Le circoscrizioni ecclesiastiche”, pp. 1–39.

98 Orselli, “La chiesa di Ravenna”, pp. 408–409; Zangara, “Una predicazione alla presenza dei principi”, pp. 298–304; Deliyannis Mausekopf, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, pp. 84–85.

99 Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, pp. 29–34.

modern Liguria, Lombardia, and Piedmont), *Alpes Cottiae*, and *Tuscia annonaria* (northern Tuscany), whereas that of Ravenna presided over *Flaminia et Picenum annonarium* (Romagna and northern Marche) and large part of the ancient *Aemilia*. Aquileia was the metropolis of the *Venetia et Histria*. Sardinia, as far as civil administration is concerned, was associated with the prefect of Carthage, but after the Justinianic conquest of Africa it was once again placed under the authority of the bishop of Rome. The territorial distribution of bishoprics across the peninsula was irregular and had a higher density in the southern regions and Sicily. This was due to the higher level of urbanisation in the south in comparison with the north. The Lombard invasion violently impacted the functionality of the Italian episcopal network by causing the moving, abandonment, or destruction of sees.¹⁰⁰ Since 569 the titular of Milan had moved to Genoa, where he remained until the middle of the 7th century. From the letters of Pope Gregory I it is known that Populonia, Minturno, Fondi, Tauriana, *Velia*, *Buxentum*, *Blanda*, Crotone, Squillace, *Thurii*, *Myria*, *Tres Tabernae*, remained temporarily without bishops due to devastation. The see of Aquileia was transferred to Grado by Bishop Elias in the face of Lombard expansion, who conquered large part of the continental area of modern Veneto between 568 and 572. After the death of Bishop Severus, the bishopric of Aquileia was divided into two areas as a consequence of the Schism of the Three Chapters.¹⁰¹ Bishop Candidianus was elected at Grado, while Bishop John was elected at *Forum Iulii* (Cividale del Friuli), in the Lombard territory. From that point onward the ecclesiastic province of *Venetia et Histria* remained divided in two zones, of which the Istrian bishoprics (Parentium, Trieste, Iustinopolis, Pola, Pedena), and perhaps Oderzo and Altino recognized the authority of Grado, while those in Lombard territory (Zuglio, Belluno, Concordia, Trento, Asolo, Verona, Feltre, Treviso, and Vicenza) that of *Forum Iulii*.

An idea of the evolution of the ecclesiastical dioceses in 7th-century Italy is given by the subscriptions apposed at the Roman council of spring 680, convened by Pope Agatho in order to discuss Monotheletism in view of the Constantinopolitan ecumenical council of 680–681. About 120 bishops of the peninsula took part in the Roman synod, along with some representatives of the Gallic and Britannic churches.¹⁰² Bishoprics are listed according to a territorial order in an evident contrast with the praxis of the Theoderician period. Primacy was of course given to the bishopric of Rome, followed by that of Ostia. This was followed by groups classified according to the regions of

100 Ibid., p. 31.

101 See note 34.

102 ACO 2, vol. 2/1, pp. 140–160.



MAP 2.1 Italian provinces in 6th century
© COSENTINO, LAMANNA

Campania, Calabria, as well as those of the *Bruttii* and those of central and southern Lombard Italy. The list continues, mentioning the bishops of central and northern Lombard Italy, *Histria*, Pentapolis, Byzantine Tuscia, and lastly, those of Romagna and Emilia. Amongst the subscriptions, the bishoprics of regions under Byzantine control are grouped together, according to the late antique province to which they had appertained. The only exceptions to this rule are Rome and Ravenna, as both exerted their jurisdiction on a number of churches – those under Rome being much larger than those under Ravenna – which were both in Byzantine and Lombard areas. As far as Ravenna was concerned, the signatures of the synod of 680 seem to confirm that this archbishop had authority over all the dioceses of modern Emilia-Romagna. Milan is at the head of all bishoprics pertaining to Lombardy, Liguria, Piedmont, and Tuscany, but it is very uncertain if the churches of the latter were under its jurisdiction. Aquileia (namely, Grado) is the metropolitan see of the Veneto-Istrian churches. It is not clear whether the churches of the Pentapolis depended upon Ravenna or Rome. Sicily was under Roman jurisdiction, with Syracuse holding the rank of apostolic vicariate. Regarding the island, the list of 680 mentions Syracuse, Messina, *Thermae*, Taormina, Catania, Trecalae, Agrigento; but at that time there were also bishops in Palermo, Marsala, Cefalù, Tindari, Malta, and Lipari. Sardinia is not mentioned in the list of 680, but based upon other evidence, we may infer that it was home to the following bishoprics: *Carales* (metropolis), *Turris Libisonis* (Porto Torres), *Forum Traiani* (Fordongianus), *Sulcis* (Sant'Antioco), *Senafer* (Cornus, near modern Oristano), *Phausania* (Olbia), and the Balearics.¹⁰³

As previously stated, Sicily and southern Calabria were put under the authority of the patriarchate of Constantinople during the 8th century. The papacy would only be able to retake its jurisdiction over those regions in the late 11th century. It would appear that Naples and perhaps Carales gravitated for a brief time around the patriarch of Constantinople during the 8th century,¹⁰⁴ but they eventually remained under Roman control. We have scarce information on how the networks of Sicilian and Calabrese bishoprics were inserted within the eastern church. Our main sources are the so-called *Notitiae episcopatum*, which consists of lists of episcopal sees subject to Constantinopolitan

103 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum* 9.202 edd. P. Ewald, L.M. Hartmann, in *MGH, Epp.*, 2 vols., Berlin 1887–1899.

104 Naples: von Falkenhausen, “Chiesa greca e chiesa latina”, p. 154; Burgarella, “Bisanzio in Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale”, p. 200, n. 3; Prigent, “Un confesseur de mauvaise foi”, pp. 283–284.

rule.¹⁰⁵ Their use, however, presents problems because they are difficult to be dated and often intermixed ecclesiastic lists with civil ones. *Notitia* 3, written possibly between 787 and 865, is the first one to register the insertion of the bishoprics of Sicily and Calabria under the patriarchate of Constantinople.¹⁰⁶ According to this list, the island had the following bishoprics: Syracuse (metropolis), Leontini, Taormina, Messina, Tindari, Lipari, Cefalù, Thermae (Termini Imerese), Palermo, Carini, Lilibeo, Triocala (Caltabellotta), and Malta.¹⁰⁷ Catania is missing from it, for the city had been elevated to archiepiscopal status at some point between the middle of the 8th century to 869–870. In addition, according to *Notitia* 3, Reggio (metropolis), Santa Ciriaca, Squillace, Crotona, Amantea, Thurii, Bivona (Vibo Valentia), Nicotera, and Tauriana were affiliated with Calabria.¹⁰⁸ It is also possible that the bishopric of Amantea was established in the 8th century, as well as that of Rossano.¹⁰⁹ In modern Puglia, the only town which remained under Byzantine authority from mid-8th century to the mid-9th century was Otranto, which was absorbed into the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople.

In the course of the 9th century, the ecclesiastic geography of Byzantine Italy was conditioned by two contrastive processes: the progressive occupation of Sicily by the Muslims; and the Byzantine reconquest in Apulia and northern Calabria. As far as Sicily is concerned, only four Sicilian bishops attended the Constantinopolitan council of 869–870: those of Catania, Messina, Cefalù, and Alesa. After the capture of Syracuse and Taormina, it is possible that the management of their possessions was trusted to the bishops of Reggio, who in 1037 styled himself with the title of archbishop of Reggio and of Sicily.¹¹⁰ The Calabrese bishops of Reggio, Crotona, Santa Ciriaca (Gerace), and Tauriana attended the abovementioned council of 869–870.¹¹¹ The consequences of the territorial expansion of Byzantium in southern Italy at the end of the 9th century are mirrored in *Notitia* 7 (early 10th century). In Calabria, the bishopric of Santa Severina ascended to metropolitan status and had Umbriatico, Cerenzia, Isola di Capo Rizzuto, and Gallipoli as dependent sees.¹¹² At an uncertain date,

105 Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatum*, notitia 3, pp. 32–33 (date), 230–245 (text).

106 The date of *Notitia* 3 is disputed by scholars among those who think that it was written before 787 and those who believe that it was written at a later date: see Zuckerman, “Byzantium’s Pontic Policy”, pp. 201–230 (with relevant bibliography).

107 Zuckerman, “Byzantium’s Pontic Policy”, p. 242, ll. 619–631.

108 Ibid., p. 242, ll. 632–641.

109 Prigent, “Les évêchés byzantins de la Calabre”, pp. 931–953.

110 Jacob/Martin, “L’église grecque”, p. 360.

111 Jacob/Martin, “L’église grecque”, pp. 359–360.

112 Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatum*, notitia 7, p. 272, l. 45; p. 287, ll. 673–677.

Otranto was elevated to an archbishopric. The conquests in northern Calabria considerably enlarged the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Reggio, who is listed in *Notitia* 7 as having Bivona, Tauriana, Locri, Rossano, Squillace, Tropea, Amantea, Crotona, Cosenza, Nicotera, Bisignano, and Neocastro under his authority.¹¹³ In the theme of Longobardia, with the exception of Otranto and Gallipoli, all of the bishoprics had Latin prelates dependent upon Roman jurisdiction.¹¹⁴ However, this situation did not necessarily imply sharp contrasts between Greek and Latin clergy. Competition between Constantinople and Rome was rather played on administrative level by redefining the status of certain sees.¹¹⁵ Otranto, for example, was given the status of metropolis (before was an autonomous archbishopric) in 968 with the authority to consecrate bishops in Acerenza, Gravina, Matera, Tricarico, and Tursi, even though it is only in Acerenza where a bishop is effectively attested to during the middle of the 11th century. In the first half of the 11th century two new bishoprics, Bova and Oppido, were created in Calabria. In Apulia, Lecce, and Castro (*Paleokastron*) were elevated to episcopal sees probably around the same period. From the 1050s to the 1070s, when the Normans gradually conquered Apulia e Calabria, they did not immediately destroy the Byzantine diocesan network. Instead, they preferred, when possible, to gradually substitute the Greek clergy with a Latin one. Of course, southern Calabria and Sicily came back under the jurisdiction of Rome.

The administration of churches of Byzantine Italy cannot be reconstructed in detail due to the lack of sources. Only few centres, such as Rome or Ravenna, have left by virtue of their importance a certain amount of evidence which permit us to outline a concise picture. For the last period of the Byzantine presence in Italy we may refer to the archive of the bishopric of Oppido (47 charts dated to between 1050 and 1064/1065),¹¹⁶ which is the oldest surviving ecclesiastic archive from the whole Byzantine world. These three episcopates will be analysed here as case studies to deal with administration and economic management of ecclesiastic wealth.

Starting from the pre-Constantinian age, pastoral care in Rome had been organised around churches called *tituli*, which numbered twenty in the 3rd

113 Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatum*, notitia 7, p. 283, ll. 536–548.

114 Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 566–582.

115 Network of the ecclesiastic dioceses in Byzantine southern Italy in 10th–11th centuries: Girgensohn, “Dall’episcopato greco all’episcopato latino”, pp. 25–44; Guillou, “L’organisation ecclésiastique de l’Italie byzantine”, pp. 309–315; Jacob/Martin, “L’église grecque”, pp. 357–365; Herde, “Papacy and the Greek Church”, pp. 213–224.

116 CAG 3.

century and increased to twenty-eight during the 8th century.¹¹⁷ There also existed larger and more prestigious edifices designated as basilicas, five of which in the 8th century were called 'patriarchal' (St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Lawrence, Santa Maria Maggiore, and San Salvatore in the Lateran). The episcopal residence was at the Lateran palace. Rome was divided into seven ecclesiastic districts under the responsibility of seven deacons styled as *diaconi regionarii*, who assisted socially disadvantaged or poor people and managed ecclesiastic properties situated within the district. In these functions, they were originally assisted by *notarii*; the latter, during Late Antiquity, became professional figures charged with writing documents and carrying out minor bureaucratic functions. Since at least the 6th century they had been grouped into *scholae* (associations), at the head of which were the *primicerius* and the *secundicerius*. In each of Rome's ecclesiastic regions there were also the so-called *defensores*, who during the 5th and 6th centuries were entrusted with the protection of the lower-class against the imperial agents and represented the church in minor processes. Over the time, their responsibility extended to other administrative tasks. In the 7th century, the higher officers of papal administration were the *primicerius* and the *secundicerius notariorum*, the *primicerius defensorum*, the *vicedominus*, the *sacellarius*, the *vestararius*, and the *nomenclator*. The functions of the first three officers have already been briefly explained. The *vicedominus*, whose charge is known to exist since the middle of 6th century, was responsible for managing the staff of the Lateran palace. The *sacellarius* was the head of the financial services, while the *vestararius* was entrusted with the conservation of the ceremonial wardrobe, sacred vessels, and precious objects. As far as the *nomenclator*, he possibly superintended papal ceremonies. In the 8th century the figure of the *superista*, who was the commander of the papal militia, is also known to have existed.

Due to its considerably wealth, the church of Rome had also an articulated structure for the management of movable and immovable goods. Since the end of the 5th century, its estates were supervised via the system of the *patrimonia*, with locations throughout Italy, and possessions even in Gaul, Dalmatia, Illyricum, and Africa (*Sicilia, Lucania et Bruttii, Apulia et Calabria, Campania, Samnium, Sabina, Via Appia, Tuscia, Picenum, Liguria, Ravenna, Histria, Alpes Cottiae, Dalmatia, Illyricum, Sardinia, Corsica, Galliae, Austrasia*, and African *Germanicia*).¹¹⁸ Each patrimony was run by a rector, usually a subdeacon.

¹¹⁷ Ecclesiastic organization of Rome in late antique and Byzantine periods: Gaudemet, *L'église dans l'empire romain*, pp. 368–372; Pietri, *Roma christiana*, vol. 1, pp. 97–156, 575–724; Noble, *The Republic of Saint Peter*, pp. 212–255; Saxer, "La chiesa di Roma", pp. 493–637.

¹¹⁸ Roman estates and their management: Recchia, *Gregorio Magno e la società agricola*; Caliri, *Società ed economia*; Vera, "Massa fundorum", pp. 991–1025; Marazzi, *I patrimonia*

Agricultural produce obtained from the patrimonies was in part carried on to Rome and kept in urban granary deposits. Starting in the 7th century Rome began to document the institution of the *diaconiae*. However, in this case the *diaconiae* do not appear to be charitable foundations meant to relieve the poor, as they were known in the East and in other Italian towns (like Naples, Pesaro or Ravenna), but were rather centres for the distribution of grain and other products to the urban population.¹¹⁹ During the pontificate of Leo III (795–816) there were eighteen *diaconiae*, most of which were primarily located in the central districts of the city. Under Popes Zachary (741–752) and Hadrian I (772–795) the rural properties of the church of Rome around the city were re-organised into large farms called *domuscultae*.¹²⁰ The need to do so was probably due to the seizure of the landed patrimonies in southern Italy which urged the popes to increase the exploitation of their rural possessions in the Latium.

The administration of the church of Ravenna is less known than that of Rome, but even less articulated owing to the difference in the urban size of the two cities, the latter of which was much larger than the former.¹²¹ The development of the Ravennate bishopric was deeply influenced by its circumstance to be instituted in a centre which was small but held a high political importance. The imbalance between these two factors is mirrored in the dimension of its clergy, which in early 6th century had more deacons than priests. This may imply that for the church of Ravenna, problems of a patrimonial nature overwhelmed those concerning pastoral care. During the 6th century, its wealth must have consistently increased thanks to imperial donations made by Justinian and/or Justin II. The church of Ravenna organised the exploitation of its properties in a manner similar to that of Rome. Its estates in Sicily were under the supervision of a rector; a centralized system of management was also documented also for its possessions in other regions of Italy (Romagna, Emilia, Istria, Veneto, Marche, Umbria, Campania, and Calabria).

Regarding the Greek church in southern Italy, one must first note that in its technical language the term *archiepiskopos* (ἀρχιεπίσκοπος) has a different meaning than the homologous Latin term *archiepiscopus*. While in the Latin use it came to indicate a primate who had jurisdiction over more sees, namely a metropolitan, in Greek it meant both an independent or autocephalous

sanctae Romanae ecclesiae, focus on Lazio and the *domuscultae*; Prigent, “Le grand domaine sicilien”, pp. 207–236.

119 Durlat, *De la ville antique à la ville byzantine*, pp. 164–183.

120 Marazzi, *I patrimonia sanctae Romanae ecclesiae*, pp. 235–261.

121 Economic organization and properties of the church of Ravenna: Fasoli, “Il patrimonio della chiesa ravennate”, pp. 389–400; Brown, “The Church of Ravenna”, pp. 1–28; Cosentino, “Ricchezza e investimento”, pp. 417–431; Mancassola, “La grande proprietà fondiaria”, pp. 119–144.

bishop and a bishop who answered directly to the patriarch of Constantinople. The other differences between Greek and Latin clergy also regarded how the former was economically maintained, as well as the institution of marriage. Whereas in the Latin West, and most especially Italy, priests had been supported by the system of the *quarta* (1/4 to the bishop, 1/4 to the clergy, 1/4 to the poor and 1/4 to the ecclesiastic buildings) since the 5th century, in the oriental church they received a stipend from the income of their dioceses, whose amount was related to the importance of their offices.¹²² In Late Antiquity the ordination of priests or deacons who were married was widely admitted, but during the early Middle Ages marriage came to be forbidden in the Latin church, while in the Greek church was not. In Greek documents of southern Italy the term *presbyteros* (Lat. *presbyter*) is often substituted by that of *papas* (πάπας, παπᾶς, lit. 'father').¹²³ Churches appertaining to a bishop and officiated by his clergy are called *katholikai ekklēsiai* (καθολικαὶ ἐκκλησίαι) and differ from the *euktērioi oikoi* (εὐκτήριοι οἶκοι), which were chapels erected by laymen or connected to monasteries. Regarding Syracuse, the most important church of southern Italy in the 8th and 9th centuries, there is not much substantial evidence. It is known that in the second half of the 9th century it must have been very wealthy, for when the Muslims sacked the city in 878, the treasury of the church amounted to some 360,000 *nomismata*.¹²⁴ During the middle of the 11th century the landed patrimony of the church of Reggio Calabria was composed of at least 281 *proasteia* (estates) and seven villages.¹²⁵ From the chartulary of the bishopric of Oppido, instituted before 1051, we apprehend that the most important offices of the church were those of *chartophylax*, *primikērios*, *keimēliarchēs*, and *kanstrēsios*.¹²⁶ In Late Antiquity the *chartophylax* was a sort of notary and archivist, but in middle Byzantine period his position increased in importance, as he acted as an intermediary between the bishop and his clergy. *Primikērios* is a generic qualification which can be applied to either the oldest member of the clergy or the head of a group, such as the notaries, or chorists and singers of psalms. The *keimēliarchēs* or *skeuophylax* was entrusted

122 Institutions of the Byzantine church: Herman, "The Secular Church", pp. 104–133; Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ὀφφίξια*; Congourdeau/Martin-Hisard, "Les institutions de l'église byzantine", pp. 89–124. For late antique and Byzantine Sicily see also the volume by Rizzone, *Opus Christi edificabit* and its update in Rizzone, "Addenda et corrigenda".

123 See for example CAG, vol. 3, nos. 5, 7, 9, 20–11, 14, 22–24, 26, 30, 39, 41–42 (*prōtopapas* or *papas*); no. 18 (*presbyteros*).

124 Von Falkenhausen, "I Bizantini in Italia", p. 51.

125 See CAG, vol. 4.

126 CAG, vol. 3, no. 39 (*chartophylax*); no. 17 (*primikērios*); no. 18 (*keimēliarchēs*); no. 20 (*kanstrēsios*).

with the conservation of sacred vessels and of any precious object belonging to the church in general. The functions of the *kanstrēsios* are unknown; perhaps he superintended the bishop's dining hall. In the documents of Oppido, the office of *oikonomos*, namely the administrator of the ecclesiastic patrimony, is not quoted. Since he was one of the most important ecclesiastic officials, his absence in Oppido's charts has to be considered a mere coincidence.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- ACO 2, vol. 1, *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum*, ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin 1984; vol. 2/1–2, *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium*, ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin 1992.
- Le «*Liber Pontificalis*». *Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Dushesne, 2 vols, Paris 1886–1892.
- CAG, vol. 3, *La Théotokos de Hagia-Agathè (Oppido) (1050–1064/1065)*, edd. C. Giannelli/A. Guillou/S.G. Mercati, Vatican City 1972; vol. 4, *Le brébion de la métropole byzantin de Région (vers 1050)*, ed. A. Guillou, Vatican City 1974.
- Darrouzès, J., *Notitiae episcopatum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: texte critique, introduction et notes*. Paris 1981.
- Gelasius, *Epistulae*, in *Epistulae romanorum pontificum genuinae et quae ad eos scriptae sunt a S. Hilario usque ad Pelagium II*, vol. 1, A. S. Hilario usque ad S. Hormisdam ann. 461–523, ed. A. Thiel, Brunsbergae 1868, pp. 285–613.
- Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum*, edd. P. Ewald/L.M. Hartmann, in *MGH, Epp.*, 2 vols. Berlin, 1887–1899.
- Gregorius VII, *Registrum*, ed. E. Caspar, in *MGH, Epistolae selectae in usum scholarum*, 2 vols, Berlin 1955.
- Joannou, P.-P., *Discipline générale antique (II^e–IX^e)*, I/1, *Les canons des conciles oecuméniques (II^e–IX^e s.)*, Grottaferrata 1962.
- Will, C., *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis Ecclesiae graecae et latinae saeculo undecimo composita supersunt*, Lipsiae et Marburgi 1861 (reprint, Frankfurt am Main 1963).

Secondary Sources

- Acconcia Longo, A., “I vescovi nell’agiografia italogreca. Il contributo dell’agiografia alla storia delle diocesi italogreche”, in A. Jacob/J.-M. Martin/Gh. Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l’Italie byzantine: acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l’École Française de Rome, 363), Rome 2012, pp. 127–153.
- Acconcia Longo, A., “La passio di s. Nicone e cc.mm. (BHG 1369): un nuovo testo agiografico iconoclasta?”, *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n. s. 38 (2001), 27–68.

- Ahrweiler, H., *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris 1975.
- Anastos, M.V., "The transfer of Illyricum, Calabria and Sicily to the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople in 732–733", *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 9 (1957), 14–31.
- Auzépy, M.-F., "Francfort et Nicée II", in R. Berndt (ed.), *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794*, Mainz 1997, pp. 279–300 (reprinted in Eadem, *L'histoire des iconoclastes*, Paris 2007, pp. 285–302).
- Auzépy, M.-F., "La destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalcé par Léon III", *Byzantion* 60 (1990), 445–492 (reprinted in Eadem, *L'histoire des iconoclastes*, 145–178).
- Bayer, A., *Spaltung der Christenheit. Das sogenannte Morgenländische Schisma von 1054*, Köln 2002.
- Billanovich, M.P., "Le circoscrizioni ecclesiastiche dell'Italia settentrionale tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo", *Italia Medievale e Umanistica* 34 (1991), 1–39.
- Blaudeau, Ph., *Le siège de Rome et l'Orient (448–536). Étude géo-ecclésiologique* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 460), Rome 2012.
- Booth, Ph., *Crisis of Empire. Doctrine and Dissent at the End of Late Antiquity*, Berkeley 2014.
- Brandes, W., "Juristische' Krisenbewältigung im 7. Jahrhundert? Die Prozesse gegen Martin I. und Maximus Homologites", *Fontes Minores* 10 (1998), 141–212.
- Brown, T.S., "The Church of Ravenna and the Imperial Administration in the Seventh Century", *The English Historical Review* 370 (1979), 1–28.
- Brubaker, L./ Haldon, J., *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680–850. A History*, Cambridge 2011.
- Burgarella, F., "Bisanzio in Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale: i riflessi politici", in A. Guillou et alii, *Il Mezzogiorno dai Bizantini a Federico II* (Storia d'Italia, edited by G. Galasso), Turin 1983, pp. 129–248.
- Burgarella, F., "La chiesa greca in Calabria in età bizantina (VI–VII secolo)", in *Testimonianze cristiane antiche ed altomedievali nella Sibaritide*, Bari 1980, pp. 89–120.
- Burgarella, F., "Presenze greche a Roma: aspetti culturali e religiosi", in *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente* (Settimane CISAM 49), vol. 2, Spoleto 2002, pp. 943–992.
- Caliri, E., *Società ed economia della Sicilia di VI secolo attraverso il Registrum epistularum di Gregorio Magno*, Messina 1997.
- Chrysos, E., "1054: Schism?" in *Cristianità d'Occidente e di Oriente* (Settimane CISAM 51), vol. 1, Spoleto 2004, pp. 547–567.
- Congourdeau, M.-H./Martin-Hisard, B., "Les institutions de l'église byzantine", in J.-C. Cheynet (ed.), *Le monde byzantin*, vol. 2, *L'empire byzantin (641–1204)*, Paris 2006, pp. 89–124.
- Cosentino, S., "Constans II, Ravenna's autocephaly and the panel of the privileges in St. Apollinare in Classe: A reappraisal", in C.G. Pitsakis/ C. Synellis/ T. Kolias, (eds.), *Aureus. Volume offered to Evangelos K. Chrysos*, Athens 2014, pp. 153–169.

- Cosentino, S., "Quando e perché fu scritta la *Vita* di Gregorio di Agrigento?", *Quaderni digitali di archeologia post-classica*, 10 (2018), 18–36.
- Cosentino, S., "Ricchezza e investimento della chiesa di Ravenna tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo", in S. Gelichi/R. Hodges (eds.), *From One Sea to Another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2012, pp. 417–439.
- Cosentino, S., "Social instability and economic decline of the Ostrogothic community in the aftermath of the imperial victory: the papyri evidence", in J. Herrin/J. Nelson (eds.), *Ravenna: Its Role in Earlier Medieval Change and Exchange*, London 2016, pp. 133–147.
- Cosentino, S., *Storia dell'Italia bizantina (VI–XI secolo). Da Giustiniano ai Normanni*, Bologna 2008.
- D'Aiuto, F., "Per una riconsiderazione dell'epigrafia greca medievale di Roma: le iscrizioni su pietra", in C. Carbonetti/ S. Lucà/ M. Signorini (eds.), *Roma e il suo territorio nel Medioevo. Le fonti scritte fra tradizione e innovazione*, Spoleto 2015, pp. 553–612.
- Dagron, G., "Constantinople, la primauté après Rome", in F. Elia (ed.), *Politica, retorica e simbolismo del primato: Roma e Costantinopoli (secoli IV–VII)*, vol. 1, Catania 2002, pp. 23–38.
- Dagron, G., "Le christianisme byzantin du VII^e au milieu du XI^e siècle", in G. Dagron/ P. Riché/ A. Vauchez (eds.), *Évêques, moines et empereurs (610–1054)* (Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours, IV) Paris 1993, pp. 7–371.
- Darrouzès, J., *Recherches sur les ὁφείλεια de l'Église byzantine*, Paris 1970.
- Deliyannis Mauskopf, D., *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2010.
- Durlat, J., *De la ville antique à la ville byzantine: le problème des subsistances* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 136), Rome 1990.
- Dvorník, F., *Byzance et la primauté romaine*, Paris 1964.
- Dvorník, F., *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy: Origins and Background*, 2 vols., Washington DC 1966.
- Dvorník, F., *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew*, Cambridge 1959.
- Dvorník, *The Photian Schism. History and Legend*, Cambridge 1948.
- Enzensberger, H., "La chiesa greca: organizzazione religiosa, culturale, economica e i rapporti con Roma e Costantinopoli", in A. Placanica (ed.), *Storia della Calabria medievale. I quadri generali*, Rome 2001, pp. 265–287.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Chiesa greca e chiesa latina in Sicilia prima della conquista araba" *Archivio Storico Siracusano*, n.s. 5 (1978–1979), 137–155.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "I Bizantini in Italia", in G. Cavallo et alii (eds.), *I Bizantini in Italia*, Milan 1982, pp. 3–136.

- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Roma greca. Greci e civiltà greca a Roma nel Medioevo", in C. Carbonetti/ S. Lucà/ M. Signorini (eds.), *Roma e il suo territorio nel Medioevo. Le fonti scritte fra tradizione e innovazione*, Spoleto 2015, pp. 39–72.
- Fasoli, G., "Il patrimonio della chiesa ravennate" in A. Carile (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna. Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, vol. 2/1, *Territorio, economia e società*, Venice 1991, pp. 389–400.
- Fedalto, G., "Lo scisma tricapitolino e la politica giustiniana", in *Cristianità d'Occidente e di Oriente* (Settimane CISAM, 51), vol. 1, Spoleto 2004, pp. 629–659.
- Gaudemet, J., *L'église dans l'empire romain (IV^e–V^e siècles)*, Paris 1958.
- Gero, S., *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 384, Subsidia, 52), Louvain 1977.
- Girgensohn, D., "Dall'episcopato greco all'episcopato latino nell'Italia meridionale", in *La chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo*, vol. 1, Padua 1973, pp. 25–44.
- Grumel, V., "Cause et date de l'annexion de l'Illyricum oriental, de la Sicile et de la Calabre au patriarcat de Constantinople", *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 7 (1953), 376.
- Grumel, V., "L'annexion de l'Illyricum oriental, de la Sicile et de la Calabre au patriarcat de Constantinople. Le témoignage de Théophane le chronographe", *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 40 (1951–1952), 191–200.
- Guillou, A., "L'organisation ecclésiastique de l'Italie byzantine autour de 1050. De la métropole aux églises privées", in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'societas christiana' dei secoli XI–XII. Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie*, Milan 1977, pp. 309–326.
- Haldon, J., *The Empire That Would Not Die. The Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival, 640–740*, Cambridge 2016.
- Herde, P., "The Papacy and the Greek Church in Southern Italy", in G.A. Loud/ A. Metcalfe (eds.), *The Society of Norman Italy*, Leiden 2002, pp. 213–251 (first published in Italian in *La chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo*, vol. 1, Padua 1973, pp. 213–255).
- Herman E., "The Secular Church", in *The Byzantine Empire: Part II: Government, Church and Civilisation* (The Cambridge Medieval History, IV.), Cambridge 1967, pp. 104–133.
- Herrin, J., "The Pentarchy: Theory and Reality in the Ninth Century", in *Cristianità d'Occidente e Cristianità d'Oriente* (Settimane CISAM, 51), vol. 1, Spoleto 2004, pp. 591–628.
- Jacob, A./Martin, J.-M., "L'église grecque en Italie (v. 650–v. 1050)", in G. Dagron/ P. Riché/ A. Vauchez (eds.), *Évêques, moines et empereurs (610–1054)* (Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours, IV), Paris 1993, pp. 349–371.
- Jones, A.H.M., *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602. A Social Economic and Administrative Survey*, 3 vols., Oxford 1964.
- Kolbaba, T., "The Legacy of Humbert and Cerularius: The Tradition of the 'Schism of 1054' in Byzantine Texts and Manuscripts of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century", in C. Dendrinos et alii (eds.), *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the History and Literature of*

- Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, Aldershot 2003, pp. 47–61.
- Lange, C., *Mia Energeia. Untersuchungen zur Einigungspolitik des Kaisers Heraclius und des Patriarchen Sergius von Constantinopel* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 66), Tübingen 2012.
- La Rocca, C., “La cristianizzazione dei Barbari e la nascita dell’Europa”, *Reti Medievali Rivista* 5/2 (2004), 1–39.
- Luzzati Laganà, F., “Tentazioni iconoclaste a Napoli”, *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n. s. 26 (1989), 99–115.
- Maccarrone, M., “‘Sedes apostolica – vicarius Petri’. La perpetuità del primato di Pietro nella sede e nel vescovo di Roma (secoli III–VIII)”, in A. Galuzzi/R. Volpini/P. Zerbi (eds.), *Romana ecclesia Cathedra Petri* (Italia Sacra. Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica, 47), Rome 1991, pp. 1–101.
- Mancassola, N., “La grande proprietà fondiaria nel territorio dell’antico Esarcato di Ravenna (secoli IX–X)”, in J.-M. Martin/A. Peters-Custot/V. Prigent (eds.), *L’héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle). IV. Habitat et structure agraire* (Collection de l’École Française de Rome), Rome 2017, pp. 119–144.
- Maraval, P., “La politique religieuse de Justinien”, in L. Pietri (ed.), *Les églises d’Orient et d’Occident* (Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours, 111), Paris 1998, pp. 389–426.
- Marazzi, F., *I ‘patrimonia sanctae Romanae ecclesiae’ nel Lazio (secoli IV–X). Struttura amministrativa e prassi gestionali* (Nuovi studi storici, 37), Rome 1998.
- Martin, J.-M., *La Pouille du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (Collection de l’École Française de Rome, 179), Rome 1993.
- McCormick, M., “Byzantium and the West, 700–900”, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, ca. 700–900*, vol. 2, Cambridge 1995, pp. 349–380.
- McCormick, M., “Text, images et iconoclasm dans le cadre des relations entre Byzance et l’Occident Carolingien”, in *Testo e immagine nell’alto medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, 41), Spoleto 1994, pp. 153–154.
- Meyendorff, J., *Byzantine Theology. Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, New York 1974.
- Meyendorff, J., “St. Peter in Byzantine Theology”, in id. (ed.), *The Primacy of Peter. Essays in Ecclesiology and the Early Church*, New York 1992, pp. 67–90.
- Morini, E., *La chiesa ortodossa. Storia – Disciplina – Culto*, Bologna 1996.
- Morini, E., “Roma nella Pentarchia”, in *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente* (Settimane CISAM, 49), vol. 2, Spoleto 2002, pp. 832–939.
- Morini, E., “1054: due ecclesiologie in controtelaio dietro uno scisma mitizzato”, in F. Amerini/R. Saccenti (eds.), “*Vicarius Petri*”, “*Vicarius Christi*.” *La titolatura del Papa nell’XI secolo. Dibattiti e prospettive*, Pisa 2017, pp. 73–101.

- Naccari, N., "Tra Roma e Costantinopoli? Pietro III d'Antiochia e la sua ecclesiologia nello scontro del 1054", *Bizantinistica. Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 17 (2016), 47–76.
- Noble, Th. F.X., *The Republic of St. Peter. The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825*, Philadelphia 1984.
- Ohme, H., *Das Concilium Quinisextum und seine Bishofsliste. Studien zum konstantinopeler Konzil von 692* (Arbeiter zur Kirchengeschichte, 56), Berlin 1990.
- Orselli, A.M., "La chiesa di Ravenna tra coscienza dell'istituzione e tradizione cittadina", in A. Carile (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna. Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, 11/2, *Ecclesiologia, cultura e arte*, Venice 1991, pp. 405–422.
- Patlagean, E., "Les Stoudites, l'empereur et Rome: figure byzantine d'un monachisme réformateur", in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, 34), vol. 1, Spoleto 1988, pp. 429–465.
- Peri, V., "La pentarchia: istituzione ecclesiale (IV–VII sec.) e teoria canonico-teologica", in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, 34), vol. 1, Spoleto 1988, pp. 209–318.
- Pertusi, A., *Il pensiero politico bizantino*, edited by Antonio Carile, Bologna 1990.
- Petrucchi, E., *Ecclesiologia e politica di Leone IX*, Rome 1977.
- Petrucchi, E., *Ecclesiologia e politica. Momenti di storia del papato medievale*, Rome 2001.
- Pietri, C., *Roma christiana. Recherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311–440)*, 2 vols (Bibliothèque des Écoles Française d'Athènes et de Rome, 224), Rome 1976.
- Prigent, V., "Le grand domaine sicilien à l'aube du Moyen Âge", in J.-M. Martin, A. Peters-Custot, V. Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle), IV. Habitat et structure agraire* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 531), Rome 2017, pp. 207–236.
- Prigent, V., "Les empereurs isauriens et la confiscation des patrimoines pontificaux d'Italie du sud", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Âge* 116/2 (2004), 557–594.
- Prigent, V., "Les évêchés byzantins de la Calabre septentrionale au VIII^e siècle", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Âge* 114, (2002), 931–953.
- Prigent, V., "Un confesseur de mauvaise foi. Notes sur les exactions financières de l'empereur Léon III en Italie du Sud", in S. Cosentino (ed.), *L'Italia bizantina: una prospettiva economica, Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 28 (2015), 279–304.
- Recchia, V., *Gregorio Magno e la società agricola* (Verba Seniorum, 8), Rome 1978.
- Rizzone, V.G., "Addenda et corrigenda a 'Opus Christi edificabit. Stati e funzioni dei cristiani di Sicilia attraverso l'apporto dell'epigrafia'", *Synaxis* 34/1 (2016), 59–84.
- Rizzone, V.G., *Opus Christi edificabit. Stati e funzioni dei cristiani di Sicilia attraverso l'apporto dell'epigrafia (IV–VI secolo)*, Catania 2011.

- Runciman, S., *The Eastern Schism. A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches during the XIth and XIIth Centuries*, Oxford 1955.
- Sansterre, J.-M., "Le monachisme byzantin à Rome", in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, 34), vol. 2, Spoleto 1988, pp. 701–746.
- Sansterre, J.-M., *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VI^e–fin du IX^e s.)*, 2 vols, Brussels 1980–1983.
- Savigni, R., "Ruolo storico e teologia del papato nell'Europa carolingia", in F. Amerini/R. Saccenti (eds.), *'Vicarius Petri', 'Vicarius Christi'. La titolatura del papa nell'XI secolo. Dibattiti e prospettive*, Pisa 2017, pp. 27–72.
- Saxer, V., "La chiesa di Roma dal V al X secolo: amministrazione centrale e organizzazione territoriale", in *Roma nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, 48), vol. 2, Spoleto 2001, pp. 493–637.
- Schweizer, C., *Hierarchie und Organisation der römischen Reichskirche in der Kaiser-gesetzgebung vom vierten bis zum sechsten Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt 1991.
- Soden, H., *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, vol. 1/1, Göttingen 1911.
- Sotinel, C., "Emperors and Popes in the Sixth Century", in M. Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, Cambridge 2005, pp. 267–290.
- Sotinel, C., "L'échec en Occident: l'affaire des Trois Chapitres", in L. Pietri (ed.), *Les églises d'Orient et d'Occident* (Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours, 111) Paris 1998, pp. 427–455.
- Spiteris, Y., *La critica bizantina del primato romano nel XII secolo* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 108), Rome 1979.
- Thümmel, H.-G., *Die Konzilien zur Bilderfrage im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert. Das 7. Ökumenische Konzil in Nikaia 787*, Paderborn 2005.
- Vera, D., "Massa fundorum. Forme della grande proprietà e poteri della città in Italia fra Costantino e Gregorio Magno", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité* 111/2 (1999), 991–1025.
- West-Harling, V., "The Church of Ravenna, Constantinople and Rome in the Seventh Century", in J. Herrin/J. Nelson (eds.), *Ravenna: Its Role in Earlier Medieval Change and Exchange*, London 2016, pp. 199–210.
- Winkelman, F., *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit* (Berliner Byzantinische Studien, 6), Frankfurt am Main 2001.
- Wipszycka, E., *Storia della Chiesa nella tarda antichità*, translated by V. Verdiani, Milan 2000.
- Zangara, V., "Una predicazione alla presenza dei principi: la chiesa di Ravenna nella prima metà del sec. V", *Antiquité Tardive* 8 (2000), 265–304.
- Zuckerman, C., "Byzantium's Pontic Policy in the *Notitiae Episcopatum*", in id. (ed.), *La Crimée entre Byzance et le Khaganat khazar* (Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 25), Paris 2006, pp. 201–230.

Monastic Life and Its Institutions

Enrico Morini

To draw a picture of monastic life in Byzantine Italy, and consequently, of its institutions, it is necessary to acknowledge a seemingly paradoxical point, namely that there is only one thing common to all its components: the profession of monastic life. In a context which did not characterize itself as uniform from either the cultural-linguistic point of view, nor from a cultic and religious one (as it was that part of the Italian peninsula still under the authority – more or less effective – of the Eastern Christian Roman Empire), it is no wonder that even the monastic institution was extremely differentiated, as it was fatally at the crossroad of multiple interactions. Forms of religious life and institutional aspects intersected at many different levels: if at the linguistic and cultural level we find in the same geographical area the coexistence of Hellenophone and Latinophone populations, at the religious and ritual level we see that ap-purtenance to the Greek or Latin church did not always coincide with the jurisdiction of the two patriarchal sees of Rome and Constantinople. Additionally, the existence in Italy of two different imperial capitals during this period, Rome and Ravenna, is another element of unbalance, with their experiences of urban monasticism – already a common phenomenon in the other imperial capital, the *pars Orientis*, Constantinople, the New Rome – which was a form of monasticism intrinsically atypical. In fact, the symbiosis between the monk and the city is almost an oxymoron, as the proper definition of monastic life is that of a choice of loneliness, if not of the single monk (hermit) at least of his monastic community, which was supposed to avoid civilized society. If we consider that in Italy, as a consequence of the presence of the two apostolic tombs, Rome is the only centre of *peregrinatio religiosa*,¹ we find a further atypical form of urban monasticism within a dynamic that the ancient capital shares only with Jerusalem. The presence, in these two metropolitan areas, of a monasticism which is urban, of both linguistic groups, and of both rituals (Greek and Latin) – although to a different extent within each of the two cities – does not exclude the possibility that Byzantine Italy also experienced a significant development of monasticism “of the desert” which would have been more

1 Morini, “The Orient and Rome”, pp. 849–69; Russo, “La *peregrinatio* dei santi italo-greci”, pp. 89–99.

consistent with the theoretical assumptions of monasticism. However, this form was primarily Greek by language and ritual observance, and flourished in southern Italy – especially in Calabria, along its border with Basilicata and, to a lesser extent, in Puglia – as well as in the islands of Sicily and to a much lesser extent, in Sardinia: namely, the areas that remained under the direct control of the Eastern Christian Roman Empire for a longer time and consequently underwent more intensely the process that León Robert Ménager has defined as “byzantinisation religieuse.”²

While we recognize the composite structure of this phenomenon (thus, we should rather speak of “forms of monasticism of Byzantine Italy”, than of ‘monasticism’), it is necessary as a premise to our analysis, to clarify some further questions concerning the historiographical production. The socially and ecclesiastically hegemonic role of the monks in the Eastern Roman civilization has understandably influenced the traditional historiography, leading to exaggerations of the monastic presence in the Italian areas which (with diversified diachronies) remained part of the empire, namely the Exarchate-Pentapolis and the Roman duchy (up to the mid-8th century), Sicily (up to mid-9th), Sardinia (up to mid-9th), and southern Italy (up to mid-11th).

Scholars have frequently evoked the charming image of a swarm of monks in Byzantine Italy, from the “New Thebaid” imagined by Augusto Vasina in the area of Classe (near Ravenna)³ at the time of Gregory the Great, to the arbitrary identification of almost any rock area with ancient settlements in Puglia, Basilicata, Calabria, and Sardinia as evidence of monastic life with an “oriental” matrix. Analogue processes of overconfidence have led to affirmations of the existence of a multiplicity of large areas inhabited only by monks in the Hellenophone areas of Calabria and Basilicata (from the 9th century) – modeled on contemporaneous institutional realities attested to in Asia Minor (Bithynia and outskirts of Ephesus), in Chalkidiki (Mount Athos) and Thrace (Mount Ganos) – assuming even the formation of veritable “monastic confederations”, while the sparse documentation of hagiographic sources allows us to recognize with reasonable certainty only one phenomenon similar to these in the eparchy of Merkourion (in the upper valley of the Mercure-Lao River).

Therefore, in order to draw a picture of monastic life and institutions in Byzantine Italy while also being realistic and respectful of this multiplicity of configurations and variations (intersecting and coexisting even in a same area), we will construct our analysis along a geographical line which is basically

2 Ménager, “La ‘byzantinisation’ religieuse”; Borsari, “La bizantinizzazione religiosa”; Martin, “Hellénisme et présence byzantine”, pp. 181–202.

3 Vasina, “Per una storia del monachesimo in Emilia-Romagna”, p. 10.

coherent with the chronological one: from north to south, as well as from the regions whose appurtenance to the empire “of the Rhomaioi” was shorter to those who had a longer one.

This same journey will take us, increasingly, from a monasticism which was, as for worship and religiously, Latin in character to one which was increasingly Greek.

1 The Occident of the *Rhomaioi*: Ravenna

Ravenna was the *urbs regia* and imperial residence from 402 to 476. Later, after the parenthesis of the Gothic kingdom (still formally under the sovereignty of the *basileus* of Constantinople), the city became the capital of the imperial domains in Italy until 751 (the fall of the Exarchate). Here we find an apparent fragmentation of the monastic phenomenon – as it emerges later from the *Liber pontificalis* of Andreas Agnellus – which reveals striking similarities between what was simultaneously happening in Ravenna and the other *urbs regia* in the east: Constantinople, the New Rome, as expertly noted by Alba Maria Orselli.⁴ Significantly, these institutional analogies were preceded by a similar etiology of urban monasticism in both cities. Urban monasticism in Ravenna and Constantinople showed a first, although very brief, suburban phase; these institutions were then immediately incorporated inside the urban perimeter which was in rapid expansion. Their foundations were both linked to ascetic figures of Syriac origin and were related to court circles: Isaac the Dalmatian in Constantinople and Barbatianus in Ravenna. The former lived at the end of the 4th century, the second at the beginning of the 5th, according to the legend that links him to the Augusta, Galla Placidia. At any rate, according to Alessandro Testi Rasponi⁵ and Gustave Bardy,⁶ this legend should be taken with a grain of salt and collocate the existence of Barbatianus in the 6th century. In fact, the information related to Barbatianus’ eastern origins, his arrival from Rome to Ravenna with the *Augusta’s* entourage, and the construction of his *monasterium* in the imperial palace, all came from the *Acta S. Barbatiani presbyteris et confessoris*. A text – composed sometime after the middle of 9th century and after the beginning of the 11th – which underlines Barbatianus’

4 Orselli, “Vita religiosa nella città medievale”, pp. 361–398; ead., *L’immaginario religioso*, p. 386.

5 Testi-Rasponi, “Barbatianus (Saint)”, col. 621.

6 Bardy, “Barbatien (Saint)”, col. 1239.

Antiochene origins,⁷ and his stop in Rome: elements which seem to reproduce in the proto-monk some characteristics of the proto-bishop of Ravenna, the equally mythical Apollinaris, whose hagiographic tradition is not attested before the second half of the 7th century, when his *Passio* was composed.⁸

When our historical analysis moves from etiological traditions (at least those which are significant for the worship) to strictly historical sources, we are intrigued by the problematic inconsistency of the lexicon of the *Liber pontificalis*, the 9th-century repertoire of Ravenna topography: here the exuberant, almost invasive, use of the term *monasterium* faces the fairly rare mention of monks in Ravenna – and only in the biographies of two bishops, who lived later, between the 7th and 8th centuries.⁹ Additionally, abundant references to definitely monastic foundations in Ravenna are unable to be found in other sources: the monastery of Sts. Mark, Marcellus, and Felicola,¹⁰ and the one of Sts. John and Stephen,¹¹ are both known to have existed in the area of Classe between 6th and 7th century and are cited in the Letters of Pope Gregory the Great. The monasteries of St. John the Baptist in *Navicula*¹² and *Sancta Maria in Cosmedin*¹³ are mentioned in much later documents.

The only way to rectify this hiatus between testimony and terminology seems to be the acknowledgment of a plurality of models in Ravenna's monastic institutions and of a polysemantic use in the related sources of the term *monasterium*, always keeping in mind that the construction of sacred buildings and an investment for eternal life represented also a way to invest earthly assets. Until

7 "Ab Antiochia adventus": in "Acta sancti Barbatiani presbyteri et confessoris", 3 (p. 639), ed. Testi-Rasponi, *Rivista di Scienze Storiche* 6 (1909), pp. 635–658; "ab Antiochia" in *Passio beati Apollinaris*, 1.1 in *AASS Iulii*, vol. 5, Antwerp 1727, p. 344 F.

8 Orselli, "Organizzazione ecclesiastica", p. 328; Zattoni, "La data della 'Passio'", pp. 364–378 (mid-7th century); Lanzoni, "Le fonti della leggenda", p. 133 (between 604 and 666); Mazzotti, "Per una nuova datazione", pp. 123–139 (rewriting of a 6th-century text).

9 With reference to bishop Damianus (689–705): Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, 129, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH, ss Lang. et Ital.*, Hannover 1878, p. 362, ll. 36–39 (ed. D. Mauskopf Deliyannis [Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 199], Turnhout 2006, p. 304, ll. 146–149); with reference to bishop Sergius (748–769): Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, 159, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 381, ll. 2–3 (ed. Mauskopf Deliyannis, p. 338, ll. 196–197).

10 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum*, 6.28 (ed. Norberg, vol. 1, p. 400, ll. 10.12; ed. Ewald/Hartmann, vol. 1, p. 406, ll. 24–26).

11 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum*, 8.17 (ed. Norberg, vol. 2, p. 536, ll. 4–6; ed. Ewald/Hartmann, vol. 2, p. 19, ll. 9–10).

12 J.-O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, vol. 1, *Papyri* 1–28, Lund 1955, P. 23, p. 370.

13 Marco Fantuzzi, *Monumenti ravennati de' secoli di mezzo*, 6 vols., Venice 1801–1804, vol. 2, pp. 1–4.

now, some interpretations have placed emphasis on the strictly monastic origins of these foundations (which kept the title of *monasteria* even when they were transferred to the secular clergy). Some obtained this term from their being private foundations (where the etymology of *monasterium* from *monos* points towards their origin being an individual initiative¹⁴); others from their architectural structure and liturgical function as minor places of worship connected to a larger, sacred building.¹⁵ The hypothesis has also been formulated that *monasterium* is a local name for the *martyria*, small buildings dedicated to the worship of a martyr also used as burial places near their relics.¹⁶ In each case (private foundations, or sepulchral chapels), it is quite plausible that the custody and liturgical worship of these structures was entrusted to monk-priests: this would fully justify the denomination of these places as *monasteria*. As Gilbert Dagron noted, during the Council of Chalcedon (451), a check was made of the archimandrites from Constantinople who had previously signed the acts of the “resident synod” of Constantinople held in 448: many of these people were actually *memoritai* or *memorophylakes* of small places of private worship, most of which were dedicated to martyrs (probably used by their founders as burial sites).¹⁷ These places evidently dotted the city of Constantinople, and Alba Maria Orselli formulated the bright hypothesis that a similar form of urban monasticism had also developed in Ravenna, the western capital city, thus granting these worship spaces the long-enduring title of *monasteria*.

2 Rome and Hellenophone Monasticism

The comparison with the New Rome, Constantinople, is even more significant in explaining the presence of urban monasticism in ancient Rome. In Rome, we notice that a large part of the monasticism appears to be, in the Byzantine period, Hellenophone monasticism of Asian origins. Furthermore, foundations are characterized by a certain interchangeability: a Latin monastery could become Greek (perhaps the most striking case is that of the Gregorian foundation of St. Andrew *in clivo Scauri*¹⁸), and vice versa (with the later extinction of

14 Conti, “Il ‘monasterium,’ sacello di fondazione privata”, pp. 91–102.

15 Wickhoff, “Die ‘monasteria’ bei Agnellus”, pp. 34–35; Vassuri, “I ‘monasteria’ di Ravenna”, pp. 210–214.

16 Mazzotti, *La basilica di S. Apollinare*, p. 78, n. 5.

17 Dagron, “Les moines et la ville”, pp. 240–244, 255–256.

18 Geertman, *More veterum.*, pp. 118–119; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, pp. 37, 84–86; id., “Le monachisme grec à Rome”, pp. 705, 721.

Hellenism in Rome, all the Greek surviving monastic structures would eventually become Latin). Instead, this Hellenophone presence is not to be found in Ravenna, or at least not to any appreciable extent. In fact, as showed by André Guillou¹⁹ and Jean-Marie Sansterre,²⁰ only one monastery in Ravenna can be regarded as Hellenophone, *Sancta Maria in Cosmedin*, which was probably in the *Campus Gothorum*, and had as *katholikon* the Arian Baptistry.

Another significant element of Greek-Roman monasticism is a distinct hermit trend, even more surprising when viewed in an urban context. Examples of this tendency are the monastery of St. Caesarius in *Palatio*, i.e. on the Palatine, where a presence of “hesychastic”, i.e. hermitical, cells has been documented;²¹ and an epigraphic finding which suggests the presence of a stylite on the top of Trajan’s Column.²² This last particular immediately recalls to memory the two stylites who practiced this extreme form of asceticism in the district of Constantinople: Daniel at Anaplous in the 5th century, and Luke at Chalcedon in the 10th.

This relevant Greek monastic presence in Rome was not reflected in a contemporary monastic Latin presence in Constantinople (this was to be found only with the commercial hegemony of the Italian maritime republics). However, this should not be linked to Justinian’s reconquest of the 6th century: in fact, Hellenophone foundations are attested only from the 7th century onward. Even the arrival in Rome (mid-7th century) of illustrious refugees, including leading exponents of Orthodox monastic resistance to imperial heresies (Monoergetic and Monothelite) cannot be seen as a significant cause, as these arrivals involved only a small élite of monk-theologians (the best known among them being Saint Maximus the Confessor, who, furthermore, did not actually come directly from the Eastern Empire, but from Latin Africa). Moreover, and independently, this doctrinal controversy was coeval with the foundation of the Roman monastery of St. Sabas on the Aventine Hill by monks from the St. Sabas Palestinian Laura.²³ Similarly, Greek monks from

19 Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance*, pp. 173–176.

20 Sansterre, “Monaci e monasteri”, pp. 324–325.

21 Vita S. Blasii, ed. H. Deleyahe, *AASS Novembris*, vol. 4, Brussels 1925, pp. 656–669; p. 662. Sansterre, “Une laure à Rome”, pp. 514–517; id., *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, p. 53; id., “Le monachisme grec”, pp. 707, 717.

22 Cecchelli, “Le chiese della Colonna Traiana”, pp. 105–108; id., “Continuità storica di Roma”, pp. 141–142; Delehay, *Les saints stylites*, p. CXLII, n. 1; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, pp. 55–56; vol. 2, pp. 109–110.

23 Grisar, “San Saba sull’Aventino”; Antonelli, “I primi monasteri”, pp. 116–117; Lestocquoy, “Note sur l’église”, pp. 261–298; Leclercq, “Saint Saba sur l’Aventin”, cols. 204–209; Michel, “Die griechische Klostersiedlungen”, p. 39; Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp. 283–286;

Cilicia had already settled in the monastery of St. Anastasius *ad Aquas Salvias*²⁴ (bringing with them the head of this Persian saint martyred in Palestine²⁵), in the outskirts of the patriarchal basilica of St. Paul; meanwhile other monks, Armenian but definitely Hellenized, had already replaced Latin monks in the so-called *monasterium Renati*, on the Esquiline Hill.²⁶ The most crucial development to trigger this sudden 7th-century proliferation of Greek monasteries in Rome, should have been two successive invasions in the Near East: the Persian at the beginning of the century, and the Arab-Islamic in the second half. At that time, a shift was registered from a Latin into a Greek Orthodox (i.e., Chalcedonian) community for the monasteries of St. Andrew *in Clivo Scauri* at Celio (the Gregorian foundation) and of St. Agatha of the *Suburra* on the Quirinal Hill²⁷ – while at the same time Nestorian monks settled in the monastery called *Boetiana*.²⁸ Even the monastery of St. Erasmus at Celio,²⁹ and another unidentified institution called *Domus Arsicia*,³⁰ underwent the same passage, hosting monks with Syro-Palestinian liturgical traditions. Ensuing, smaller waves of refugees came from Constantinople: in the 8th century, Greek

Testini, San Saba; Sansterre [etc]. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, pp. 22–25; 132–133; id., “Le monachisme grec”, p. 209.

- 24 Grisar, “Le Tre Fontane”, p. 479; id., *Histoire de Rome*, vol. 2, pp. 174–177; Antonelli, “I primi monasteri”, pp. 109–112; Dvorník, “Les légendes de Constantin”, p. 288; Leclercq, “Rome”, col. 3014; Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp. 36–39; Ruotolo, *L'abbazia delle Tre Fontane*; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, pp. 13–17; id., “Le monachisme grec”, pp. 704, 709, 728.
- 25 *De locis sanctis martyrum quae sunt foris Romae*, in *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, ed. R. Valentini/ G. Zucchetti (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, 88), Rome 1942, vol. 2, p. 109, ll. 3–4; p. 150, ll. 5–6; Beda, *Chronica maiora*, a. 539, ed. Th. Mommsen, *MGH, AA XIII*, *Chronica minora* III, Berlin 1898, p. 311, ll. 6–11. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, pp. 15–17, 149.
- 26 Bréhier, “Les colonies d'Orientaux”, pp. 6–7; Leclercq, “Colonies d'Orientaux”, col. 2270; id., “Rome”, col. 3013; Antonelli, “I primi monasteri”, pp. 107–108; Binon, “La vie de saint Pierre”, p. 45; Vielliard, *Recherches sur les origines*, p. 133; Bertolini, *Roma di fronte a Bisanzio*, p. 319; Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp. 277–279; Pertusi, “Bisanzio e l'irradiazione”, p. 116; Mango, “La culture grecque”, pp. 696–697; Geertman, “*More veterum*”, p. 117; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, pp. 12–13, 84–85; id., “Le monachisme grec”, p. 704.
- 27 Hülsen et alii, *Sant'Agata dei Goti*, pp. 3–7, 47–50; id., *Le chiese di Roma*, pp. 166–167; Vielliard, *Recherches sur les origines*, p. 85; Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp. 19–22; Geertman, “*More veterum*”, p. 16; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, pp. 36–37; id., “Le monachisme grec”, pp. 705, 718.
- 28 Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, p. 75; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, pp. 37, 47, 49, 123–124; id., “Le monachisme grec”, pp. 705, 708, 711, 729.
- 29 Camobreco, “Il monastero di Sant'Erasmus”, pp. 265–300; Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp. 123–125, 130–131; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, pp. 35, 94–100; id., “Le monachisme grec”, p. 709.
- 30 Antonelli, “I primi monasteri”, p. 118; Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, p. 117; Mango, “La culture grecque”, pp. 700–701; Geertman, “*More veterum*”, p. 119; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, pp. 37–38; id., “Le monachisme grec”, p. 705.

monks escaping from the iconoclastic persecution; in the 9th, dissident monks during the Photian dispute. Much later (second half of the 10th-early 11th century) Rome was a privileged destination for Calabrian-Greek monks in their exodus to the north: long believed to be the result of the danger represented by Arab raids, it is now thought to be connected to their insatiable thirst for solitude. In fact, with the sole exception of Saint Sabas the Younger³¹ – who died in the urban monastery of St. Caesarius *in Palatio*³² in 990/991 – they all settled in the Roman countryside. One example is the case of Saint Nilus of Rossano: after refusing to become hegumenus of St. Anastasius *ad Aquas Salvias*, he settled in the monastery of St. Agatha, in the area called *agro tuscolano*, where he died in 1004.³³

The group of Greek monks present in Rome at these times was therefore extremely varied. Sociologically, it is possible to distinguish monks who were only temporarily present (sometimes for a very short period) from those whose permanence was intended to be longer or even definitive. A different case – certainly a minority – is that of monks coming from the Roman Hellenophone population, who were already a part of the Roman society. The causes for this Greek monastic presence in Rome were very varied. The more ephemeral presences were usually those missions on behalf of the other four Patriarchates, or those who were conducting the famous pilgrimage to the apostolic tombs. The longer ones were, understandably, those who were actually “political” refugees, often migrating with the whole community. A different – but liminal – monastic presence is that of those pilgrims who, while in Rome, chose to embrace the monastic life (a phenomenon which occurred in Jerusalem, too), obviously in a monastery of their own nationality. Overall, from the 7th to the 9th century, we can identify within Rome thirteen or fourteen Greek monasteries; but while the Latin monasteries were undoubtedly more in number, it is among the Greek ones that we find the three most important monastic foundations of the city: St. Sabas on the Aventine, St. Anastasius *ad Aquas Salvias*, and St. Sylvester *in Capite*. We find this information in the Roman *Liber pontificalis* where in the year 807 a gift list from Pope Leo III to all the city monasteries was registered.³⁴ Obviously, in this list we do not find the famous monastery of Sts. Boniface and Alexius on the Aventine Hill, which was officially founded in 977 by the

31 *Vita S. Sabae Junioris*, 49 (pp. 66–68).

32 Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp. 89–90; Geertman, “*More veterum*”, p. 119; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, pp. 38, 46–49, 53, 61, 207–210; id., “Le monachisme grec”, pp. 707, 717.

33 *Vita S. Nili iunioris*, 90 (p. 127).

34 *Le Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 2, p. 18, ll. 20, 24–25 (ed. Přerovský, pp. 468–474).

Archbishop Sergius of Damascus.³⁵ He was a refugee from the Near East and is supposed to have brought with him a monastic community; but while Latin monks surely lived in the monastery soon after its foundation,³⁶ no Greek presence appears there before the end of the century. Thus, the hypothesis of this being a double monastery (with two communities ensuring both Greek and Latin psalmody)³⁷ is not in any way supported by documentary sources.

In Rome, the prestige achieved by Greek monasteries was so high that the popes themselves entrusted their own personal foundations to Hellenophone community, as 8th-century popes Paul I did with the monastery of St. Sylvester *in Capite*,³⁸ and Gregory II with St. Agatha at Suburra.³⁹ In the 9th century, Paschal I established Greek monks with the ancient *titulus* of St. Praxedis⁴⁰ (where, probably, Constantine-Cyril, the Apostle of the Slavs, took his monastic vows shortly before his death⁴¹), and Leo IV followed suit at the monastery of Sts. Stephen and Cassian.⁴² Meanwhile, the popes – not necessarily Greek or of eastern origin – also entrusted Greek communities to daily officiate the Roman basilicas, or other important *tituli* of the city (e.g., St. Lawrence at Verano and St. Praxedis⁴³). Something similar is supposed to have happened in Ravenna, but no documentary basis supports this hypothesis. Scholars linked these choices – rightly, in my opinion – not only to a long tradition of hospitality, but also to the papal intention to show and affirm his claim to universal jurisdiction and primacy; probably in the same horizon of the tradition of the Greek reading from the Gospel in the papal liturgies. In turn, the Greek monastic circles of Rome responded to this attention, and became apologists – as

35 Bosl, “Das Kloster Sant’ Alessio”, p. 20; Hamilton, “The Monastery of Sant’Alessio”, pp. 265–268; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, p. 41; id., “Le monachisme grec”, pp. 711–712.

36 Vita S. Adalberti auctore Brunone Querfurtensi, 17 ed. G.H. Pertz, in *MGH, SS*, IV, Hannover 1841, pp. 96–612: p. 603, ll. 38–39.

37 Bosl, “Das Kloster Sant’ Alessio”, p. 21; Hamilton, “The Monastery of Sant’Alessio”, pp. 266–267; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, p. 80.

38 *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 1, p. 464, l. 11; p. 465, l. 5 (ed. Přerovský, p. 365). Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, p. 306; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, pp. 36, 49, 63; id., “Le monachisme grec”, pp. 707, 709, 718.

39 *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 1, p. 402, l. 17; p. 403, l. 3 (ed. Přerovský, p. 282).

40 *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 2, p. 54, ll. 27–31 (ed. Přerovský, p. 492). Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp. 4–8; Cecchelli, “Continuità storica”, p. 145; Geertman, “*More veterum*”, p. 119; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, pp. 38, 49, 63–64; id., “Le monachisme grec”, p. 707.

41 See the following texts by Dvorník: “Les légendes de Constantin”, p. 290; id., “Sts. Cyril and Methodius”, p. 28; id., *Byzantine Missions*, pp. 141, 379, n. 219.

42 *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, vol. 2, p. 113, ll. 6–14. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, pp. 38–39, 49, 64, 81, 87; id., “Le monachisme grec”, pp. 718–721.

43 Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, p. 87.

demonstrated by Évelyne Patlagean – of the papal thesis, at least for the supremacy and papal jurisdiction on the west:⁴⁴ to these Roman groups is ascribed the compilation of the famous, and fake, *Constitutum Constantini*, the so-called *Donation of Constantine*.

Did this prestige lead to a full inclusion – despite the liturgical differences – of Greek Roman monks within the local ecclesiastic structures? Was their doctrinal contribution – essential during the Monothelite crisis, when the Hellenization of the Roman clergy had its climax – fundamental even in subsequent disputes, such as that relating to image worship? On this occasion their contribution seems less significant, and their integration into the Roman clergy scarce: for example, their presence in the Roman church embassy seems strongly linked to the absence of local bilingual clergy.

3 Between the Occident of the *Rhomaioi* and the Romaic Occident: Sardinia

The distinction between “Occident of the *Rhomaioi*” and “Romaic Occident” is a conventional one, aimed to distinguish the areas where the submission to the Roman Christian Eastern Empire did not evolve into an Hellenization of pre-existing ecclesiastic and monastic structures from those who instead endured a deep linguistic and cultural Hellenization. Sardinia – reconquered in 534 and included in the Exarchate of Africa – was the last of the three Italo-Byzantine areas of the Occident of the *Rhomaioi*. Only, Sardinia was mythologized by historians as a place of *hyper-Graecism*, as shrewdly defined by Silvano Borsari.⁴⁵ This *hyper-Graecism* affirmed, without basis that the island’s churches switch to the Greek rite during this period and were independent from the jurisdiction of the church of Rome. This hypothetical independence would cease in the second half of the 11th century with the creation of “new Latin dioceses” and the submission of the island’s bishops to the archbishop of Pisa.⁴⁶ This same prejudice was applied to the analysis of monastic structures: for this period they were believed to be mainly Hellenophone and characterized by an exclusive preference for the solitary life, as if eastern monasticism

44 Patlagean, “Les moines grecs”, pp. 579–602.

45 Borsari, “Il monachesimo bizantino”, pp. 693–694.

46 Cerchi Paba, *La Chiesa greca in Sardegna*, pp. 46–51; Spano, *La grecità bizantina*; Piras, *Aspetti della Sardegna*; Casula, *La storia di Sardegna*, pp. 136–139, 166; Villani, “Il culto bizantino”, pp. 11–17.

was only hermitic: we have already put a stress on the arbitrary use of identify a Greek monastic structure in any set of caves.⁴⁷

Therefore, as in the Roman duchy, the presence of Greek forms of monastic life (shadowy, yet documented) in Sardinia was without doubt due to phenomena of migration. First, the testimonies seem to undoubtedly refer to monastic Greek migration from Africa: Anastasius, disciple of Saint Maximus – we are in the 7th century, in the midst of the Monothelite crisis – writes a theological letter from his exile in Crimea to the community (to Koinon) of the monks settled in Cagliari.⁴⁸ Instead, the monastic migration witnessed by the three *Lives* of Saint Theodore the Studite (the whole of his hagiographical dossier) has its origin in Constantinople: a posthumous miracle of the saint, set in Sardinia, documents the presence on the island during the mid-9th century of an organized community of anti-Studite Greek monks, a party led (after the death of the Patriarch Methodius, 847) by another Sicilian, Gregory Asbestos of Syracuse.⁴⁹ Another Greek monastic presence is witnessed by the burial epigraph of a nun called *Graeca* (Greek also by name!) which can be dated after 787 (by way of an indirect, yet erroneous mention of the 7th ecumenical council) and not later than the beginning of the next century (for paleographic reasons).⁵⁰

4 The Romaic Occident: Southern Italy and Sicily

The perspective changes radically in the Romaic Occident (i.e., Calabria-Basilicata, Puglia, Sicily), which is characterized either by a prolonged Eastern domination which (with the sole exception of Sicily) exceeds the millennium, and by a deep assimilation of every aspect of its rulers' civilization. Therefore, these regions with their territorial, if not ethno-linguistic continuity with the ancient Magna Graecia became an integral part, even if peripheral, of the civilization which is called "Byzantine" on a cultural level, or Eastern Orthodox on a religious and ecclesiastic level. It is a global involvement concerning not only civil and religious institutions, but every dimension of life, from

47 Morini, "Il monachesimo", pp. 39–42.

48 Anastasius monachus, *Epistula ad commune monachorum apud Caralim constitutorum collegium*, in PG 90, cols. 131–136 (= PL 129, cols. 623–626).

49 Vita S. Theodori Studitae A (auctore Michaelae Studita), 56, in PG 99, cols. 312 C–313 B; Vita S. Theodori Studitae B (auctore Theodoro Daphnopata?), 113, in PG 99, cols. 216 B–271 A; Vita S. Theodori Studitae C (in codice Mosquensi Musei Rumianzoviani no. 520), 68, *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 21 (1914), pp. 258–304; 296–297.

50 Spano, "Sarcofago greco", pp. 164–167; Cavedoni, "Annotazioni sopra l'iscrizione", pp. 51–58; Taramelli, *Guida del Museo Archeologico*, p. 102, no. 42; Ferrua, "Un'iscrizione greca", pp. 94–103; Pesce, *Sarcofagi romani*, p. 44; Pani Ermini, *Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani*, p. 50, no. 81; Sotgiu, "L'epigrafia latina", pp. 648–649, no. 175 B.

language and writing, to art, liturgy, and spirituality, and obviously includes forms of asceticism. This evolved into a dynamic trend – typical of peripheral areas – balanced between fidelity to central models and local creativity. Thus, it is possible to speak of either Greek monasticism in Italy (stressing its perfect coherence with the contemporary “Byzantine” monasticism extended from the Balkan peninsula to the Sinaitic-Palestinian areas and the Kievan Rus’), or of Italo-Greek monasticism (emphasizing local variations – present here as elsewhere – of the inner and outer forms of ascetic life).

The origins of this monasticism remain unclear: in fact, the oldest sources refer to it as already established. It cannot be excluded that the constitution and rapid multiplication of Hellenophone monastic foundations is a consequence of the aforementioned “byzantinisation religieuse”: it would necessarily involve the monastic structures already existing in Calabria in Latin forms (e.g., Cassiodorus’ Vivarium in Squillace). However, the testimony offered by the liturgy, a useful form of evidence for identifying localism, leave no doubt regarding the Syro-Palestinian matrix of the Italiote Hellenism: so, if not its origin, at least its extraordinary achievements must be linked to the migrations caused by the Persian and Arabic conquests in the Near East during the 7th century.

As we have just mentioned, Calabria was already familiar with an important Latin monastic presence: the *Vivarium* of Squillace (by the Alessi River, in today’s district of San Martino of Copanello). This monastery was probably established sometime after 544 by Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus (the ideologue of the Gothic kingdom while it was under Constantinople’s universal sovereignty). It was located near a fish hatchery built by the founder to honor the Christic symbolism of these animals, and it seems to have been an atypical form of monasticism, which may explain the short duration of the experience. In fact, the passion for the culture which characterized it and guaranteed the transcription and translation from Greek to Latin of many sacred and profane texts was clearly privileged in comparison to the monastic requirements of asceticism and world renunciation.⁵¹ Thus, it is considered a form of pre-Romaic monasticism mainly for its intellectualism, but also for its linguistic and ritual associations.

While the first surviving normative sources of Italo-Greek monasticism date from the Norman period (the *typikà* of the Calabrian monasteries of *Theotokos* the New *Hodigitria* of the *Patir* – or *Patirion* – at Rossano⁵² and St. Bartholomew

51 Leclercq, *L’amour des lettres*, pp. 25–28.

52 Jena, Thüringer Universität-und-Landesbibliothek, G. B. q. 6., fols. 161r–189v; Grottaferrata (Roma), Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale, Γ. α. xxix, fols. 1r–112v. On this *typikon*, Pertusi, “Rapporti tra il monachesimo italo-greco”, p. 483; Morini, “Gerarchia e

of Trigona near Sant'Eufemia d'Aspromonte;⁵³ of the Sicilian St. Saviour *Pantokrator in glossa Phari* of Messina;⁵⁴ and the Apulian St. Nicholas of Casole, near Otranto⁵⁵), as far as the Byzantine period is concerned we can only rely on hagiographic sources, mostly of Calabrian origin. Before attempting to describe the main foundations, we will focus on the intrinsic features as well as on the profile either spiritual and institutional, characterizing the monasticism of this period with the help of these sources. On this topic, I have recently written:

An accurate reading of Italo-Greek hagiographical sources give us the feeling of steady ascetic-spiritual dissociation, living inside each of them, a feeling growing stronger when connected with a thorough knowledge of the contemporary normative sources. The origin of this feeling can be related to the co-existence, in the whole of the Lives, clashing of two elements: the spirit of cenobitic 'Studite' matrix, and the fierce enthusiasm for the *hesychia*.

-
- κοινωνία", pp. 1–20; Mortari, "Organizzazione dei tempi e dei pasti", pp. 21–27; Cavarra, "Organizzazione del lavoro", pp. 29–36; Lucà, "I Normanni e la 'rinascita' del secolo XIII", pp. 130–136; Morini, "Il monachesimo italo-greco", pp. 125–151; Iordanides, "Τὸ Τυπικὸ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς", pp. 105–118; Torre, "Italo-Greek Monastic 'Typika'", pp. 50–57.
- 53 K. Douramani, *Il Typikon del monastero di S. Bartolomeo di Trigona* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 269), Rome 2003; S.G. Mercati, "Sul tipico del monastero di S. Bartolomeo di Trigona tradotto in italo-calabrese in trascrizione greca da Francesco Vucisano", *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 8 (1939), 197–223 (reprinted in A. Acconcia Longo [ed.], *Collectanea Byzantina*, vol. 2, Bari 1970, pp. 372–394). Regarding this monastery, see Falkenhausen, "S. Bartolomeo di Trigona", pp. 93–116.
- 54 S. Rossi, "La prefazione al 'Typicon' del Monastero del SS. Salvatore scritta da Luca primo archimandrita", *Atti della Regia Accademia Peloritana* 17 (1902–1903), 71–84; *De Typico sacro messanensis monasterii archimandritalis. Prooemium sancti patris nostri Lucae primi archimandritae*, in I. Cozza-Luzi (ed.), *Novae Patrum Bibliothecae ab Angelo Card. Maio collectae*, vol. 6/2, Rome, pp. 121–130; Torre, "Italo-Greek Monastic 'Typika'", pp. 57–61. Regarding this monastery, see Matranga, *Il Monastero dei Greci*; Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano*, pp. 65–213, 414–428; Foti, *Il monastero del S.mo Salvatore*; Koureas, "The Greek-rite Monastery", pp. 198–215.
- 55 A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgiĭskikh rukopisej hranjaščih'sja v bibliotekah Pravoslavnogo Vostoka*, vol. 1/1, *Pamjatniki patriarših ustavov i ktitorskije monastyrskie tipikony*, Kiev 1895 (anastatic repr. Hildesheim 1965), pp. 795–823; Omont, "Le 'Typicon' de Saint Nicholas de Casole", pp. 381–391; Torre, "Italo-Greek Monastic 'Typika'", pp. 63–66. Regarding this monastery, see Diehl, "Le monastère de Saint Nicholas", pp. 173–188; Hoeck/ Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto*; Kölzer, "Zur Geschichte der Klosters", pp. 418–426; Schiano, "Nicholas-Nektarios of Otranto", pp. 208–225.

As a preamble, I need to recall here that Greek monasticism in Italy, even in its ‘eccentricity’, is a part of the whole of the Hellenophone monasticism, flourishing inside the Romaic Empire and in more Eastern regions. This monasticism had always been troubled by the coexistence of two different tensions, alternative when not antagonistic, both asserting and claiming their priority and excellence in the monastic life: the solitary experience, favored by the most; and the communitarian life, favored by monastic and civil rulers. To clearly settle this unending alterity, a first reform chose to unequivocally read the teachings of the ancient Fathers, openly asserting the superiority of the cenobitic life. The reform promoted, at the beginnings of the 9th century and in the centre of the empire, by Saint Theodore the Studite,⁵⁶ whose contempt of the hermitic life brought to the normative construction of a model of monastic life which institutionally held no place for the *hesychia*.

Obviously, this cenobitic maximalism, engraved in the Studite re-flourishing of monasticism, was unacceptable for those who, equally radicals, held *hesychia* as the perfection of the monastic experience. To somehow settle this unending question, a synthesis between the two alternatives was sought, trying to preserve the positive assets of both, and trying to shift from antithesis to synthesis. This synthesis was tested in dense monastic areas of Asia Minor, in Bithynia (where also the Studite movement had his roots) and in the Ephesus hinterland, which represented – from the beginning of the 9th to the second half of the 10th century – the “monastic” heart of the Empire. This reform proposal was aimed to preserve the positive aspects of *hesychia*, still considered (more or less un-confessed) the apex of personal ascesis by most people. So, it was allowed – sometime provided for by the monasteries’ founder – the construction of isolated cells not far away from the monastery itself, aimed to host monks, called *kelliotai*: The monks, sent there by the hegumen, followed a strict monastic discipline thus living the *hesychia*. This phenomenon, described by literature as “Microasiatic” or “Middlebyzantine” synthesis,⁵⁷ gave complete institutional legitimacy to hermitism, as an appendix of the cenobitism. Grace to this inclusion of hermitic life inside its borders, and with a peculiar semantic exchange, the *koinobion* can thus assume the name of *lavra*, a term that historically has referred, in the monastic lexicon, to a hermitic foundation. But at this chronological level, it does not describe a vast and scattered gathering of

56 See the following texts by Leroy, “Un nouveau témoin”, pp. 73–88; id., “La réforme studite”, pp. 181–214; id., “Les Petites Catéchèses”, pp. 329–358; id., “La monachisme studite”, pp. 39–116; id., “La vie quotidienne du moine studite”, pp. 2–50; id., “L’influence de s. Basile”, pp. 491–506.

57 Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 31–63.

hermits with a central cenobitic structure⁵⁸ functional to common services (as in the Palestinian ancient monasticism); it is, instead, a big *koinobion* having in its dependences, not far from it, some hermitages reserved to the few of the cenobites who preferred solitude.⁵⁹

Evidence from the Italo-Greek monasticism reflects the outcome of this synthesis. The “Italo-Greek synthesis” is not appreciated at the institutional level, but mainly for its ascetic and spiritual values, and only if we analyse it from this “synthetical” point of view, we can understand the apparent hiatus characterizing the Italo-Greek monasticism. On one hand, in fact, the Studite spirit is clearly present,⁶⁰ even if it does not comply with all the ‘house-mother’ requirements, but is more similar to the Microasiatic proposal (the same which was adopted by the coeval foundation of St. Athanasios on Mount Athos⁶¹). On the other hand, almost all the significant figures of this monastic tradition, once being masters (as well as reformers) of cenobitic life, kept inside the burning desire for the *hesychia*.

How much the Studite spirit lays in Italo-Greek monasticism is attested by the reception of some distinctive characters of Theodore’s reform: first of all the role of obedience, which is maximized in the hagiographical sources, either by the way of referring miracles rewarding obedience or examples of heroic obedience, and by significant semantic and conceptual choices, referring to the monastic life with the elective expression “life in the obedience”,⁶² and to the monks as “the obedient”⁶³ par excellence. Furthermore, the *Lives* show saints having a special predilection for the harder obedience trials, in the frame of a totally Basilian osmosis between the ideas of obedience and of *aktemosyne*, the voluntary monastic poverty: it is possible to say that for them the obedience gives a signification to the cenobitic life itself.

The second rank, after obedience, is held by the emphasis on labour, founded on the Studite axiom that the exterior labour is an indicator of the interior spiritual fervour, and that the zeal for labour is a reflex of zeal for virtue.

58 Leclercq, “Laures palestiniennes”, cols. 1986–88; Corbo, “L’ambiente materiale”, pp. 235–257; Chitty, *The Desert a City*; Morini, “Eremo e cenobio”, pp. 19–20; Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*.

59 Papachryssanthou, “La vie monastique”, pp. 158–182.

60 Minisci, “Riflessi studitani”, pp. 215–223.

61 Leroy, “Saint Athanase et la Règle”, pp. 108–122; id., “La conversion de saint Athanase”, pp. 101–120; Papachryssanthou, “Le monachisme athonite”, pp. 1–164; Ware, “Saint Athanasios the Athonite”, pp. 3–16; Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 45–46.

62 *Vita S. Phantini iunioris*, 9 (p. 410).

63 *Vita S. Philareti iunioris auctore Nilo*, in Nilo. *Vita di s. Filareto di Seminara*, ed. U. Martino, Reggio Calabria 1993, p. 102.

The equally evident emphasis on poverty is not in contrast with it, as – again with a significant semantic and conceptual choice which is more Studite than Basilian – the monks are called “the poor.”⁶⁴ The great Italo-Greek monks – mainly hermits became cenobiarcs – proposed an ideal itinerary for the monastic life substantially overturned if compared to the institutional path of their asceticism: the *hesychia* is not antithetic to cenobitic life – as it happened in the Studite proposal –, but it is a possible outcome of an excellent cenobitic life – as in the Microasiatic proposal. This entails the belief that the real monastic initiation corresponds to the passage from the cenobitic experience to the solitary life; thus implying – but never affirming – that the *koinobion* is still somehow involved with the world. In this perspective, the temptation for our saints is the return not to the world, but to the *koinobion*.

It can be found here, in the unavoidable if painful passage from hermitism to cenobitism (and in the consequent shaping of an ideology of communal life), the *proprium* of the Italo-Greek monastic “synthesis”, its difference – again based on scriptural authorities – from the classical Basilian and Studite motivations. In the mainstream solution prevails a theological motivation for this passage, as the choice of reducing monastic life to the sole communitarian form seems to be determined by the need to conciliate a radical abdication from the world with the requirements of the love commandment and, more broadly, of the exercise of Christian virtues. Instead, for the majority of the Italo-Greek ascetics the motivation – more practical than theoretical, more ethical than theological, actually expressly soteriologic – is “because many will be saved with the help” of a master,⁶⁵ and so expresses the inexorable epiphany of the divine will, which – with merciful violence – forces the hesychast towards a cenobitic turn of his *politeia*, a turn substantially alien from his sensibility and aspirations. This cenobitism, moderate by the hermitism, knowing that the struggle for one’s salvation must be harmonized with the struggle for the other’s one, has in itself the genetic patrimony of both institutional ascendants.⁶⁶

In southern Calabria and at its border with Basilicata, Hellenophone monasticism was so concentrated that it is possible to speak of “monastic areas”, in partial analogy with what is documented for the same period in more

64 *Vita S. Nili iunioris*, 66 (p. 106).

65 *Vita S. Eliae Spelaetotae*, 39–40 (p. 864); *Vita S. Phantini iunioris*, 15 (p. 418); *Vita S. Nili iunioris*, 44 (p. 88); *Vita S. Bartholomaei Patirensis*, 13, 15, ed. G. Zaccagni, “Il Bioso di san Bartolomeo da Simeri (BHG 235)”, *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici*, n.s., 33 (1996), pp. 205–228: 213, 216.

66 Morini, “Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy”, pp. 85–88.

central regions of the empire, such as in Asia Minor (Bithynia and Ephesus hinterlands), Chalkidiki (Mount Athos), Thrace (Mount Ganos), and Thessaly (Mount Pelion).⁶⁷ A similar monastic concentration was found in central Sicily, near Agira, from the 7th century up to the earlier period of the Islamic conquest of the island, on the slopes and top of Mount Teja, between the valleys of the Salso and Simeto Rivers (now in the administrative province of Enna). A monastery developed around the cave where the priest-monk Philip⁶⁸ had lived (presumably in the 7th century). He was of Syrian origin (like Barbatianus of Ravenna, Dalmatus of Constantinople, and Isaac of Monteluco in Spoleto – the 6th-century hermit whom Pope Gregory the Great wrote about in his *Dialogues*⁶⁹). This monastery, called St. Philip of Agira, was not only the mother house of Greek monasticism in central Sicily during the Byzantine period, but it was also the cradle for north Calabrian monasticism, whose first members arrived during the Islamic period from this monastic area of Sicily.

In Calabria there were essentially two monastic areas: the Calabro-Lucanian, and one in the *tourma* of the Saline (a military-administrative sub-unit of the *thema*, or perhaps already of the Duchy of Calabria), whose capital was Oppido Mamertina, refounded by the Greeks as *Hagia Agathe*, in the modern-day areas of Palmi and Gioia Tauro.⁷⁰ Here existed such a concentration of holy monks, as to determine the *Vallis Salinarum* as the place of origin of Hellenophone Italo-Greek sanctity.⁷¹

The dual matrix of this monasticism is symbolically expressed by the hagiographical profile of the first of these monastic figures: Saint Elias the Younger in the 9th century.⁷² He derives his name in the worship, “the most recent”, from his extraordinary prophetic charisma modelled upon one of the most famous prophets of the Old Testament. He was born in Enna – not far from the area where the monastery of St. Philip of Agira was located, became monk

67 Janin, *Les églises et les monasteries*; Pargoire, “Mont Saint-Auxence”, 15–31, 240–279, 426–458, 550–576; Mango/Ševčenko, “Some Churches and Monasteries”, pp. 235–277.

68 *Vita S. Philippi Argyriensis*, in *Vita di s. Filippo d'Agira attribuita al monaco Eusebio*, ed. C. Pasini (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 214), Rome 1981, pp. 120–200. Pasini, “Osservazioni sul ‘dossier’ agiografico”, pp. 173–208.

69 Gregorius I, *Dialogi*, 3.14, ed. A. De Vogüé, in Grégoire le Grand, *Dialogues*, vol. 2, livres 11–1v (Sources Chrétiennes, 260), Paris 1979, pp. 303–315.

70 Guillou, “La Tourma des Salines”, pp. 9–29; Caruso, “La χώρα Σαλινῶν”, pp. 55–96; von Falkenhausen, “L' ἐπαρχία delle Saline”, pp. 89–105; Zagari, “L'eparchia delle Saline”, pp. 129–174.

71 Morini, “La santità nella Valle delle Saline”, pp. 291–323.

72 *Vita S. Eliae iunioris*, in *Vita di s. Elia il Giovane*, ed. G. Rossi Taibbi (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, Testi e monumenti, 7; Vite dei santi siciliani 111), Palermo 1962, pp. 1–122.

in Jerusalem and died in Thessalonica en route to Constantinople to meet Emperor Leo VI: this journey itself would become an emblematic of the cultic and religious affiliation of this monasticism.⁷³ At a short distance from his monastery, located near the present-day city of Seminara, flourished another saint named Elias, of Calabrian origin, called Elias of Reggio.⁷⁴ In the past, he was sometimes confused with his homonymous and close companion in asceticism; hagiographic tradition described the two as being in spiritual continuity. Unlike his predecessor, whose monastic life revealed a profile very evanescent from the organizational perspective of a monastic community, he ended up, albeit with difficulties, organizing the monastic life according to an institutional model which was already fully cenobitic. It was, however, a particular form of cenobitism more suitable to a hermit's life, that is, in a cave: for this reason, Saint Elias is remembered in the worship by the descriptive title Saint Elias Spelaota (the Cave dweller).⁷⁵ However, while the transformation of a rock settlement into a monastery is a common phenomenon in the peripheral areas of the "Byzantine oikoumene" (e.g., the evolution of the Laura of the Caves in Kiev, in the Rus' Ukraine only a century later⁷⁶), in this Calabrian case we see a significant variation: the monastery does not develop outside the caves, as usually happens, but assumes the caves as the habitat for cenobitic life itself. These two saints named Elias, the traveling prophet and the cenobiarch, are the core figures of the monasticism of the "Valle delle Saline", to the point that when a monk from southern Calabria moved to northern Calabria, he was

73 Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, pp. 239–243; Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano*, pp. XXXVII–XXXVIII; Ménager, "La 'byzantinisation' religieuse", pp. 760–762; Da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Sicile", pp. 95–109; Russo, "Elia Speleota", cols. 1052–1053; Ferrante, "Santi italo-greci nel Reggino", pp. 50–57; Acconcia Longo, "Santi greci della Calabria", p. 221; Hester, *Monasticism and Spirituality*, pp. 164–168; von Falkenhausen, "Elia il Giovane", pp. 459–461; Malamut, *Sur la route des saints*, pp. 256–258; Follieri, "I santi dell'Italia greca", 13–16; Ferrante, *Santi italo-greci*, pp. 223–233; Cilento, *Potere e monachesimo*, pp. 18, 95, 97–98, 100–101, 104, 113, 116–117, 122–124, 130, 142; Minuto, "Sant'Elia il Giovane", pp. 15–18.

74 Vita S. *Eliae Spelaotae*, 848–887.

75 Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, pp. 243–245; Raschellà, *Saggio storico sul monachesimo*, pp. 34–42; Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano*, pp. XXXVIII–XXXIX; Ménager, "La 'byzantinisation' religieuse", pp. 762–764; Da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Sicile", pp. 1059–1060; Borsari, "Il monachesimo bizantino", pp. 44–45; Russo, "Elia Speleota", cols. 1052–1053; Pertusi, "Aspetti organizzativi e culturali", p. 395; Ferrante, "Santi italo-greci nel Reggino", pp. 58–77; Acconcia Longo, "Santi greci della Calabria", pp. 220–222; Hester, *Monasticism and Spirituality*, pp. 168–172; von Falkenhausen, "Elia lo Speleota", pp. 461–463; Follieri, "I santi dell'Italia greca", pp. 16–18; Ferrante, *Santi italo-greci*, pp. 234–254; Cilento, *Potere e monachesimo*, pp. 16, 103–104, 107, 117–118; Minuto, "Sant'Elia lo Speleota", pp. 19–23.

76 Casey, "Early Russian Monasticism", pp. 372–423; Morini, "Il monachesimo nell'antica Rus'", pp. 499–562.

presented as a disciple of the “great Elias”, regardless of glaring inconsistencies in timelines.⁷⁷

This is precisely the case of Saint Phantinus the Younger, with whom we enter into the monastic area of North Calabria, that of *Merkourion*, again a *tourma* corresponding to the middle and low course of the Mercure-Lao River, between Laino, Orsomarso, and Scalea, not far from the Tyrrhenian coast, which had the *kastron* of *Merkourion* as capital (now Castromercurio).⁷⁸ It is here, with lesser evidence in the other northern monastic area, that of *Latinianon* at the borders between Calabria and Basilicata (and, as suggested by the name, rather in the “Frankish” west than in the Romaic one) that hagiographical sources document some connection between monasteries, unlike the Valley of Saline, where there is no proof of this sort. While there is evidence of something similar to the metropolitan model of Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula, it would be imprudent to think in terms of a “monastic confederation.” Phantinus was a Greek saint with a Latin name who was so fascinated with the Greek east that he emigrated to Thessalonica, the same city where his countryman Elias the Younger died. He embodies an ascetic ideal unusual for the hagiographical landscape of Hellenophone Italy: in fact, he stands out for his exasperated tendency towards *hesychia*, willing to reproduce, within the solitudes of the *Merkourion*, the extreme ascetism of the “absolute hermits”, those whose monastic ideal was modeled upon the legendary saints Onuphrius, Makarios the Roman, and Peter the Athonite, saints who not only refused any human interaction, but also refused any historical determination.⁷⁹ After an initial phase of cenobitic life, Phantinus abandoned the monasteries he founded, instead choosing to wander naked in the mountains, eating grass and wild fruit, following a further model of extreme hermitage, that of the “grazing” (*boskoi*) hermits, and exhorting his monks to do likewise.⁸⁰

77 *Vita. S. Phantini iunioris*, 4–8 (pp. 404–410).

78 Mercati, “San Mercurio e il Mercurion”, pp. 295–296; Giovanelli, “L’eparchia monastica”, pp. 121–143; Cappelli, “Limiti della regione”, pp. 33–47; Campagna, “I monasteri”, pp. 27–35; Burgarella, “L’eparchia di Mercurio”, pp. 59–92.

79 Morini, “Oltre i limiti dell’ecumene”, pp. 99–132.

80 Gay, *L’Italie méridionale*, p. 241; Basile, “Fantino Seniore e Fantino Juniore”, pp. 79–94, 143–152; Halkin, “Bulletin d’hagiographie”, pp. 290–292; id., “Saints Phantine et Nicodème”, pp. 363–364; Da Costa-Louillet, “Saints de Sicile”, pp. 165–166; Saletta, “Il Mercurio e il Mercuriano”, pp. 117–126; Giovanelli, “L’eparchia monastica”, pp. 134–136; Borsari, “Il monachesimo bizantino”, pp. 55, 58, 97, 128; Pertusi, “Aspetti organizzativi”, p. 396; Follieri, “La Vita inedita di s. Fantino”, pp. 17–35; Ferrante, “Santi italo-greci nel Reggino”, pp. 74–77; Cappelli, “Sui santi monaci calabresi”, pp. 55–71; Hester, *Monasticism and Spirituality*, pp. 195–199; Ferrante, *Santi italo-greci*, pp. 255–261; Follieri, “Un santo monaco calabrese”, pp. 463–475; Cilento, *Potere e monachesimo*, p. 99; Minuto, “San Fantino il Giovane”, pp. 25–29.

If, at the *Merkourion*, Phantinus was the hermit *par excellence*, Sabas the Younger⁸¹ and his brother and successor Makarios the Younger⁸² were the promoters – by means of their foundations and especially, their spiritual teaching – of a rigorous cenobitic life. Although they too, searched for hesychastic perfection, in many ways they were far more institutional than Phantinus. This monastic Sicilian family included their father, Christopher, and their mother, Kalì, both of whom were depicted as clad in the monastic habit and drew its origins from that cradle of monastic life which was the monastery of St. Philip of Agira. They contributed in a significant way, planting the fruits of the oldest Sicilian-Greek monastic experience in northern Calabria and at the borders with Lucania, bypassing the monastic areas of central and southern Calabria.⁸³ Still in the 10th century, this the same path was walked by three other saints from the same Sicilian monastery: Leo-Luke of Corleone chose to head up the *Merkourion*;⁸⁴ while Luke of Armento went towards *Latinianon*,⁸⁵ perhaps followed a bit later by Vitalios of Castronovo.⁸⁶

81 *Vita S. Sabae iunioris*, pp. 5–70.

82 *Vita SS. Christophori et Macarii iunioris*, in *Historia et laudes Sanctorum Sabae et Macarii Juniorum e Sicilia auctore Oreste patriarcha Hierosolymitano*, ed. I. Cozza-Luzzi, Rome, pp. 71–96.

83 Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, pp. 245–248; Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano*, pp. XXXIX–XL; Ménager, “La ‘byzantinisation’ religieuse”, pp. 764–766; Da Costa-Louillet, “Saints de Sicile”, pp. 130–142; Borsari, “Il monachesimo bizantino”, pp. 46–50, 114; Russo, “Cristoforo di Collesano”, cols. 346–348; Cappelli, “Sui santi monaci calabresi”, pp. 281, 284–288; Pertusi, “Aspetti organizzativi”, pp. 396–397; Russo, “Macario di Collesano”, cols. 420–421; Mongelli, “Saba il Giovane”, col. 531; Caruso, “Sulla tradizione manoscritta”, pp. 103–107; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, p. 49; Hester, *Monasticism and Spirituality*, pp. 182–189; Ferrante, *Santi italo-greci*, pp. 262–269; Minuto, “Una famiglia di santi”, pp. 47–51; Cilento, A., “Family Hagiography and Christian Resistance”, pp. 144–163.

84 *Vita S. Leonis-Lucae*, in *La Vita di san Leone Luca di Corleone*, ed. Maria Stelladoro, Rome 1995. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, pp. 245–246; Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano*, p. XLI; Da Costa-Louillet, “Saints de Sicile”, pp. 110–113; Ménager, “La ‘byzantinisation’ religieuse”, pp. 766–767; Borsari, “Il monachesimo bizantino”, pp. 53, 98, 125; Pertusi, “Aspetti organizzativi”, p. 397; Hester, *Monasticism and Spirituality*, pp. 173–175; Ferrante, *Santi italo-greci*, pp. 288–291; Cilento, *Potere e monachesimo*, p. 112; Minuto, “San Leone Luca di Corleone”, pp. 31–34.

85 *Vita S. Lucae Armenti*, in *AASS Octobris*, vol. 6, Antwerp 1794 (repr. Brussels 1970), pp. 337–341. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, pp. 248–249; Robinson, *History and Cartulary*, vol. 2, pp. 281–283; Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano*, p. XLI; Ménager, “La ‘byzantinisation’ religieuse”, pp. 768–769; Da Costa-Louillet, “Saints de Sicile”, pp. 142–146; Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino*, pp. 50–51; Cappelli, “Sui santi monaci calabresi”, pp. 275–293; Russo, “Luca di Demenna”, cols. 187–188; Hester, *Monasticism and Spirituality*, pp. 175–177; Follieri, “I santi dell’Italia greca”, p. 21; Ferrante, *Santi italo-greci*, pp. 280–282; Cilento, *Potere e monachesimo*, p. 111; Minuto, “San Luca di Demenna”, pp. 35–39.

86 *Vita S. Vitalis a Castro Novo*, in *AASS Martii*, vol. 2, Antwerp 1668 (repr. Brussels 1968), pp. *26–*34. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, pp. 245–246, 250; Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano*,

While at the *Merkourion* and in frequent contact with Phantinus, Saint Nilus the Younger of Rossano was initiated into the monastic life and practiced an asceticism so extreme as to give him a great reputation among the monastic superiors of that area during his first hermit phase. He would extend this same excellence beyond the *Merkourion* – as his friend Phantinus also did – when he undertook, with his disciples, a sort of “communitarian hermitism” at the church of St. Adriano, near the city of San Demetrio Corone (now an Albanian enclave in Calabria). In this case however, his international reputation (he was known at Mount Athos⁸⁷) was based upon his inflexibility in the practice of cenobitic virtues, such as obedience, laboriousness, and poverty, and he is considered a great cenobiarch, too. Saint Nilus also left the geopolitical area of the Byzantine Italy, but he did not go east as Elias the Younger and Phantinus did. Instead, he went to the Frankish west, moving his community into Campania, in the Lombard princedoms, ending his days at the gates of Rome.⁸⁸

However, this emigration was not an exodus, nor was it an escape as it was sometimes suggested by some historiographies which have connected it to Arab invasions of Byzantine territories. Rather, it was the result of the great expansive potential of this monasticism, which experienced a time of great institutional and spiritual fecundity always in search of beloved solitude even as the Eastern Empire began to gradually lose control over these territories. Proof of this is evident when one considers that even in Norman period, when the migration northward ended, Italo-Greek monasticism continued to flourish in the motherland, where it was deeply rooted in its local traditions and not, as still affirmed by some scholars, constructed on models both coeval

pp. xli–xlii; Ménager, “La ‘byzantinisation’ religieuse”, pp. 768–770; Da Costa-Louillet, “Saints de Sicile”, pp. 125–130; Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino*, pp. 51–52, 60, 79, 91–94, 125–126; Cappelli, “Sui santi monaci calabresi”, pp. 72–76; Pertusi, “Aspetti organizzativi”, p. 396; Hester, *Monasticism and Spirituality*, pp. 177–181; Ferrante, *Santi italo-greci*, pp. 285–287; Minuto, “San Vitale da Castronovo”, pp. 41–45.

87 *Vita S. Nili iunioris*, 45 (p. 89). Morini, “Monastic Interactions”, p. 192.

88 Batiffol, *L'Abbaye de Rossano*, pp. xvi–xvii; Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, pp. 251–267, 355–360; Da Costa-Louillet, “Saints de Sicile”, pp. 146–167; Penco, “San Nilo e il monachesimo”, pp. 220–229; Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino*, pp. 56–60, 91–94; 112–115; Pertusi, “Aspetti organizzativi”, pp. 398–399; Giovanelli, “Nilo di Rossano”, cols. 995–1008; Rousseau, “La visite de Nil”, pp. 111–1137; Follieri, “San Nilo e i monaci”, pp. 401–409; Luongo, “Morfologia ascetica”, pp. 411–440; De Rosa, “S. Nilo e i ‘Tabernacoli’”, pp. 377–399; Sansterre, “Saint Nil de Rossano”, pp. 339–386; Hester, *Monasticism and Spirituality*, pp. 200–221; Ferrante, *Santi italo-greci*, pp. 300–310; Costanza, “San Nilo di Rossano”, pp. 57–61; Matteo Kryptopherritis, “La ‘Vita Nili’”, pp. 57–93; Chrysos, “Ο Ἀγιος Νεῖλος”, pp. 121–157; von Falkenhausen, “Il percorso geo-biografico”, pp. 87–100; Morini, “Il monaco è un angelo”, pp. 139–141; Peters-Custot, “Neilos the Younger and Benedict”, pp. 308–347; Angeli Murzaku, “Neilo’s Long-lasting Marks on Grottaferrata’s Identity”, pp. 348–359.

and parallel from monastic areas of the central regions of the empire. Many great figures, including institutional founders such as Saint Bartholomew of Simeri⁸⁹ and Saint Luke Grammatikos of Melicuccà,⁹⁰ as well as ascetics such as the saints Philaretos the Gardener,⁹¹ John Theristes of Stilo,⁹² and Cyprian of Calamizzi.⁹³ We must also refer to some institutions, such as the four archimandritates created by the Norman kings: St. Saviour *Pantokrator* in Messina for Sicily and southern Calabria, Sts. Elias and Anastasius of Carbone⁹⁴ – a monastery founded at the beginning of the 11th century by another Luke,

- 89 Batiffol, *L'Abbaye de Rossano*, pp. 2–10; Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano*, pp. 165–180; Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino*, pp. 83, 100, 117, 123–124; Giovanelli, “Bartolomeo di Simeri”, cols. 893–895; Pertusi, “Aspetti organizzativi”, pp. 401–404, 406, 409, 411; Lavagnini, “Aspetti e problemi”, pp. 51–65; Hester, *Monasticism and Spirituality*, pp. 246–253; Re, “Sul viaggio di Bartolomeo da Simeri”, pp. 31–76; Caruso, “Il santo, il re, la curia”, pp. 51–72; Ferrante, *Santi italo-greci*, pp. 357–364; Cilento, *Potere e monachesimo*, pp. 136–137; Minuto, “San Bartolomeo di Simeri”, pp. 83–87; Burgarella, “Aspetti storici del Bios”, pp. 119–133.
- 90 *Vita S. Lucae Insulae*, in *Vita di s. Luca vescovo di Isola Capo Rizzuto*, ed. G. Schirò (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, Testi e Monumenti 2, Vite dei Santi Siciliani 1), Palermo 1954, pp. 80–124. Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino*, pp. 119, 124; Russo, “Luca di Melicuccà”, cols. 223–335; Ferrante, “Santi italo-greci nel Reggino”, pp. 88–92; Hester, *Monasticism and Spirituality*, pp. 109–111; Acconcia Longo, “S. Leo, s. Luca di Bova”, pp. 81–83; Ferrante, *Santi italo-greci*, pp. 350–356; Minuto, “San Luca di Melicuccà”, pp. 89–93.
- 91 Lake, “The Greek Monasteries”, pp. 22–23; Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, p. 554; Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino*, pp. 45, 60, 123–125; Guillou, “Grecs d'Italie”, pp. 79–110; Russo, “Filareto di Calabria”, cols. 680–682; Guillou, “La Lucanie byzantine”, p. 374; Pertusi, “Aspetti organizzativi”, pp. 400–411; Ferrante, “Santi italo-greci nel Reggino”, pp. 85–87; Merendino, “Santi della Calabria”, pp. 3–34; Caruso, “Michele IV Paflagone”, p. 267; Hester, *Monasticism and Spirituality*, pp. 235–241; Follieri, “I santi dell'Italia greca”, pp. 28–30; Caruso, “Il Bios di Filareto”, pp. 91–121; Ferrante, *Santi italo-greci*, pp. 331–337; Minuto, “San Filareto”, pp. 73–76.
- 92 *Vita Ioannis Messoris*, in S. Borsari, “Vita di san Giovanni Terista. Testi greci inediti”, *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 22 (1953), 136–148 (*Vita A*); 137–151 (*Vita B*). Scaduto, *Il monachesimo basiliano*, p. 419; Pertusi, “Aspetti organizzativi”, pp. 400–401; Ferrante, “Santi italo-greci nel Reggino”, pp. 78–84; Hester, *Monasticism and Spirituality*, pp. 241–246; Acconcia Longo, “San Giovanni Terista”, pp. 137–154; Ferrante, *Santi italo-greci*, pp. 323–330; Minuto, “San Giovanni Theriste”, pp. 77–79.
- 93 *Vita S. Cypriani*, in “Vita inedita di san Cipriano di Calamizzi”, ed. G. Schirò, *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 4 (1951), 65–97. Russo, “Cipriano, abate di Calamizzi”, cols. 1259–60; Ferrante, “Santi italo-greci nel Reggino”, pp. 111–115; Stiernon, “Saint Cyprien de Calamizzi”, pp. 247–252; Hester, *Monasticism and Spirituality*, pp. 129, 162; Lucà, “I Normanni e la ‘rinascita’”, pp. 52–56; Ferrante, *Santi italo-greci*, pp. 385–389; Minuto, “San Cipriano di Calamizzi”, pp. 107–110.
- 94 Robinson, *History and Cartulary*; Fonseca, “Il monastero dei SS. Elia e Anastasio”, pp. 13–18; von Falkenhausen, “Il monastero dei SS. Anastasio ed Elia”, pp. 61–87.

not to be confused with Saint Luke of Demenna, even if both habited these same places;⁹⁵ within Basilicata one finds the Patir of Rossano for northern Calabria⁹⁶ and St. John Theristes of Stilo for central-southern Calabria. Furthermore, while they were imposed by the new rulers as instruments to control significant entities within their kingdom (and whereby arousing suspicions of political infidelity and religious deviance), at period of time monastic confederations were still well-attested to within the Italo-Greek areas. Thus, even if already in the Norman age, the presence of these religious figures and the development of these institutions testifies to a thriving new page in the history of this monasticism, revealing a complex dialectic of continuity and discontinuity within the strictly Byzantine period.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Gregorius I (Magnus), *Registrum epistularum*, ed. D. Norberg, 2 vols. (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, CXL, CXLA), Turnhout 1982; ed. P. Ewald/ L.M. Hartmann, in *MGH, Epp*, vol. 3, Berlin 1891.
- Le "Liber Pontificalis". Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols., Paris 1886–1892.
- Liber Pontificalis*, ed. U. Přerovský (*Studia Gratiana*, 22), Bologna 1978.
- Vita S. Eliae Spelaeotae*, in *AASS Septembris*, vol. 3, Antwerp 1750 (reprinted Brussels 1970), pp. 848–887.
- Vita S. Nili iunioris*, in *Βίος και πολιτεία τοῦ Ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νείλου τοῦ Νέου*, ed. G. Giovanelli, Grottaferrata 1972.
- Vita S. Phantini iunioris*, in *La Vita di s. Fantino il Giovane*, ed. E. Follieri (*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 77), Brussels 1993, pp. 400–470.
- Vita S. Sabae iunioris*, in *Historia et laudes Sanctorum Sabae et Macarii Juniorum e Sicilia auctore Oreste patriarcha Hierosolymitano*, ed. I. Cozza-Luzi, Rome 1893, pp. 5–70.

Secondary Literature

- Acconcia Longo, A., "San Giovanni Terista nell'agiografia e nell'innografia", in *Calabria bizantina. Civiltà bizantina nei territori di Gerace e Stilo*, Soveria Mannelli 1998, pp. 137–154.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "Santi greci della Calabria meridionale", in *Calabria bizantina. Testimonianze d'arte e strutture di territori*, Soveria Mannelli 1991, pp. 211–230.

95 Acconcia Longo, "Santi monaci italogreci", pp. 135–138.

96 Lucà, "Il Patir di Rossano", pp. 255–268.

- Acconcia Longo, A., "S. Leo, s. Luca di Bova e altri santi italogreci", in *Calabria bizantina. Il territorio grecanico da Leucopetra a Capo Bruzzano*, Soveria Mannelli 1995, pp. 75–84.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "Santi monaci italogreci alle origini del monastero di S. Elia di Carbone", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s., 49–50 (1995–96), 132–138.
- Angeli Murzaku, I., "Neilos's Long-Lasting Marks on Grottaferrata's Identity", in Crostini/ Angeli Murzaku, *Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy*, pp. 348–359.
- Antonelli, F., "I primi monasteri di monaci orientali in Roma", *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 5 (1928), 105–121.
- Bardy, G., "Barbatien (Saint)", in *Catholicisme*, vol. 1, Paris 1948, col. 1239.
- Basile, A., "Fantino Seniore e Fantino Juniore di Tauriano", *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 12 (1942), 79–94, 143–152.
- Batiffol, P., *L'Abbaye de Rossano. Contribution à l'histoire de la Vaticane*, Paris 1891.
- Bertolini, O., *Roma di fronte a Bisanzio e ai Longobardi* (Storia di Roma, 9), Bologna 1941.
- Binon, S., "La vie de saint Pierre l'Athonite", *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 5 (1939) (*Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini, Roma, 20–26 settembre 1936*), 41–53.
- Borsari, S., "Il monachesimo bizantino nell'Italia meridionale e insulare", in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'Alto Medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, XXXIV), vol. 2, Spoleto 1988, pp. 675–695.
- Borsari, S., *Il monachesimo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale prenormanne* (Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, 14), Naples 1963.
- Borsari, S., "La bizantinizzazione religiosa nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia", *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 19 (1950), 209–225; 20 (1951), 5–20.
- Bosl, K., "Das Kloster Sant' Alessio auf dem Aventin zum Rom. Griechisch-lateinisch-slavisches Kontakte in römischen Klöstern vom 6/7 bis zum Ende des 10. Jahrhunderts. Kulturbewegung in Mittelmeerraum im archaischen Zeitalter Europas", in H.-G. Beck/ A. Schmaus (eds.), *Beiträge zur Südosteuropa-Forschung anlässlich des II. Int. Balkanologiekongresses in Athen* (Beiträge zur Kenntnis Südosteuropas und des Nahen Orients, 10), Munich 1970, pp. 15–28.
- Bréhier, L., "Les colonies d'Orientaux en Occident au commencement du Moyen Âge (V^e–VIII^e siècles)", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 12 (1903), 1–39.
- Burgarella, F., "Aspetti storici del Bios di san Bartolomeo da Simeri", in V. Ruggieri/ L. Pieralli (eds.), *EYKOEMIA. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*, Soveria Mannelli 2003, pp. 119–133.
- Burgarella, F., "L'Eparchia di Mercurio: territorio e insediamenti", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s., 39 (2002) (*Atti della Giornata di Studio in ricordo di Enrica Follieri*), 59–92.
- Camobreco, F., "Il monastero di Sant'Erasmo sul Celio", *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 28 (1905), 265–300.
- Campagna, O., "I monasteri che erano attorno al Mercurion", *Rivista Storica Calabrese*, n.s., 9 (1988), 27–35.

- Cappelli, B., "Limiti della regione ascetica del Mercurion", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s., 23 (1969), 33–47.
- Cappelli, B., "Sui santi monaci calabresi Fantino e Nicodemo", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s., 29 (1975), 55–71.
- Carile, A. (ed.), *Macro e microstrutture economiche nella società bizantina*, Bologna 1991.
- Caruso, S., "Il Bios di Filareto il Giovane (XI sec.) e la Calabria tardo-bizantina" in S. Leanza (ed.), *Sant'Eufemia d'Aspromonte. Atti del Convegno di Studi per il bicentenario dell'autonomia di Sant'Eufemia d'Aspromonte* (Bibliotheca Vivariensis, 5), Soveria Mannelli 1997, pp. 91–121.
- Caruso, S., "Il santo, il re, la curia, l'impero. Sul processo per eresia contro Bartolomeo da Simeri (XI–XII sec.)", *Bizantinistica. Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi*, n.s., 1 (1999), 51–72.
- Caruso, S., "La χώρα Σαλινῶν nell'agiografia storica italo-greca", in *Ad contemplandam sapientiam. Studi di filologia, letteratura, storia in memoria di Sandro Leanza*, Soveria Mannelli 2004, pp. 55–96.
- Caruso, S., "Michele IV Paflagone in una fonte agiografica italogreca", in *Studi albanologici, balcanici, bizantini e orientali in onore di Giuseppe Valentini*, Florence 1986, pp. 261–284.
- Caruso, S., "Sulla tradizione manoscritta della 'Vita di s. Saba il Giovane' di Oreste di Gerusalemme", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s., 28 (1974), 103–107.
- Casey, R., "Early Russian Monasticism", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 19 (1953), 372–423.
- Casula, F.C., *La storia di Sardegna*, Sassari 1992.
- Cavarra, B., "Organizzazione del lavoro in un inedito τυπικόν paleo-calabrese", in Carile (ed.), *Macro e microstrutture economiche*, pp. 29–36.
- Cavedoni, C., "Annotazioni sopra l'iscrizione greca del Regio Museo", *Bollettino Archeologico Sardo* 6 (1860), 51–58.
- Cecchelli, C., "Continuità storica di Roma antica nell'Alto Medioevo", in *La città nell'Alto Medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, 6), Spoleto 1959, pp. 89–149.
- Cecchelli, C., "Le chiese della Colonna Traiana e la leggenda di Traiano", in id. (ed.), *Studi e documenti sulla Roma sacra* (Miscellanea della Regia Deputazione Romana di Storia Patria), vol. 1, Rome 1938, pp. 97–119.
- Cerchi Paba, F., *La Chiesa greca in Sardegna. Cenni storici. Culti. Tradizioni*, Cagliari 1963.
- Chitty, D.J., *The Desert a City*, Oxford 1966.
- Chrysos, E., "Ο Ἀγίος Νεῖλος μεταξύ τῶν δύο Αὐτοκρατοριῶν", in *Monachesimo d'oriente e d'occidente nel passaggio dal primo al secondo millennio* (Ἀνάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρρης, 6), Grottaferrata 2009, pp. 121–157.
- Cilento, A., "Family Hagiography and Christian Resistance in the Tenth Century: The 'Bio' of Sabas, Christopher and Makarios", in Crostini/Angeli Murzaku, *Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy*, pp. 144–163.

- Cilento, A., *Potere e monachesimo. Ceti dirigenti e mondo monastico nella Calabria bizantina (secoli IX–XI)*, Florence 2000.
- Conti, P.M., “Il ‘monasterium’, sacello di fondazione privata e le missioni cattoliche nella Tuscia longobarda del secolo VIII”, in *Studi storici. Miscellanea in onore di Manfredi Giuliani*, Parma 1965, pp. 81–102.
- Corbo, V., “L’ambiente materiale della vita dei monaci di Palestina nel periodo bizantino”, in *Il monachesimo orientale* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 153), Rome 1958, pp. 235–257.
- Costanza, A., “San Nilo di Rossano”, in Minuto (ed.), *Profili di santi*, pp. 57–61.
- Crostiti, B./ Angeli Murzaku I., *Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy: The ‘Life of Neilos’ in Context*, London – New York 2017.
- Da Costa-Louillet, G., “Saints de Sicile et d’Italie méridionale aux VIII^e, IX^e et X^e siècles”, *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60), 89–173.
- Dagron, G., “Les moines et la ville. Le monachisme à Constantinople jusqu’au concile de Chalcédoine (451)”, *Travaux et Mémoires* 4 (1970), 229–277.
- Delehay, H., *Les saints stylites* (Subsidia hagiographica, 14), Brussels 1923.
- De Rosa, G., “S. Nilo e i ‘Tabernacoli’ del Mercurion e del Cilento”, in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale su s. Nilo da Rossano*, Grottaferrata 1989, pp. 377–399.
- Diehl, C., “Le monastère de Saint Nicholas de Casole près d’Otrante, d’après un manuscrit inédit”, *Mélanges d’Archéologie et d’Histoire* 6 (1886), 173–188.
- Dvorník, F., *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs. Saints Constantine-Cyril and Methodius*, New Brunswick 1970.
- Dvorník, F., *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vue de Byzance*, (*Byzantinoslavica*, Supplementa, 1), Prague 1933.
- Dvorník, F., “Sts. Cyril and Methodius in Rome”, *St. Vladimir’s Seminary Quarterly* 7 (1963), 20–30.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., “Elia il Giovane, santo” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 42, Rome 1993, pp. 459–461.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., “Elia lo Speleota, santo”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 42, Rome 1993, pp. 461–463.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., “Il monastero dei SS. Anastasio ed Elia di Carbone in epoca bizantina e normanna”, in Fonseca/ Lerra (eds.), *Monastero di S. Elia di Carbone*, pp. 61–87.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., “Il percorso geo-biografico di san Nilo di Rossano”, in F. Burgarella (ed.), *San Nilo di Rossano e l’Abbazia greca di Grottaferrata. Storia e immagini*, Rome 2009, pp. 87–100.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., “L’ἐπαρχία delle Saline in epoca bizantina e normanna”, in *Calabria bizantina. Luoghi e circoscrizioni amministrative* (Incontri di Studi Bizantini, 8), Reggio Calabria 2009, pp. 89–105.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., “S. Bartolomeo di Trigona. Storia di un monastero greco nella Calabria normanno-sveva”, *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 36 (2000), 93–116.

- Ferrante, N., *Santi italo-greci. Il mondo religioso bizantino in Calabria*, Reggio Calabria 1999.
- Ferrante, N., "Santi italo-greci nel Reggino", *Oriente Cristiano* 14 (1974), no. 3.
- Ferrari, G., *Early Roman Monasteries. Notes for the History of the Monasteries and Convents at Rome from the 5th through the 10th Century* (Studi di Antichità Cristiana, 23), Vatican City 1957.
- Ferrua, A., "Un'iscrizione greca medioevale di Sardegna", *Epigraphica*, 108 (1956), 94–103.
- Follieri, E., "I santi dell'Italia greca", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s., 34 (1997), 3–36.
- Follieri, E., "La Vita inedita di s. Fantino il Giovane nel codice Mosquensis 478", in *Atti del IV Congresso Storico Calabrese*, Naples 1969, pp. 17–35.
- Follieri, E., "San Nilo e i monaci del Mercurio", in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale su S. Nilo da Rossano*, Grottaferrata 1989, pp. 401–409.
- Follieri, E., "Un santo monaco calabrese a Tessalonica: Fantino il Giovane", in S. Leanza (ed.), *Calabria Cristiana. Società Religione Cultura nel territorio della Diocesi di Oppido Mamertina – Palmi*, vol. 1, *Dalle origini al Medio Evo* (Bibliotheca Vivariensis, 9), Soveria Mannelli 1999, pp. 463–475.
- Fonseca, C.D./ A. Lerra (eds.), *Il monastero di S. Elia di Carbone e il suo territorio dal medioevo all'età moderna*, Galatina 1996.
- Fonseca, C.D., "Il monastero dei SS. Elia e Anastasio di Carbone: problemi e prospettive", in Fonseca/ Lerra, (eds.) *Il monastero di S. Elia di Carbone*, pp. 13–18.
- Foti, B.M., *Il monastero del S.mo Salvatore 'in Lingua Phari.' Proposte scritte e coscienza culturale*, Messina 1989.
- Gay, J., *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile I^{er} jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands, 867–1071* (Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome), Paris 1904.
- Geertman, H., 'More veterum'. *Il 'Liber Pontificalis' e gli edifici ecclesiastici di Roma nella tarda antichità e nell'alto medioevo* (Archaeologica Traiectina, 10), Groningen 1975.
- Giovanelli, G., "Bartolomeo di Simeri, santo", in *BS*, vol. 2, cols. 893–895.
- Giovanelli, G., "L'eparchia monastica del Mercurio", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s., 15 (1961), 121–143.
- Giovanelli, G., "Nilo di Rossano, fondatore dell'abbazia di Grottaferrata, santo", in *BS*, vol. 9, cols. 995–1008.
- Grisar, H., *Histoire de Rome et des papes au Moyen Âge*, vol. 1, *Rome au déclin du monde antique*, Paris 1906.
- Grisar, H., "Le Tre Fontane, luogo della decollazione di san Paolo, e i monaci greci introdotti nel VI secolo", *Civiltà Cattolica*, s. XVI, 10 (1897), 477–479.
- Grisar, H., "San Saba sull'Aventino", *Civiltà Cattolica*, s. XVIII, 2 (1901) 589–599; 3 (1901), 719–724; 5 (1901), 194–213.

- Guillou, A., "Grecs d'Italie du sud et de Sicile au moyen âge: les moines", *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 75 (1963), 79–110 (reprinted in id., *Studies on Byzantine Italy*, London 1970, XIII).
- Guillou, A., "La Lucanie byzantine", *Byzantion* 35 (1965), 119–149 (reprinted in id., *Studies on Byzantine Italy*, London 1970, x).
- Guillou, A., *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'Empire byzantin au VII^e siècle. L'exemple de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie* (Studi storici, 75–76), Rome 1969.
- Guillou, A., "La Tourma des Salines dans le Thème de Calabre (XI^e siècle)", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Age, Temps Modernes* 83 (1971), 9–29 (reprinted in id., *Culture et société en Italie byzantine [VI^e–XI^e s.]*, London 1978, x).
- Halkin, F., "Bulletin d'hagiographie italo-grec", *Analecta Bollandiana* 66 (1948), 289–298.
- Halkin, F., "Saints Phantine et Nicodème, moines de Calabre", *Analecta Bollandiana* 70 (1952), 363–364.
- Hamilton, B., "The Monastery of Sant'Alessio and the Religious and Intellectual Renaissance of Tenth-Century Rome", *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 2 (1965), 265–310 (reprinted in id., *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades*, London 1979, 111).
- Hester, D.P., *Monasticism and Spirituality of the Italogreeks* (Ἀνάλεκτα Βλαττάδων, 55) Thessaloniki 1992.
- Hoeck, J.M./ Loenertz, R.J., *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto Abt von Casole. Beiträge zur Geschichte der ost-westliche Beziehungen unter Innozens III. und Friedrich II.*, Ettal 1965.
- Hülsen, C./ Cecchelli, C./ Giovannoni, G./ Monneret de Villard, U., *Sant'Agata dei Goti* (Monografie sulle chiese di Roma, 11), Rome 1924.
- Iordanides, D., "Τὸ Τυπικὸ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Πατρός. Ἡ ζωὴ σε μία μονὴ τῆς Καλαβρίας τὸν 13 αἰῶνα", *Βυζαντινὸς Δόμος* 7 (1993–1994), 105–118.
- Janin, R., *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantines* (Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantine, vol. 2, *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, 2), Paris 1975.
- Kölzer, Th., "Zur Geschichte der Klösters S. Nicola di Casole", *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 65 (1985), 418–426.
- Koureas, N., "The Greek-rite Monastery of the Holy Saviour of 'Lingua Phari' in Sicily (1334–1415)", in C. Dendrinos/ J. Harris/ E. Harvalia-Crook/ J. Herrin (eds.), *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium in Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, Aldershot 2003, pp. 198–215.
- Lake, K., "The Greek Monasteries in South Italy", *Journal of Theological Studies* 4 (1903), 345–368, 517–542; 5 (1904), 22–41, 189–202.
- Lanzoni, F., "Le fonti della leggenda di Sant'Apollinare di Ravenna", *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna*, s. IV, 5 (1915), 111–176.

- Lavagnini, B., "Aspetti e problemi del monachesimo greco nella Sicilia normanna", in *Byzantino-Sicula* (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Quaderni, 2), Palermo 1965, pp. 51–65.
- Leclercq, H., "Colonies d'Orientaux en Occident", in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, vol. 3/2, Paris 1914, cols. 2266–2277.
- Leclercq, H., "Laures palestiniennes", in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, vol. 8/2, Paris 1929, cols. 1986–1988.
- Leclercq, H., "Rome", in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, vol. 14/2, Paris 1948, cols. 2514–3122.
- Leclercq, H., "Saint Saba sur l'Aventin", in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, vol. 15/1, Paris 1950, cols. 204–209.
- Leclercq, J., *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu. Initiation aux auteurs monastiques du Moyen Âge*, Paris 1957.
- Leroy, J., "La conversion de saint Athanase l'Athonite à l'idéal cénobitique et l'influence studite", in *Le millénaire du Mont Athos: 963–1963*, vol. 1 (Études et Mélanges, 1), Chevetogne 1963, pp. 101–120.
- Leroy, J., "La réforme studite", in *Il monachesimo orientale* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 153), Rome 1958, pp. 181–214.
- Leroy, J., "La vie quotidienne du moine studite", *Irénikon* 27 (1974), 20–50.
- Leroy, J., "Les Petites Catéchèses de saint Théodore Studite", *Le Muséon* 71 (1958), 329–358.
- Leroy, J., "L'influence de saint Basile sur la réforme studite d'après les Catéchèses", *Irénikon* 52 (1979), 491–506.
- Leroy, J., "Saint Athanase et la Règle de S. Benoît", *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 29 (1953), 108–122.
- Leroy, J., "Saint Théodore Studite", in *Théologie de la vie monastique* (Théologie, 49), Paris 1961, pp. 423–436.
- Leroy, J., "Un nouveau témoin de la Grande Catéchèse de saint Théodore Studite", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 15 (1957), 73–88.
- Lestocquoy, J., "Note sur l'église de Saint Saba", *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 7 (1930), 261–298.
- Lucà, S., "Il Patir di Rossano e il S. Salvatore di Messina", in F. Conca (ed.), *Byzantina Mediolanensia. Atti del V Congresso Nazionale di Studi Bizantini* (Medioevo Romano e Orientale, Colloqui, 3), Soveria Mannelli 1996, pp. 255–268.
- Lucà, S., "I Normanni e la 'rinascita' del secolo XIII", *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 60 (1993), 7–91.
- Luongo, G., "Morfologia ascetica e modello monastico di s. Nilo", in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale su s. Nilo da Rossano*, Grottaferrata 1989, pp. 411–440.
- Malamut, E., *Sur la route des saints byzantins*, Paris 1993.

- Mango, C., "La culture grecque et l'Occident au VIII^e siècle", in *I problemi dell'Occidente nel secolo VIII*, vol. 2 (Settimane CISAM, 20), Spoleto 1973, pp. 683–721.
- Mango, C./ Ševčenko, I., "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973), 235–277.
- Martin, J.-M., "Hellénisme et présence byzantine en Italie Méridionale (VII^e–XIII^e siècles)", in Oikonomides (ed.), *L'ellenismo italiota*, pp. 181–202.
- Matranga, F., *Il Monastero dei Greci del S. Salvatore dell'Acroterio di Messina e S. Luca primo archimandrita autore del cartofilacio o sia della raccolta dei codici greci di quel monastero*, Messina 1887.
- Matteo Kryptoferritis [Maurizio Paparozzi], "La 'Vita Nili': uno 'speculum monachorum' dell'XI secolo", in *Monachesimo d'oriente e d'occidente nel passaggio dal primo al secondo millennio* (Ἀνάλεκτα Κυπριοφέρρης, 6), Grottaferrata 2009, pp. 57–93.
- Mazzotti, M., *La basilica di S. Apollinare in Classe*, Vatican City 1954.
- Mazzotti, M., "Per una nuova datazione della 'Passio sancti Apollinaris'", *Studi Romagnoli* 2 (1952), 123–139.
- Ménager, L.-R., "La 'byzantinisation' religieuse de l'Italie méridionale (IX^e–XII^e siècles) et la politique monastique des Normands d'Italie", *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 53 (1958), 747–774; 54 (1959), 5–40.
- Mercati, S.G., "San Mercurio e il Mercurion", *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 7 (1937), 295–296.
- Merendino, E., "Santi della Calabria bizantina: S. Filareto", in *Atti dell'Accademia di Scienze e Lettere e Arti di Palermo*, Palermo 1984, pp. 3–34.
- Michel, A., "Die griechische Klostersiedlungen zu Roma bis zur Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 1 (1952), 32–45.
- Minisci, T., "Riflessi studitani nel monachesimo italo-greco", in *Il monachesimo orientale* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 153), Rome 1958, pp. 215–223.
- Minuto, D. (ed.), *Profili di santi nella Calabria bizantina*, Reggio Calabria 2002.
- Minuto, D., "San Bartolomeo di Simeri", in id. (ed.), *Profili di santi*, pp. 83–87.
- Minuto, D., "San Cipriano di Calamizzi", in id. (ed.), *Profili di santi*, pp. 107–110.
- Minuto, D., "San Fantino il Giovane", in id. (ed.), *Profili di santi*, pp. 25–29.
- Minuto, D., "San Filareto", in id. (ed.), *Profili di santi*, pp. 73–76.
- Minuto, D., "San Giovanni Theriste, san Ciriaco di Buonvicino, san Leo di Bova e Africo", in id. (ed.), *Profili di santi*, pp. 77–82.
- Minuto, D., "San Leone Luca di Corleone", in id. (ed.), *Profili di santi*, pp. 31–34.
- Minuto, D., "San Luca di Demenna", in id. (ed.), *Profili di santi*, pp. 35–39.
- Minuto, D., "San Luca di Melicuccà", in id. (ed.), *Profili di santi*, pp. 89–93.
- Minuto, D., "Sant'Elia il Giovane", in id. (ed.), *Profili di santi*, pp. 15–18.
- Minuto, D., "Sant'Elia lo Speleota (e sant'Arsenio)", in id. (ed.), *Profili di santi*, pp. 19–23.
- Minuto, D., "San Vitale de Castronovo", in id. (ed.), *Profili di santi*, pp. 41–45.

- Minuto, D., "Una famiglia di santi. Cristoforo, Calì, Saba, Macario", in id. (ed.), *Profili di santi*, pp. 47–51.
- Mongelli, C., "Saba il Giovane, monaco in Sicilia, santo", in *BS*, vol. 11, col. 531.
- Morini, E., "Eremo e cenobio nel monachesimo greco dell'Italia meridionale nei secoli IX e X", *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 31 (1977), 1–39, 354–390.
- Morini, E., "Gerarchia e κοινωνία. Organizzazione della vita monacale in un inedito τυπικόν paleo-calabrese", in Carile (ed.), *Macro e microstrutture economiche*, pp. 1–20.
- Morini, E., "Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy. The Encounter between East and West", in Angeli Murzaku, I. (ed.), *Monastic Tradition in Eastern Christianity and the Outside World. A Call for Dialogue* (Eastern Christian Studies, 19), Leuven 2013, pp. 69–101.
- Morini, E., "Il monachesimo", in P. Corrias/ S. Cosentino (eds.), *Ai confini dell'impero. Storia, arte e archeologia della Sardegna bizantina*, Cagliari 2002, pp. 39–53.
- Morini, E., "Il monachesimo italo-greco e l'influenza di Stoudios", in Oikonomides (ed.), *Lellenismo italiota*, pp. 125–151.
- Morini, E., "Il monachesimo nell'antica Rus'", in *Monachesimi d'Oriente e d'Occidente nell'Alto Medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, 64), Spoleto 2017, pp. 499–562.
- Morini, E., "'Il monaco è un angelo.' La testimonianza di san Nilo e la riforma monastica italo-greca del x secolo", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, s. III, 7 (2010), 139–141.
- Morini, E., "La santità nella Valle delle Saline", in *Calabria bizantina. Luoghi e circoscrizioni amministrative* (Incontri di Studi Bizantini, 8), Reggio Calabria 2009, pp. 291–323.
- Morini, E., "Monastic Interaction between Calabria and Mount Athos in the Middle Ages", in Crostini/ Angeli Murzaku, *Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy*, pp. 191–207.
- Morini, E., "Oltre i limiti dell'ecumene. La tipologia egli eremiti assoluti nell'agiografia greca", in L. Canetti/ M. Caroli/ E. Morini/ R. Savigni (eds.), *Studi di storia del cristianesimo. Per Alba Maria Orselli*, Ravenna 2008, pp. 99–132.
- Morini, E., "The Orient and Rome: Pilgrimages and Pious Visits between the Ninth and the Eleventh Century", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988–1989), 849–869 (= O. Pritsak/ I. Ševčenko/ M. Labunka [eds.], *Proceedings of the International Congress Commemorating the Millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine*).
- Morris, R., *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843–1118*, Cambridge 1995.
- Mortari, L., "Organizzazione dei tempi e dei pasti. Digiuni, feste e penitenze in un inedito τυπικόν paleo-calabrese", in Carile (ed.), *Macro e microstrutture economiche*, pp. 21–27.
- Oikonomides, N. (ed.), *Lellenismo italiota dal VII al XII secolo*, Athens 2001.
- Omont, H., "Le 'Typicon' de Saint Nicholas de Casole près d'Otrante", *Revue des Études Grecques* 3 (1890), 381–391.

- Orselli, A.-M., "Organizzazione ecclesiastica e momenti di vita religiosa alle origini del cristianesimo emiliano-romagnolo", in A. Berselli (ed.), *Storia dell'Emilia-Romagna*, vol. 1., Bologna 1975, pp. 307–332.
- Orselli, A.-M., "Vita religiosa nella città medievale italiana tra dimensione ecclesiastica e 'cristianesimo civico.' Una esemplificazione", *Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico in Trento*, 7 (1981), 361–398 (reprinted in ead., *L'immaginario religioso della città medievale*, Ravenna 1985, pp. 355–412).
- Pani Ermini, L., *Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedievali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari*, Rome 1981.
- Papachryssanthou, D., "La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIII^e au XI^e siècles", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 43 (1973), 158–182.
- Papachryssanthou, D., "Le monachisme athonite: ses origines, son organisation", in ead., *Actes du Prôtaton* (Archives de l'Athos, 7), Paris 1975, pp. 1–164.
- Parenti, S., *Il monastero di Grottaferrata nel Medioevo (1004–1462). Segni e percorsi di una identità* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 274), Rome 2005.
- Pargoire, J., "Mont Saint-Auxence. Étude historique et topographique", *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, s. 1, 8 (1903), 15–31, 240–279, 426–458, 550–576.
- Pasini, C., "Osservazioni sul 'dossier' agiografico ed innografico di san Filippo di Agira", in S. Pricoco (ed.), *Storia della Sicilia e tradizione agiografica nella tarda antichità*, Soveria Mannelli 1988, pp. 173–208.
- Patlagean, È., "Les moines grecs d'Italie et l'apologie des thèses pontificales (VIII^e–XI^e siècles)", *Studi Medievali*, s. III, 5 (1964), 579–602 (reprinted in ead., *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance, IV^e–XI^e siècle*, London 1981, XIII).
- Patrich, J., *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 32), Washington D.C. 1995.
- Penco, G., "San Nilo e il monachesimo basiliano", in *Storia del monachesimo in Italia*, Rome 1961, pp. 220–229.
- Pertusi, A., "Aspetti organizzativi e culturali dell'ambiente monacale greco dell'Italia meridionale", in *L'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII* (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali dell'Università del Sacro Cuore, 4), Milan 1965, pp. 382–426.
- Pertusi, A., "Bisanzio e l'irradiazione della sua civiltà in occidente nell'Alto Medioevo", in *Centri e vie di irradiazione della civiltà nell'Alto Medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, XI), Spoleto 1964, pp. 75–133.
- Pertusi, A., "Rapporti tra il monachesimo italo-greco e il monachesimo bizantino nell'Alto Medioevo", in *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo*, vol. 2 (Italia Sacra, 21), Padua 1973, pp. 473–520.
- Pesce, G., *Sarcofagi romani di Sardegna*, Rome 1957.
- Peters-Custot, A., "Neilos the Younger and Benedict: The Greek Hymns Composed by Neilos in Campania", in Crostini/ Angeli Murzaku, *Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy*, pp. 308–347.

- Piras, G., *Aspetti della Sardegna bizantina*, Cagliari 1966.
- Raschellà, D., *Saggio storico sul monachesimo italo-greco in Calabria*, Messina 1925.
- Re, M., "Sul viaggio di Bartolomeo da Simeri a Costantinopoli", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 34 (1997), 31–76.
- Robinson, G., *History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of St. Elias and St. Anastasius of Carbone*, 3 vols (Orientalia Christiana, 44, 53, 62), Rome 1928–1930.
- Rousseau, O., "La visite de Nil de Rossano au Mont-Cassin", in *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo*, vol. 3 (Italia Sacra, 21), Padua 1973, pp. 1111–1137.
- Ruotolo, G., *L'abbazia delle Tre Fontane*, Rome 1972.
- Russo, F., "Cipriano, abate di Calamizzi, santo", in *BS*, vol. 3, cols. 1259–1260.
- Russo, F., "Cristoforo di Collesano, santo", in *BS*, vol. 4, cols. 346–348.
- Russo, F., "Elia di Enna, monaco, santo", in *BS*, vol. 4, cols. 1043–1045.
- Russo, F., "Elia Speleota, monaco, santo", in *BS*, vol. 4, cols. 1052–1053.
- Russo, F., "Filareto di Calabria, santo", in *BS*, vol. 5, cols. 680–682.
- Russo, F., "La peregrinatio dei santi italo-greci alle tombe degli apostoli Pietro e Paolo a Roma", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s., 22 (1968), 89–99.
- Russo, F., "Luca di Demenna o d'Armento, santo", in *BS*, vol. 8, cols. 187–188.
- Russo, F., "Luca di Melicuccà, vescovo di Isola Capo Rizzuto, santo", in *BS*, vol. 8, cols. 223–335.
- Russo, F., "Macario di Collesano, santo", in *BS*, vol. 8, cols. 420–421.
- Saletta, V., "Il Mercurio e il Mercuriano", *Bollettino della Badia Greca Grottaferrata*, n.s., 14 (1960), 117–126.
- Sansterre, J.-M., "Le monachisme grec à Rome", in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'Alto Medioevo*, vol. 1 (Settimane CISAM, 34), Spoleto 1988, pp. 701–746.
- Sansterre, J.-M., *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VI^e s.-fin du IX^e s.)*, vol. 1, *Texte*; vol. 2, *Bibliographie, notes* (Académie Royale de Belgique, Mémoires de la Classe des Lettres, Collection in-8°, 2^e série, T. LXVI, Fascicule 1), Brussels 1983.
- Sansterre, J.-M., "Monaci e monasteri greci a Ravenna", in A. Carile (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna: dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, vol. 2/2, *Ecclesiologia, cultura e arte*, Venice 1992, pp. 323–329.
- Sansterre, J.-M., "Saint Nil de Rossano et le monachisme latin", in A. Acconcia Longo/ S. Lucà/ L. Perria (eds.), *Miscellanea di Studi in onore di P. Marco Petta per il LXX compleanno* (Ἀνάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρρης, 2), Grottaferrata 2000, pp. 339–392.
- Sansterre, J.-M., "Une laure à Rome au milieu du IX^e siècle. Remarques à propos d'un article récent", *Byzantion* 44 (1974), 514–517.
- Scaduto, M., *Il monachesimo basiliano nella Sicilia medievale. Rinascita e decadenza (sec. XI–XIV)*, Rome 1947 (reprinted 1982).
- Schiano, C., "Nicholas-Nektarios of Otranto: A Greek Monk under Roman Obedience", in Crostini/ Angeli Murzaku, *Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy*, pp. 208–225.

- Sotgiu, G., "L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna dopo il C.I.L. X e l'E.E. VIII.", in H. Temporini (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, vol. 2, *Principat*, 11: *Politische Geschichte*, 1: *Sizilien und Sardinien*, Berlin 1988, pp. 552–739.
- Spano, B., *La grecità bizantina e i suoi riflessi geografici nell'Italia meridionale e insulare*, Pisa 1963.
- Spano, G., "Sarcophago greco del regio Museo di Cagliari", *Bullettino Archeologico Sardo* 5 (1859), 164–167.
- Stiernon, D., "Saint Cyprien de Calamizzi (vers. 1210–1215). Notule chronologique", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 32 (1974), 247–252.
- Taramelli, A., *Guida del Museo Archeologico di Cagliari*, Cagliari 1915.
- Testi Rasponi, A., "Barbatianus (Saint)", in *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique*, vol. 6, Paris 1932, cols. 621–622.
- Testini, P., *San Saba* (Le chiese di Roma illustrate, 68), Rome 1961.
- Torre, C., "Italo-Greek Monastic 'Typika'", in Crostini/ Angeli Murzaku, *Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy*, pp. 44–77.
- Vasina, A., "Per una storia del monachesimo in Emilia-Romagna", in G. Spinelli (ed.), *Monasteri benedettini in Emilia-Romagna*, Milan 1980, pp. 9–15.
- Vassuri, D., "I 'monasteria' di Ravenna. Consuetudini e usi liturgici", *Rivista liturgica* 11/7 (1924), 210–214.
- Vieliard, R., *Recherches sur les origines de la Rome Chrétienne. Les églises romaines et leur rôle dans l'histoire et la topographie de la ville depuis la fin du monde antique jusqu'à la formation de l'État pontifical. Essai d'urbanisme chrétien*, Mâcon 1941.
- Villani, G., "Il culto bizantino in Sardegna: influenza religiosa e culturale nell'isola", *Bollettino Bibliografico e Rassegna Archivistica di Studi Storici della Sardegna* 23 (1997), 14–15.
- Ware, K., "Saint Athanasios the Athonite: Traditionalist or Innovator?" in A. Bryer/ M. Cunningham (eds.), *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, Aldershot 1996, pp. 3–16.
- Wickhoff, F., "Die 'monasteria' bei Agnellus", *Mitteilungen des Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 9/1 (1887), 34–35.
- Zagari, F., "L'eparchia delle Saline: primi dati archeologici e topografici", in *Calabria bizantina. Luoghi e circoscrizioni amministrative* (Incontri di Studi Bizantini, VIII), Reggio Calabria 2009, pp. 129–174.
- Zattoni, G., "La data della 'Passio sancti Apollinaris' di Ravenna (Nota)", *Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche* 39 (1904), 364–378.

Byzantine Administration and the Army

Vivien Prigent

To a modern mind, the association between administration and the military may sound ominous, but the imperial administration in Italy was strongly militarized and as the army assumed an increasingly dominant social and economical role, this reality did not lead to serious political tensions at the local level.¹ As it was, this evolution was the only constant in the administrative history of Byzantine Italy. While the ebb and flow of imperial power provoked constant modifications in the geography of this political entity, the forms of administration varied accordingly since Byzantium was nothing if not a contortionist-State whose real strength lied in its ability to adopt “la forma dell’acqua.”² The army always remained the cornerstone of administration, with recruitment, financing and deployment at the core of its administrative dynamics.

Constantinople’s authority over Italy did not extend homogeneously throughout time and space. Three main zones with unique historical trajectories should be distinguished. Exarchal Italy consisted of the territories from northern and central Italy that resisted the initial Lombard onslaught, along with a narrow stretch of land running from Gaeta to Amalfi. It left the *de facto* or *de iure* bosom of the empire during the 8th century. We could add Sardinia, last shred of the exarchate of Africa. These regions remained “more imperial, than the empire”, as the reforms that led Byzantium from late antiquity to the Middle Ages never really took hold there.³ The second block consisted of Sicily and Calabria: they remained for a century (ca. 750–850) the only Byzantine territory in Italy, benefitting from an early introduction of the “thematic system.” Last comes modern Puglia, lost at the end of the 6th century, but brought back into the imperial fold after 876 and organized first as a theme and then

-
- 1 What follows focuses exclusively on lay administration, but the Empire usually buttressed its power by strengthening the network of bishoprics.
 - 2 Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, p. 111, also underscores that Italian documentation reveals the flexibility of Byzantine administrative practice.
 - 3 See the two volumes by Martin/ Peters-Custot/ Prigent (eds.), *L’héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 1, *La fabrique documentaire*; vol. 2, *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux*. For the reforms see also Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*.

as a duchy, offering no element of continuity with the previous phase of imperial rule.

1 *The Provincia Italiae*

The history of the administration from the 6th to the 8th centuries is centred on the growing power of the military, whose needs and tasks dictated the organization of Byzantine Italy and whose members steadily established themselves as the administrative, social, economic and political elite.

At the end the Gothic Wars, the traditional forms of the administration of Italy appeared to be intact, even if the islands had already left the orbit of the peninsula, united to the prefecture of Africa (Sardinia;⁴ Corsica) or directly managed from Constantinople (Sicily⁵). Our sources reveal a Praetorian Prefect, civil provinces and civic councils, the most exalted of which was the Senate of Rome.⁶ The fiscal apparatus insured the financing along traditional lines of a field army mainly staffed by people of eastern and barbarian origin.⁷ Yet the restoration ideals of the Reconquista faded out against the demands of the defence of a territory deprived of any strategic depth by an army of reduced numbers.⁸ Byzantine Italy shrunk essentially to two littoral stretches along the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic shores, linked by a narrow corridor crossing the Apennines via Perugia to insure communications between Rome and Ravenna. Beyond the conservative nomenclature, the presence or absence of a military unit came to the fore as the main criteria of territorial hierarchy.⁹ The main concentrations of troops crystallized as new territorial entities: the duchies. These were the ultimate result of a process of regionalization of the defence system whose logic has to be sought in the reforms affecting the recruiting and financing of the army.

4 See the chapter by Pier Giorgio Spanu in this volume.

5 See below, pp. 150–152.

6 Burgarella, “Il Senato”, pp. 121–176.

7 Ravegnani, “I corpi dell’esercito bizantino”, pp. 155–175. For the funding of the military see below, pp. 148–150.

8 Cracco Ruggini, “Giustiniano e la società italiana”, pp. 173–207; Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*.

9 Some cities had *tribuni* (i.e. lieutenants of the duke) as top-ranking officers, hinting at a division of some units in different places.

2 *Exarchus, Magistri Militum and Duces*

This complex evolution can be exemplified by the difficulty met in analyzing sources where *duces* and *magistri militum* appear, disappear and substitute one for another, seemingly defying attempts to hierarchize and rationalize their respective functions. The whole problem happens to be a *trompe-l'œil*. The hierarchy of officials was based upon the bestowal of titles and epithets frequently linked to honorary functions. In this system the duke was styled *spectabilis* and belonged to the middle rank of the Senate. Late 6th-century sources reveal that this title was fading away, so the dukes commonly benefited from the higher dignity of *gloriosus* / *gloriosissimus* specific to the upper rank of the Senate.¹⁰ This happened through the bestowal of an honorary position of *magister militum* whose standard epithet was precisely *gloriosus*. Such an honorary office entitled a mere duke to style himself *gloriosus* or *magister militum*.¹¹ This confusion was made all the easier as the military reforms of Justinian I had modified the nature of the troops commanded by dukes. They no longer commanded numerous provincial troops of dubious quality, but a handful of elite regiments, or even a single one, similar to those of the *magistri militum*.¹² In this context, two points have to be stressed. The defence of Italy never relied on *limitanei*, second-grade military troops halfway between soldiers and settlers.¹³ A unified office of *magister militum per Italiam* never existed: after the *ad hoc* command entrusted to Belisarius and Narses, such a centralized command went to the exarch and the terminological innovation could result from the necessity to clarify the chain of command in front of the multiplication of the *magistri militum*.¹⁴ The first attestation of an exarch dates from 584. The recruitment favoured eunuchs from the *cubiculum*, insuring a tight control by the emperor.¹⁵ The authority of the exarch capped both the civil and military apparatus without introducing real reforms in daily practices.¹⁶ The exact extent of his authority over the dukes has been debated but, as the emperors even entitled the exarchs from the second half of the 7th

10 One should only peruse the letters by Gregory the Great to have a fairly good idea of the relative frequency of the different honorary titles.

11 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 1.46; 1.59: the (*vir*) *gloriosus* Theodorus is styled both *magister militum* and *dux*.

12 Zuckerman, "Sur le dispositif frontalier", pp. 108–128.

13 Even in this province this ambition was quickly abandoned: Zuckerman, "La haute hiérarchie militaire", pp. 169–175.

14 The first exarch of Africa, Gennadius, was previously *magister militum per Africam*, see *PLRE* 3, *sub voce* "Gennadius 1".

15 Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 64–65.

16 Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 46–53; Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, p. 137.

century to confirm papal elections,¹⁷ it is difficult to see how the nomination of local military officials could have escaped them, at least up to the first half of the 8th century.¹⁸ Subsequently, the exarch lost much of his power when political issues led the emperor to personally nominate the dukes or permitted the local troops to elect one from their ranks.¹⁹

3 The *Numeri*

The army's efficiency depended upon its elite standing units, the *numeri*. Until the pontificate of Honorius I (625–638), the standard soldier remained the mounted bowman who was also armed with shield, lance and sword that Procopius identified as the key to the victory against the Goths.²⁰ Trying to estimate total numbers is a hopeless task as even the most precise list of military units mentioned in the sources only offers a biased glimpse. The same unit can appear under diverse names, a topographical name, based on quartering, substituting itself with the original denomination.²¹ The technical nomenclature gave way to daily parlance and the *numerus Ravennas/-atis* should probably not be distinguished from the *numerus felicium Ravennensium*;²² one document can mention the same unit as both the *numerus victricium Mediolanensium* and the *numerus Mediolanensium*.²³

Most of these troops originated from the eastern provinces, as illustrated by the *numeri Persameniorum* or *Armeniorum*.²⁴ The *numerus Dacorum* quartered in Ravenna at the beginning of the 7th century had seen active service in Egypt a century earlier.²⁵ The itinerary of the *numerus felicium Theodosiacus*

17 Sansterre, "La date des formules", pp. 226–243. It is misleading to say that the exarch exercised civil and military powers, as the praetorian prefect remained in office, but its subordination to the exarch hints at a new equilibrium of powers.

18 Contra Bavant, "Le duché byzantin de Rome", p. 74. The exarch seems to lose power during the first half of the 8th century, when the political contingencies led the emperor to nominate directly the dukes or to have an officer promoted by his troops.

19 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, 91.14 and 17, pp. 403–404.

20 Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, p. 83; Procopius, *Bella* 5.27, 26–29 and 8.32, 6–10; Maurice's orders to train soldiers in archery in Maurice, *Strategicon*, 1.1 (pp. 74–76).

21 Zuckerman, *Du village à l'empire*, pp. 170–173.

22 Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri*, pap. 23 and pap. 37; Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis. Bischofsbuch*, ed. C. Nauwerth, 2 vols. (*Fontes Christiani*, 21). Freiburg 1996, p. 319.

23 Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri*, vol. 1, pap. 20.

24 Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri*, vol. 1, pap. 22–23; vol. 2, pap. 37.

25 Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri*, vol. 1, pap. 18–19; Zuckerman, *Du village à l'empire*, p. 175, n. 160.

is even more interesting, even if partly hypothetical. It was initially deployed under the authority of the *magister militum per Thracias*.²⁶ Around 600, the *Theodosiaci* were in charge of the protection of Rome,²⁷ but could have been sent to Ravenna shortly after.²⁸ At some point, the unit could have been recalled back east, if these *Theodosiaci* are the ancestors of the homonymous soldiers belonging to the *Thrakesianōn*, a *thema* precisely born from the transfer in western Asia Minor of troops from Thrace.²⁹ This return to the east could have entailed a stopover in Sicily in the middle decades of the 7th century if we consider that Pope Conon, born in this island, was himself the son of a soldier of the *Thrakesianoī*.³⁰

Conversely, the west contributed armed forces to the east, as *Ravennenses* are mentioned in Egypt in 568.³¹ This unit, probably composed of Gothic warriors, could be one and the same with the *numerus felicium Ravennatium* mentioned in Italy from 591 to the beginning of the 8th century.³² Other Italian troops were garrisoned in Constantinople around 700.³³

The imperial army of Italy also benefitted from an influx of troops called back from the Danube frontier, as exemplified by the *numerus militum Sermisiani*,³⁴ named after Sirmium.³⁵ This *terminus technicus* appears on the seal of the *patrikios* Mauros, *archōn tōn Sermisianōn kai Boulgarōn*,³⁶ but it is very unlikely that the Sermisiani quartered in Italy were Avaro-Slavs, considering the state

26 Pellegrini, "Una guarnigione bizantina", pp. 357–366. Conversely, one should discard the hypothesis of a link between these Theodosiaci and an homonymous unit quartered at Nessana in the 6th century (Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance*, p. 153, n. 31). As a matter of fact, this last regiment is to be identified with the *Balastarii Theodosiaci* at the disposal of the *magister militum per Orientem*. Similarly, one can discard without hesitation the idea that these troops were Crimean Goths.

27 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 2.38.

28 If one accepts that the *Theodosiaci* cited by the Pope are to be identified with the *Numerus Theodosiacus* or *Numerus felicium Theodosiacus* known by the Ravenna papyri.

29 Haldon, "Theory and Practice", p. 217, l. 200 and commentary.

30 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 368.

31 Rémondon, "Soldats de Byzance", p. 87.

32 *Supra*, n. 22.

33 Justinian II's *iussio* sent to the pope in 687 was signed by the different army corps present in Constantinople, among which there were also the Italian troops: *ACO, Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium*, pp. 886–887.

34 Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri*, vol. 1, pap. 17–19.

35 Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils*, p. 142 n. 213bis.

36 Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils*, pp. 138–143. In the *Miracula*, the *Sermisianoī* refers to a fighting force levied on the populations deported by the Avars around Sirmium, but the chronology does not permit the identification of the *numerus Sermisianus* with this force. As a matter of fact, its return into the imperial territory happened only at the end of the 7th century, whereas the *numerus Sermisianus* is attested at the beginning of this century.

of war between the empire and these populations when the unit appears in our Italian sources (beginning of the 7th century).³⁷ We should establish a connection with Menander's description of the recruitment of new troops by the imperial officer sent by Tiberius II to command Sirmium,³⁸ as this anecdote can be set against the background of the recruitment campaign ordered by the emperor at this time. As the fortress fell a few years later (582), it is tempting to identify the Italian *Sermisiani* with these newly raised troops.

These complex itineraries demonstrate that the "imperial army of Italy" was initially an operational and logistical structure to which its fighting components were not tightly bound. This characteristic faded away as changes in the recruitment, logistics and financing of the military led to the appearance of the duchies. At the end of the 7th century, the emperors probably tried to react against the negative military consequences of this evolution by entrusting an elite "Opsikion" to the exarch organized along the lines of the Imperial standing army.³⁹ The *numeri* were backed by allied corps and the chronicles offer examples of Lombard or Bulgarian chieftains fighting for Byzantium.⁴⁰

These troops were initially deployed alongside strategical lines conceived on the grand scale of the whole Italian peninsula, as illustrated by the regular use of *metatum* (i.e., the billeting of troops in private houses where the units were temporarily sent).⁴¹ Pontifical letters illustrate the regular redeployment of units. In 592, the pope tried to persuade the exarch to send a duke to Naples.⁴² In 584, Rome itself was deprived of troops.⁴³ Eight years later, the exarch once again recalled most of the garrison.⁴⁴ The defence system leaned on Ravenna where a strategic reserve was probably available for large-scale operations.⁴⁵ The numbers of the *numeri* army remained small and its capacity to defend the

37 *Contra* Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance*, p. 154.

38 Whitby, "Recruitment in Roman Armies", p. 92, no. 138.

39 Prigent, "Une note sur l'administration", pp. 79–89.

40 Some examples in Diehl, *Études sur l'administration byzantine*, pp. 212–218. Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance*, pp. 102–103.

41 Martin, *Guerre, accords et frontières*, pp. 32–33.

42 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 2.38. Martin, *Guerre, accords et frontières*, pp. 24–25, stresses that Naples had already *milites*. The pope was probably requesting the nomination of a commanding officer. In this case, the letter could be read on the background of the conflict between the *tribunus* Constantius and the *milites* of Naples (Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum* 2.47). As a matter of fact, the Pope deemed to be necessary to remind the soldiers the necessity to obey Constantius.

43 Pelagius II, *Epistolae*, in *PL* 72, col. 703.

44 *Infra*, n. 45.

45 In 592, the exarch nonetheless had to recall the garrison of Rome to launch an offensive (Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 2.38).

territory relied on the support of local levies, especially for the defence of the fortresses.⁴⁶ The population and the *paidēs*, or military servants,⁴⁷ offered an essential back-up force. This strategy, already used albeit reluctantly, by Belisarius during the siege of Rome⁴⁸ was advised by Emperor Maurice in his *Stratēgikon*⁴⁹ and was all the more useful as the “fair-haired people”, especially the Lombards whose strength lay in cavalry, were deemed incapable of leading a siege. Outside this tactical framework, we cannot understand how the *Theodosiaci*, just a few hundreds in numbers, would have been able to defend Rome. Indirectly, this strategy insured the growing authority of the soldiers, as even in peacetime the civilians got used to being ordered around by the military, for example, through para-fiscal obligations such as watch duty.⁵⁰ Even members of the monastic communities faced these chores at any given time, whatever the exact threat level.⁵¹ These realities stand behind two paradoxical evolutions taking place during the 7th and 9th centuries: on the one hand, an increased involvement of the civil population in the defence of cities, while on the other hand there was the survival of a well-distinct legal and social identity of the *exercitus*.⁵²

4 Civil Administration

Up to the second half of the 7th century, this fluid defence system did not entail significant changes to the administrative divisions of Italy, as the civil provinces inherited from the Roman Empire still survived. The descriptions offered by George of Cyprus or the Anonymous of Ravenna do not mirror actual global administrative reforms, but superimpose old realities to *ad hoc* arrangements dealing with specific problems.⁵³ Nonetheless, the new term *ducatus* progressively asserted itself to designate a territorial resort, whose rationale was probably the stable quartering of one or more military units. The exact chronology

46 Settia, “La fortezza e il cavaliere”, pp. 555–584.

47 The defence of a fortress is just a very favourable case of a military encampment’s defence: Mauricius, *Strategicon* 7.2.7 (p. 180).

48 Procopius, *Bella*, 1.20; 1.25.

49 The *Stratēgikon* orders to raise the local population to defend the fortress, with the regular troops bolstering them (Mauricius, *Strategicon*, 10.3, p. 344).

50 Gregorius 1, *Registrum epistularum*, 1.59 offers a glimpse in the daily para-fiscal demands of the military officers.

51 Gregorius 1, *Registrum epistularum*, 3.1; 9.163.

52 Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 97–99 and in this volume pp. 0000. For Rome, ultimately, see di Carpegna Falconieri, “La militia a Roma”, pp. 559–583.

53 Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell’Italia bizantina*, vol. 1, pp. 21–84 and pp. 487–499.

of this evolution escapes us as the term *ducatus/doukaton* was certainly coined well after these new territorial arrangements took hold.⁵⁴ However, the grand strategy simmered down into small, entrenched military districts: in the second half of the 7th century sources mention the duchies of Rome,⁵⁵ Naples,⁵⁶ and Calabria, whose frontiers shrunk until its duke only held command in the province of *Bruttium*, which thus came to be called Calabria.⁵⁷ In time, Venice and Istria adopted the same administrative profile.⁵⁸ The political hinterland of Ravenna received a different name, *exarchatus*, to cover the new reality, but only after the ultimate demise of imperial power in the area.⁵⁹ Within these new administrative entities, the military leaders steadily extended their prerogatives,⁶⁰ perhaps initially through a short-lived office of *consul*.⁶¹

The appearance of these new territorial units mirrors new strategies of armed forces deployment. In 640 the *exercitus Romanus* was distinguished from the *exercitus Ravennatis*.⁶² Nonetheless, the components of the *exercitus Italiae* remained able to act in a coordinated manner as demonstrated by the multi-pronged attack delivered against Mezezius in Sicily in 668 or 669, from both Italy and Africa.⁶³ The Italian army officially remained a unified fighting force endowed with a legal personality, as demonstrated by an official seal bearing its name,⁶⁴ at least until 687, when it signed an imperial *iussio*.⁶⁵

The growing importance of the army went hand in hand with the unravelling of the civil administration. The *curiae* quickly disappeared: their mentions

54 Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina*, vol. 1, pp. 70–86.

55 Bavant, “Le duché byzantine de Rome”.

56 Martin, *Guerre, accords et frontières*. Last indication of a functional civil jurisdiction under Pope Honorius I (see J.-M. Martin/ E. Cuzzo/ S. Gasparri/ M. Villani, *Regesti dei documenti dell'Italia meridionale 570–899* [Sources et documents d'histoire du moyen âge, 5], Rome 2002, no. 207).

57 Schipa, “La migrazione del nome ‘Calabria’”.

58 See in this volume, p. 360.

59 Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, p. 49.

60 Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 53–56.

61 Around 700, the *Liber Diurnus* mentions an *eminentissimus consul* who represents the army in the Roman delegation coming to Ravenna to ask for the ratification of the new pope's election (Santerre, “La date des formules”). The 8th century seal of George *hypatos* (i.e. *consul*) and *eparchēs Rhōmēs* has to be attributed to a prefect of Constantinople, as he was previously *comes* of Abydos and Hieron (Zacos/ Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, nos. 1133–1134). Similarly, the *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, p. 428, seem to identify the exercise of the ducal office with consulship. Finally, in Gaeta, the ruler of the city came to be designated by the title of *consul*: Martin, “L'Occident chrétien”, pp. 630–631.

62 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 121.

63 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 346.

64 Zacos/ Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, no. 807.

65 ACO 2, *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium*, pp. 886–887.

in the correspondence of Pope Gregory the Great mostly mirror the conservatism of chancery formulas. The Roman Senate itself is seen performing its traditional role in the City for the last time in 603.⁶⁶ The same could be said for the old civic magistracies and offices.⁶⁷ The *Pragmatica sanctio* had reduced provincial civil governors to the role of mere figurehead of the local aristocracy who elected them.⁶⁸ They do not play any real role after about 630, and the formerly complex nomenclature gave way to the generic term of *iudex*, a title so all-encompassing that it could stand for any kind of office holder, like its Greek counterpart *archōn*.⁶⁹ In absence of, or hand in hand with, a military commander, the bishop ultimately took the reins of daily affairs on the local level of administration, even managing state funds to build fortifications.⁷⁰ The imperial administration tended to focus on the upper scale, probably concentrating on fiscal matters.⁷¹ The last mention of a praetorian prefect dates from 639,⁷² on the eve of two seminal evolutions to the financial system.

First, during that very same year, the *sacellarius* of the exarch came to Rome to settle financial issues.⁷³ This very same evolution can be observed contemporarily in Africa: the disappearance of the *praefectura* and new pre-eminence of a local *sacellarius*.⁷⁴ Even in the east, the *sakellarios* took over the central financial administration during the 7th century.⁷⁵

The second evolution covers probable modifications to the way the troops were paid. Initially, the classic system was maintained with stipends in both coins and in kind. At the end of the 6th century, Pope Gregory the Great

66 Burgarella, "Il senato".

67 Final mentions of *cura civitatis* or *defensor civitatis* in the letters of Gregory the Great.

68 Dispositions extended to the whole empire by Justin I's *novella* 149 (Laniado, *Recherches sur les notables*, pp. 225–252).

69 Every Byzantine official exercised judiciary powers in the field linked to his main activity, whether civil, fiscal or military.

70 Durliat, "L'Évêque et sa cité", pp. 21–32.

71 The mints' capacity to maintain a proper production hints to a correct functioning of the fiscal system as coinage leaned on the recycling of gold stocks.

72 Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten*, pp. 58–59. *Praefecturius* should be understood as honorary prefect. The seal of John, *hypatos* and *eparchos Italias* remains puzzling (Zacos/ Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, no. 1163), because a date earlier than 8th century seems excluded. Nonetheless, the consulate had already lost most of its lustre and this prefect certainly exercised minor powers. In the east, the praetorian prefect's office also survived in a much reduced capacity along with the new dominant fiscal role of the *sakellē*: Brubaker/ Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*.

73 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 328; *sacellarius* of the exarch active since at least 594–595: Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 5.39.

74 Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten*, pp. 54–58.

75 Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten*, pp. 427–479.

mentions the *rhoga* of the *milites*⁷⁶ as well as the *precaria* owed to Byzantine officers⁷⁷ and Lombard auxiliaries.⁷⁸ The monetized part of the stipend, which took the form of imperial *donativa*, was paid in gold and still funded by traditional military taxes,⁷⁹ the fiscal revenue of the *provincia Italiae* being entirely spent in the peninsula.⁸⁰ Around 600, Constantinople sent important quantities of gold coins,⁸¹ as the local resources were hardly able to cope with the necessities of the military. Later around 640, this system seems still functioning: the army sacked the Lateran Palace when confronted with rumours that the pope hid their cash sent by Emperor Heraclius.⁸²

This system relied on the regularity and quality of monetary production, whose steady decline is a key factor in explaining the evolution of the Byzantine army and the demise of the imperial power.⁸³ The crisis which ultimately threw down the rule of Constantinople in the first decades of the 8th century is strictly contemporary to the collapse of the imperial coinage.⁸⁴ Yet even before this last and fatal convulsion, recurring chronological coincidences can be observed between monetary crises and civil unrest in Italy. The revolts of the army of Ravenna in 618, 652 and under Justinian II took place on the background of three financial reforms which enhanced the role of Catania to the detriment of the peninsular mints.⁸⁵ The crystallization of the duchies could also mirror a new division of monetary responsibilities: the duchy of Rome asserted its autonomy vis-à-vis Ravenna around the middle of the 7th century, precisely when this mint's production seems to decline; in Campania, the creation of the duchy of Naples is contemporary to the opening of a mint in this city; in the south, Sicilian coinage was nearly exclusive in the duchy of Calabria.⁸⁶

76 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 2.38 and 9.240.

77 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 9.134.

78 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 2.38.

79 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 1.42, cites for the last time the *chrysos bourdōnōn*: Prigent, *La Sicile byzantine*, pp. 1092–1093.

80 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 5.38.

81 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 9.240. Officials from Rome and Ravenna vie for 600 pounds of gold sent by Maurice. It is noteworthy that sharing this money created very strong tensions within the administration.

82 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 328. Under Maurice, the gold sent to Italy had also been entrusted to ecclesiastical authorities in Ravenna.

83 Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 87–88, stresses the silence of our sources on stipends, but the catastrophic debasement, of paramount importance, is never mentioned either. See in this volume, pp. 000.

84 Oddy, "The Debasement of the provincial Byzantine gold coinage".

85 See in this volume pp. 0000. For these revolts, still useful is Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance*.

86 See in this volume p. 332.

This data must be set against another evolution: in 599, the money sent to Ravenna was partly destined to the army in Rome, whereas in 640 the stipends of the Roman garrison seem to arrive directly in the *Urbs*. Our knowledge of monetary production and circulation is too limited to allow us to demonstrate beyond the proverbial reasonable doubt the link between these evolutions, but the impression remains that the growing autonomy of each individual military district resulted at least partly on financial structures becoming more decentralized. This reform coincided chronologically with the demise of the praetorian prefect and the rise of the new figure of the *sacellarius*. In time, the steady weakening of these structures stimulated the acquisition of land by evermore static troops, leading the military towards the constitution of a new socio-economic élite.⁸⁷

5 Sicily: From the *Praetor* to the *Stratēgos*

In Sicily, the rule of Constantinople endured from the conquest of the island in 535 to the Muslim conquest, a process stretching one century and a half.⁸⁸ The administrative evolution of the island, and of its continental annex, Calabria,⁸⁹ was unique for four reasons: it remained outside the prefectural system and the exarchate; it always benefitted from a privileged and direct access to the emperor; it was militarized quite late as a *thema/stratēgia* (a model alien to the rest of Italy); and it maintained an important monetary production up to the second half of the 9th century. These four points insured the stability of imperial power in the area.

6 The Justinianic System

In 537, Justinian enacted a *novella* fixing the administrative framework which prevailed in Sicily up to the end of the 7th century.⁹⁰ He addressed four topics: military power, justice, taxes and appointments, and he aimed to bind the island as tightly as possible to the emperor and the central administrative departments. Its analysis necessitates keeping in mind how the prefectural

87 See in this volume pp. 43–44.

88 Prigent, “La politique sicilienne”, pp. 63–84.

89 Calabria is the only area of Italy which remained uninterruptedly under Byzantine rule from Justinian I to the Norman conquest. Paradoxically, it is the less documented for each of the main historical phases: Corsi, “La Calabria bizantina” and here, pp. 152, 159, 160, 162.

90 *CJC*, vol. 3, *Novellae*, nos. 75 and 104.

system functioned, as the *novella* focuses on the consequences of withdrawing the island from this framework. It also has to be read within the context of the many contemporary *novellae* which were reforming the office of governor.⁹¹

The *novella* mentions a duke when addressing appeals to the sentences of such an official. Nonetheless, all our other sources demonstrated that there was never such a thing as a duke of Sicily.⁹² It would have been useless, as the administration of the island was entrusted to a *praetor* who held both civil and military powers, like the ancient Roman praetors.⁹³ The duke mentioned in the *novella* must be seen as the commanding officer of a military unit with no territorial competences. In all probability the text deals with the problems of regiments quartered briefly in Sicily before crossing for the African or Italian battlefields.

The *praetor* nonetheless remained first of all a civil governor, whose independence from the prefect modified the equilibrium of powers. The *praetor* was charged with confirming the nomination of civic offices⁹⁴ and appeals to his sentences were addressed to the *quaestor sacri palatii* in Constantinople.⁹⁵ The situation was more complex in the fiscal and financial spheres. The *comes patrimonii per Italiam* (a legacy of the Gothic administration) was in charge of assessing and levying the main taxes.⁹⁶ He transferred the tax-product to the departments in charge of expenditures, part of the *annona* being entrusted to the *praetor*, in charge for of the *militares expensae*.⁹⁷

Hence, the *novella* of 537 divided the powers and responsibilities of the praetorian prefect between the local governor and two central offices, the *quaestor sacri palatii* and the *comes patrimonii per Italiam*.⁹⁸ This system was subsequently modified in two main ways. First the *praetor* lost most of its importance,⁹⁹ an evolution that should be linked with the enactment of the *novella* 149 (569). As he was now elected by the local élite, he lost most of their independence, and became less the local representative of Constantinople,

91 Tamassia, "La novella giustiniana *De Praetore Siciliae*", pp. 304–331; Prigent, "La Sicile byzantine, entre papes et empereurs", pp. 201–230.

92 Particularly clear on this point are the letters of Gregory the Great.

93 *CJC*, vol. 3, *Novella* 24, on the *praetor* of Pisidia.

94 Guillou, "La Sicile byzantine: état des recherches", pp. 98–99.

95 Direct consequence of the general involvement of the *quaestor* in the appeals of sentences by governors of *spectabilis* rank, see Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, pp. 482–484.

96 Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res privata*, pp. 691–694.

97 Probably, only part of it because military forces in the islands were not were large.

98 Even if it does not have empire-wide attributions, this *comes* is not, strictly speaking, a provincial official, because its functions are not bound to a specific *praefectura*.

99 Prigent, "La Sicile byzantine, entre papes et empereurs", pp. 209–211.

than the figurehead of the province.¹⁰⁰ An accelerating factor particular to Sicily lays in the fact that the *praetor* was not responsible for levying the taxes. Conversely, managers of the imperial estates came to the fore, inheriting most of the functions of the *comes patrimonii per Italiam* who disappeared around 600. This reinforced the links between the island and the Great Palace, with 7th-century seals mentioning first of all the members of the imperial *cubiculum*.¹⁰¹ Even the famous kommerkiarioi do not seem to extend their activities in the island.¹⁰² The rationale for this evolution must be sought in the growing importance of Sicilian grain for Constantinople after the loss of Egypt.¹⁰³ This link between the Imperial *cubiculum* and the island was strong enough to survive the creation of the *thema/stratēgia*.

7 The *Thema* of Sicily

The *thema* of Sicily was created shortly before the fall of Carthage, probably in 692, in order to check the Arab conquest in Africa.¹⁰⁴ From its inception, the western part of the duchy of Calabria had been united to this new military command,¹⁰⁵ its last remnants on the Adriatic forming the short-lived duchy of Otranto.¹⁰⁶ The date of the ultimate demise of this *thema* and the foundation of a *thema* of Calabria is difficult to assess. Byzantium initially split the original command in a peninsular and an insular resort under Romanus I before this emperor's failure to recapture the island put an end to this scheme. The *thema* of Calabria then asserted itself as an independent command in the last quarter of the 10th century, when the failure of a large expedition launched against Sicily by Nicephorus II Phocas led Byzantium to cut its losses and close the three centuries-long list of *stratēgoi* of Sicily.¹⁰⁷ The new *thema* of Calabria exhibited some administrative features alike to the older *thema* of

100 Laniado, *Recherches sur les notables*, pp. 225–252.

101 Prigent, “La Sicile byzantine entre papes et empereurs”, pp. 207–209, 211–212.

102 Prigent, “La Sicile de Constant II”, pp. 159–166.

103 Prigent, “Le rôle des provinces d’Occident”, pp. 269–299.

104 Oikonomidès, “Une liste arabe’ de stratèges byzantins”, pp. 121–130.

105 In the early 8th century the dukes of Calabria benefitted from the creation of new titles by the Isaurians, whereas the exarchate’s élites had to content themselves with outdated ones (Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 134–143). The duke received slightly higher honorary titles than a *tourmarchēs*.

106 Von Falkenhausen, “Tra Occidente e Oriente”, pp. 13–60.

107 Prigent, “La politique sicilienne de Romain I^{er} Lécapène”.

Sicily, like the existence of territorial sub-units (like the *droungos* of Ebratico) mirroring the tactical subdivisions of the army.¹⁰⁸

The militarization of Sicily is evident from the appearance of *stratēgoi*, but the exact initial nature of the institution that the Byzantine sources came to call *thema* remains hotly debated.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, in Sicily, the institution shows some peculiarities and the profile of its *stratēgoi* remained unusual up to the 9th century. During the 8th century, they mainly stemmed from the imperial *cubiculum*, an element of continuity with the pre-*thema* period.¹¹⁰ Under the Amorians, this relation to the emperor became more personal as favourites and members of the imperial family were chosen.¹¹¹ The *stratēgoi* benefitted from exceptionally high honorary titles, a clear indication of the importance of the province.¹¹²

Sicily also departed from the classical “thematic system” in its judiciary and financial administrations. The *prōtonotarios* appeared in the island at least half a century before it assumed a leading role elsewhere,¹¹³ a important fact as this office is the fulcrum of the latest hypothesis on the origins and nature of the “thematic system”, dated now to the beginning of the 9th century.¹¹⁴ This early appearance can be easily explained: the *prōtonotarios* was the provincial representative of the *sakellē*, i.e., the financial service of the *cubiculum* which played such a preponderant role in Sicily’s administration from the end of the 6th century. Furthermore, Sicily was the only imperial province which benefitted from a *monētarios* in charge of the mint.¹¹⁵ During the 7th century, monetary production came under the responsibility of the *vestiarion*, so the Sicilian *monētarios* is probably yet another link between the island and the imperial bedchamber.¹¹⁶ Lastly, in the second half of the 8th century, seals reveal the existence of new financial offices (*meizoteros* and *mezas meizoteros*; *rhektōr*

108 C. Rognoni, *Les actes privés grecs de l'Archive ducal de Medinaceli (Tolède)*, vol. 1, *Les monastères de Saint-Pancrace de Briatico, de Saint-Philippe-de-Bojôannes et de Saint-Nicholas-des-Drosi (Calabre, XI^e-XII^e siècles)*, Paris 2004, no. 10.

109 Zuckerman, “Learning from the Enemy”, pp. 79–135; Brubaker/ Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, pp. 723–771.

110 Nchanian/ Prigent, “Les stratégies de Sicile”, pp. 97–141.

111 Prigent, *La Sicile byzantine*, 1170–1183.

112 Nchanian and Prigent, “Les stratégies de Sicile.” The *stratēgoi* lost their exalted status under the Macedonian dynasty.

113 Prigent, *Catalogue*, no. 6.

114 Brubaker/Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclastic Era*, pp. 744–755.

115 All the seals of *monētarios* should be given to the Sicilian office, *contra* V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, vol. 2, *L'administration centrale*, Paris 1981, no. 732.

116 See Prigent, *Mints, Coin Production and Circulation*, in this volume.

of Calabria) dedicated to the management of the papal properties confiscated by the state.¹¹⁷

The strong ties with the Great Palace also survived through a local representative of the *epi tōn deēseōn*, responsible for submitting petitions to the emperor, who perpetuated the jurisdictional privilege bestowed upon the Sicilians in 537.¹¹⁸

8 The Army of Sicily

Sicily differed from the great military commands instituted in the second half of the 7th century, since it did not proceed from the quartering of former military units called back from lost provinces: the *stratēgos* was appointed in a province formerly devoid of real military forces. Nonetheless, even before the reform, the island's finances were organized in order to fund the army: papal patrimonies were assessed in *annonacapita*, a term designating an abstract unit whose fiscal product corresponded theoretically to the cost of maintaining a cavalryman.¹¹⁹ This accounting instrument typical of distributive taxation eventually evolved towards the *ad valorem* tax typical of the middle Byzantine period.¹²⁰

The Sicilian army was probably initially composed of a mix of units from Africa¹²¹ or from the army of Thrace¹²² and Opsikion.¹²³ In the 8th century, seals still testify to the presence of troops drawn from the central imperial army.¹²⁴ In the second half of this century, the seizure of papal patrimonies allowed for the creation of élite regiments organized along the model of the Constantinopolitan *tagmata*, quartered in the main fortresses (Catania, Siracusa, Enna, Cefalù, Tropea, Ragusa).¹²⁵ Together with the central army units, this new fighting force enabled the *stratēgos* to campaign more freely

117 V. Laurent, *Documents de sigillographie byzantine. La collection C. Orghidan*, (Bibliothèque byzantine. Document, 1), Paris 1952, no. 81.

118 Ten seals known; Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines*, p. 322.

119 Prigent, *La Sicile byzantine*, pp. 1108–1112. Levying the taxes in cash allows separating totally places of collections and expenses.

120 Von Falkenhausen, "Amministrazione fiscale", pp. 536–539, 548.

121 Byzantine Africa was conquered at this time, see Kaegi, *Muslim Expansion*, pp. 000.

122 *Supra* n. 000.

123 Prigent, "La Sicile de Constant II", pp. 166–175.

124 Prigent, "Byzantine Military Forces", pp. 153–154.

125 Prigent, "Byzantine Military Forces", pp. 000. The seal of *topoterētai* of Enna and Ragusa have recently come to light: Prigent, *Catalogue*, no. 73.

outside the island, as required by the desire of the Isaurian emperors to restore imperial control over Italy.

This offensive capacity of the Sicilian army was backed by a navy whose importance grew steadily. Two periods must be distinguished: at first, the island was a logistic and operational base for the fleet of the Karabisianoi, but the squadrons were not part of the Sicilian armed forces.¹²⁶ The creation of the *stolus Siciliae* dates to the beginning of the 730s, stemming from three combined events: the dismemberment of the naval command of the Karabisianoi; a series of naval attacks originating from Africa; and the fiscal and monetary reforms enacted by Leo III.¹²⁷ This military instrument mostly disappeared, with the civil wars leading to the Muslim invasion.¹²⁸

9 Longobardia: From the *Stratēgos* to the Duke

The Frankish conquest of northern Italy and the political stabilization in the Balkans resulted in the growing importance of the Adriatic Sea¹²⁹ from the end of the 8th century, as illustrated by the rise of Venice and the irruption of Muslim pirates in this area.¹³⁰ In response, the empire strengthened its positions in the Adriatic, creating the *themata* of Cephalaria and Dyrrachion, as well as of the archontate of Dalmatia.¹³¹ This dynamic gave birth to the Byzantine *thema* of Longobardia at the end of the 9th century.¹³² At first the new territories were managed as part of the *thema* of Cephalaria,¹³³ even if it is probably erroneous to conceive them as a well-defined and standardized *tourma*.¹³⁴ The traditionally accepted date for the creation of the *thema* of Longobardia should be

¹²⁶ Zuckerman, "Learning from the Enemy".

¹²⁷ Prigent, "Les empereurs isauriens", pp. 566–568; id., "Un confesseur de mauvaise foi", pp. 279–304.

¹²⁸ Prigent, "La carrière du tourmarque Euphémios", pp. 279–317; Nef/ Prigent, "Guerroyer pour la Sicile", pp. 13–39.

¹²⁹ McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*.

¹³⁰ Pryor/ Jeffreys, *The Age of the Dromon*, pp. 34–49.

¹³¹ Prigent, "Notes sur l'évolution".

¹³² Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, pp. 20–25.

¹³³ Oikonomidès, "Constantin VII Porphyrogénète", pp. 118–123; *contra* von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, pp. 26–27. The absence of a *tourmarchēs* is hardly surprising if the *stratēgos* resided in Bari or any other continental stronghold. It seems very unlikely the territories conquered in southern Italy remained fifteen years without being clearly attached to some governorship.

¹³⁴ This presupposes a degree of systematization of the thematic institutions belied by the Italian documentation.

postponed from 891/892 to the later part of 899 or 900.¹³⁵ Under the reign of Nikephoros II, the *thema* was reformed as a *doukaton/katepanaton*.¹³⁶

As most of the rich documentation available dates from the last century of imperial rule, the *thema* is less well-known than the *katepanaton*. The province constitutes a paradox: it is simultaneously the area of the empire whose administration can be studied most thoroughly, and the one whose peculiarities and idiosyncrasies are the most pronounced, thus impeding us from building upon the facts gathered in Italy in order to enhance our general knowledge of Byzantine administration. *Longobardia* remained a Latin speaking area, faithful to the Roman church, whose legal system was rooted in Germanic laws.¹³⁷ Byzantium introduced new administrative mechanisms to implement its rule, but it showed a remarkable adaptability in the management of its conquest,¹³⁸ including in the field of fiscality.¹³⁹

10 The Creation of the *Thema* of Longobardia

The Byzantine conquest of the vast territories which came to form the *thema* of *Longobardia* was fast: fifteen years after it established a foothold in Apulia thanks to the conquest of Bari, Byzantium took Benevento. Even if the Lombard princes eventually recaptured their old capital, the empire kept most of the eastern and southern territories of the principality.¹⁴⁰ Three factors explain this success. Byzantium faced weak opponents: a Muslim pirate state entrenched on the Italian shores and Germanic principalities undermined by dynastic strife.¹⁴¹ The conquered territories were largely depopulated,¹⁴² as only the coastal areas around Bari¹⁴³ and probably Otranto, which never

135 Zuckerman, "Squabbling protospatharioi", pp. 193–233.

136 Martin, "Les institutions liées à la conquête", pp. 305–333.

137 Martin, "Les thèmes italiens", pp. 547–549.

138 Martin's "Les thèmes italiens", coupled with von Falkenhausen's *La dominazione bizantina* and ead., "Le istituzione bizantine in Puglia", pp. 185–209, complement each other ideally to offer an extremely rich picture of the Imperial administration in this area.

139 Von Falkenhausen, "Amministrazione fiscale", pp. 535–536.

140 Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, pp. 32–33.

141 For the Muslim emirates see the contribution of A. Nef in this volume. For the Lombards: von Falkenhausen, "I longobardi meridionali", pp. 251–367.

142 This fact also helps understanding why the border between Byzantine and Lombard territory remained so vague: von Falkenhausen, "Amministrazione fiscale", p. 535.

143 Von Falkenhausen, "Bari bizantina", pp. 195–227.

left the fold of the empire,¹⁴⁴ were densely settled and economically prosperous. The region was devoid of any high profile aristocracy able to effectively oppose the empire.¹⁴⁵ Any resistance would be promoted by external agents such as, Lombard princes, German emperors or Norman adventurers.¹⁴⁶ This political and economic weakness of the local Lombard élites made them particularly vulnerable to the lure of titles and pensions generously distributed to the supporters of Constantinople.¹⁴⁷

The Apulian élites were so open to Byzantine rule that it initially moulded itself within the existing Lombard structures. As such, the gastalds continued to play a key-role in daily administration and justice.¹⁴⁸ This leniency was partly the consequence of a policy aiming at absorbing, or at least vassalizing, all the Lombard lands of southern Italy,¹⁴⁹ and partly the result of the *stratēgos*' lack of military means, when he was not backed up by expeditionary corps sent from the east.¹⁵⁰ The forces fighting in Italy came mainly from the Balkans, a fact that played an important role in the growing assertion of the western army in front of its eastern counterpart.¹⁵¹ A real western military *cursus honorum* appeared during the 9th century, as exemplified by the career of the *stratēgos* Barsakios, who headed successively the themata of Hellas, Peloponnesus, Kephallonia, Sicily and Longobardia.¹⁵²

For the *stratēgos* and his main subordinates (*komēs tēs kortēs*, *domestikos tou thematos*, *chartoularios*¹⁵³), the problem remained whether to keep what these expeditionary corps were able to conquer. This partly explains why the province was never organized along the theoretical lines described in the

144 Von Falkenhausen, "Tra Occidente e Oriente", pp. 13–60; Prigent, "Notes sur l'évolution", p. 400.

145 Martin, "Les thèmes italiens", pp. 549–550.

146 See Martin's "L'Occident chrétien", pp. 622–624; and id., "Les institutions liées à la conquête", pp. 310–312; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestation*, pp. 385–387.

147 Von Falkenhausen, "A Provincial Aristocracy", pp. 211–235.

148 Martin, "Les thèmes italiens", pp. 530–532. In 998, gastalds were sent *ad seniorandum, iudicandum et regendum*.

149 Martin, "L'Occident chrétien".

150 Nef and Prigent, "Guerroyer pour la Sicile." Sources mention troops from Kephallonia, Macedonia, Thrace, Hellas, Peloponnese, Dalmatia, Cappadocia and Charsianōn. Regarding such a patchwork force sent to Italy in 935 see Prigent, "La politique sicilienne de Romain I^{er}", pp. 79–81.

151 See *Le traité sur la guérilla (De velitatione) de l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas (963–969)*, ed. G. Dagron/ H. Mihăescu, Paris 1986. This evolution led to the doubling up of the position of *domestikos tōn scholōn*, in the second half of the 10th century: see Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance*, p. 329; Nef/ Prigent, "Guerroyer pour la Sicile".

152 Zuckerman, "Squabbling protospatharioi"; Nef/ Prigent, "Guerroyer pour la Sicile".

153 Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance*, p. 341.

Byzantine military and administrative “handbooks” (*thema* divided in *tourmai* composed of *droungoi* of two or more *banda*). As no substantial regular army existed which was more or less evenly distributed throughout territory, such an organization modelled on the pattern of troops quartering made no sense.¹⁵⁴ The local Byzantine administration preferred smaller units quartered in fortified settlements whose *raison d'être* was as much fiscal as military.¹⁵⁵ This choice can contribute to explain the policy of foundations of such settlements beginning at the end of the 10th century,¹⁵⁶ and justify the absence of general cadastre of the province.¹⁵⁷

Some key institutions were nonetheless imposed upon the *thema*, such as military lands, whose possession was linked to an obligation of military service. A handful of documents dating from 980 to 1034 refer to the *strateia* or its Latin equivalent *servitium domnicum*.¹⁵⁸ A charter from 1017 describing the transmission by way of inheritance of such land implies that the system was introduced in the early stages of Byzantine domination in Puglia, at least around its capital, Bari, the core of the new *thema*.¹⁵⁹ Even if the general policy of Byzantine authorities was to sanction the validity of the Lombard law,¹⁶⁰ the empire also introduced its pre-emption laws.¹⁶¹ This exception may be related

154 Martin, “Les themes italiens”, p. 521, stresses that the fact that the *stratēgos* left Benevento after placing a *tourmachēs* in charge of the city does not mean that a *tourma* centred on the city was created. As military subordinates, the *tourmachai* were active in Puglia, but this does not entail that their command was given a precise geographical frame. Subsequently, the *chōrion* of Bourtzanon was the centre of a *droungos* in the eparchy of Oppido. The rationale of such administrative resort could have been mainly fiscal, defining the unit of collection for the tax called *droungaraton* (von Falkenhausen, “Amministrazione fiscale”, p. 542).

155 These units defined in Latin as *territorium*, *finis* or *pertinentie*, and in Greek as *diakratēseis* are centred on a *kastron*, *civitas*, *asty* or *kastellion*. Their fiscal nature appears clearly on a receipt dated 1016 for the payment of the *kastellion* of Palagiano's *synētheia* (Martin, *La Pouille*, p. 712).

156 Martin, “Les themes italiens”, pp. 524–529.

157 Von Falkenhausen, “Amministrazione fiscale”, p. 536.

158 This system is attested in Calabria by a document dated 1005 in which an individual is threatened *ek stratiōtikēs douleia*, Martin, “Les themes italiens”, p. 541.

159 Cosentino, “Rileggendo un atto pugliese”, pp. 47–67. The lands struck by the obligation of the *strateia* are those inherited from the mother side and so located near the capital city.

160 Martin, “Les themes italiens”, p. 549, underscores that even Armenians and Slavs followed the Lombard law. Byzantine and Lombard legal systems could interpenetrate, as demonstrated by the privilege granted to judge Byzantios, who received judicial power over his *exkoussatoi*, in accordance with the Lombard *ius affidandi* (Lefort/ Martin, “Le sigillion du catépan d'Italie”, pp. 525–542).

161 Von Falkenhausen, “Amministrazione fiscale”, pp. 548–549.

to the importance of this legal device for the stability of the military lands.¹⁶² Beyond these fundamental instruments, the Byzantines did not insist upon imposing their fiscal system; as a result, the indirect taxes and *corvées* typical of the Lombard period remained the main fiscal burden.¹⁶³

11 The *Katepanaton*

In his *De Administrando Imperio*, Constantine VII describes the *thema* of Longobardia as the result of a bipartition of Byzantine Italy which was decided by the great eunuch Narses. A *patrikios* residing in Benevento was in charge of all territories stretching from Pavia to Puglia.¹⁶⁴ The name of *Italia* attributed to the *doukaton/katepanaton*¹⁶⁵ established at the turn of the reigns of Nikephoros Phocas and John Tzimiskes,¹⁶⁶ likewise asserted the imprescriptible imperial rights over southern Italy against the rising claims of the Ottonian Emperors, heirs to the Carolingian Kingdoms of Italy.¹⁶⁷ Still, the *katepanaton* of Italy covered only part of the Italian territories of Byzantium. Calabria kept its own *stratēgos*,¹⁶⁸ even if he was hierarchically inferior to the duke and certainly deferred to him in matters of strategy and foreign policy.¹⁶⁹ So *Longobardia* was the very first *thema* to experience an administrative system which would become the norm in the empire only fifty years later.¹⁷⁰ Arguably,

162 *Les nouvelles des Macédoniens concernant la terre et les stratiôtes*, ed. N. Svoronos, Athens 1994, pp. 62–71; Górecki, “The ‘Strateia’ of Constantine VII”, pp. 157–76.

163 Von Falkenhausen, “Amministrazione fiscale”; even areas integrated within the duchy of Italy well after the conquest initially retained their own fiscal idiosyncrasies, *ibid.*, p. 544.

164 Malamut, “Constantin VII et son image”, pp. 269–292; Martin, “L’Occident chrétien”.

165 Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, p. 61.

166 Traditional historiography identifies Nikephorus II as the katepanate’s founder, but Cheynet, “La place des catépans”, p. 144, prefers a slightly later date, under John I.

167 Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, pp. 48–51; Martin, “Les institutions liées à la conquête”, p. 306; the name of *Italia* never completely supplanted *Longobardia*. In this perspective, it is difficult to follow Cheynet, “Du stratège de thème au duc”, p. 182, when he considers that the duke of Italy was not the direct heir of the *stratēgos* of *Longobardia*: if the name of the command changed, its geographical reality did not know noticeable transformations.

168 Guzzetta, “Dalla ‘eparchia delle Saline’”, but the reading must be corrected in *hypatos* and *prōtopatharios*.

169 The *Taktikon Scorialensis* clearly shows that the dukes had precedence over the *stratēgoi* at the end of the 10th century: Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*. Cheynet, “La place des catépans” offers a global study of the social profile of the catepans of Italy.

170 Around the year 1000, dukes are still commanding officers of the elite army of the provincial *tagmata*, coexisting alongside the *stratēgoi*; only the duke of Antioch seems to have been nearly immediately in charge of the general administration of the province,

the precocity of the reform stemmed from the weakness of the thematic military structures.

The creation of the *katepanaton* was not simply a symbol fostering territorial assertions. It gave way to a whole series of reforms resulting in a decisive strengthening of imperial control. The authorities promoted a campaign of fortifications building, establishing a double line of walled towns and reinforcing the communications between the Apulian and Calabrian territories.¹⁷¹ The scale of this policy explains the early appearance in Italian documents of the *kastroktisia*, or “castle-building” tax.¹⁷² The military, and the fiscal system insuring its funding, were also reformed.¹⁷³ As the *katepanaton* took over the old *thema*, elite cavalry units organized upon the model of the Constantinopolitan *tagmata* or picked from these regiments (*Scholarioi*, *Exkoubitores*, *Hikanatoi*)¹⁷⁴ were entrusted to the *doux/katepanō*.¹⁷⁵ The thematic army became outdated, probably explaining the proliferation of individuals sporting themselves as *tourmarchai*, as this title ceased to cover effective military functions. This more “imperial-flavored” title substituted itself to *gastald* to designate the middle-rank officials and local judges.¹⁷⁶ In the course of the 11th century, the *tourmarchai* were replaced in at least part of their functions by *ek prosōpou*, who even took hold in Calabria in the very last years of imperial domination. Lastly, the title of *stratēgos*, or *stratēgotēs*, itself probably ended up being awarded to local officials, explaining this practice under Normal rule.¹⁷⁷

probably because its authority covered an area previously divided into numerous small *themata* created after each step of the Byzantine conquest. The global substitution of dukes for the old *stratēgoi* was a policy initiated by Constantine IX Monomachos: Cheynet, “Du stratège de theme au duc”, pp. 182 and 193.

171 Martin/ Noyé, “Guerre, fortifications et habitats”, pp. 225–236; the short-lived *thema* of Lucania probably had the same objective (Peters-Custot, “Les communautés grecques”, pp. 564–565). Privileges allowing *possessores* to settle unspecified numbers of *excussati* also insured the best legal frame for the colonization of new areas (von Falkenhausen, “Amministrazione fiscale”, pp. 546–547).

172 Martin, *La Pouille*, p. 714; Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale*, pp. 110–111; the corvée called *angareia* probably served also for the maintenance of public infrastructures. The mention of a tax called *sitarchismos kastrōn* also speaks in favour of a system of troops provisioning based on fiscal demands (Lefort and Martin, “Le sigillion du catépan”).

173 Kühn, *Die byzantinische Armee*; von Falkenhausen, “Amministrazione fiscale”.

174 Martin, “Les thèmes italiens”, pp. 537–539. The *Vigla* is the only central *tagma* which does not appear in our sources, but this unit seems to have evolved during the 11th century and its commanding officer received judiciary functions.

175 Cheynet, “Du stratège de thème au duc”.

176 Martin, “Les thèmes italiens”, pp. 532–535.

177 Prigent, “Ek prosōpou et stratēges”, pp. 5–26; and id., “La tradition sigillographique byzantine”, pp. 549–553. Mentions of judges are more difficult to interpret, as this term covers the whole gamut of judiciary officials, from the top civil administrator in the province down to modest officials supervising civil contracts in conformity with the Lombard law,

Part of the military recruitment also became local,¹⁷⁸ even if the mention in documents of the *metaton* tax implies that the soldiers were not intended to come back home between the campaigns, but stayed quartered in specific area.¹⁷⁹ This army was still funded by the *strateia*,¹⁸⁰ the government demanding monetary payments from the holders of military lands. Yet this reform did not entail an extension of the *strateia* to the entire population,¹⁸¹ and it also remained possible to give personal military service instead of payments.¹⁸² As in the east, the formation of this army went hand in hand with the restructuring of the crown lands and it could be argued that the great public estates, organized as *episkepseis* or *kouratōriai*, probably played a role in the logistics along with the rise of fiscal demands in kind from the fiscal administration.¹⁸³

see Martin, "Les themes italiens", pp. 544–545; von Falkenhausen, "Le istituzioni byzantine in Puglia", pp. 200–201.

- 178 Let us quote the exceptional title (known by documents and a recently discovered but still unpublished lead seal) sported by the *magistros* and *vestēs* Argyros, duke of Italy, Calabria, Sicily and Paphlagonia. The three last terms can only correspond to a strictly military command over provincial *tagmata*, calling to mind the *Calabrie et Apulie* who fought under Maniakes' command in Sicily. The command over the Sicilians could be a reference to the troops initially given to Basilios Padiadites, the only known catepan of Sicily (Cheynet, "Du stratège du theme au duc"). For the Paphlagonians, see *infra* n. 190. Von Falkenhausen, "Le istituzioni byzantine in Puglia", p. 200, stresses that the *topoterētēs tōn scholōn* Smaragdus signed in Latin. Similarly, a *lōrikatos* in charge of Imperial arsenals could belong to a local *tagma*. The title is reminiscent of the armor, typical of the tagmatic heavy cavalry: Martin, *La Pouille*, 700.
- 179 Oikonomidēs, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale*, pp. 91–92. Of course, this burden could be bought back by a payment in coins.
- 180 Lefort and Martin, "Le sigillion du catépan".
- 181 As a matter of fact, only part of the documents has the legal clause specifying that a piece of land is free of *servitium dominicum* or *strateia*. From a more general point of view, the fact that *strateia* is so rarely mentioned should lead us to exclude that this burden was extended to the whole tax-paying population. Or should we consider that only the lands registered as "military" before the extension of the monetized form of the *strateia* continued to offer the possibility of a personal military service?
- 182 Cosentino, "Rileggendo un atto pugliese"; could this situation mirror the evolutions experienced by the Lombard world, where the heavy horseman came to the fore, as in Naples, precisely during the 10th century (Martin, *Guerre, accords et frontières*, pp. 72–74)? This type of soldier corresponds to the elite thematic heavy cavalry that Nikephoros Phocas tried to create (Magdalino, "The Byzantine Army and the Land", pp. 16–26).
- 183 Cheynet, "Les gestionnaires des biens impériaux"; von Falkenhausen, "Amministrazione fiscale", p. 543. In Italy as elsewhere, the importance of taxes in kind grew as the State found difficult to cope with producing the huge quantity of gold coins demanded by its decisions to push monetization of the taxes to its limit in the second half of the 10th century. On the other hand, I do not think that the *synētheia* should be interpreted as a payment substituting for the governor's *rhoga* (von Falkenhausen, "Amministrazione fiscale", p. 543). The mentions of this tax are well posterior to the creation of the *thema* and we cannot be sure that the dukes were also paid on local commercial taxes. Furthermore,

The elite cavalry was backed by *contarati*, spearmen raised through yet another fiscal demand.¹⁸⁴ The appearance of this light infantry should be linked with the first mentions in our sources of *taxiarchoi* in Puglia, Basilicata and Calabria, as this title refers to an operational command over infantry troops.¹⁸⁵ This double structure of elite cavalymen and infantry able to offer a defensive “safe-haven” mirrors the model described in contemporary military manuals.¹⁸⁶ Finally, a provincial navy, which also depended upon specific fiscal demands, substituted the Constantinopolitan squadron entrusted with the protection of southern Italy at the beginning of the 10th century.¹⁸⁷ Foreign mercenaries were called to supplement this local army and their role probably grew steadily as Byzantine territories in Italy shrunk together with the demographic base of recruitment and fiscal resources.¹⁸⁸ Their importance rose from the reign of Constantine IX onwards¹⁸⁹ and they could have settled indefinitely in Italy, as illustrated by the case of Hungarian warriors in Calabria.¹⁹⁰ The most important of these mercenaries were obviously the Normans, who eventually conquered Byzantine Italy, reiterating five centuries later and of course in somewhat different terms, the pattern of the Lombard “usurpation.”¹⁹¹

Martin, *La Pouille*, p. 712, stresses that this tax was not levied in other areas where the governor was also entitled to pay himself on local taxes. The little *kastellion* of Palagiano paid a *synētheia* of 36 *nomismata*. If every locality had paid such a sum to the governor, his final stipend would have been extremely profitable. In order to accept this interpretation of the *synētheia*, we should admit that only specific localities paid this tax, a hypothesis leading us to accept that the governor of Italy benefited of a system of remuneration already very similar to the *pronoia* (Bartusis, *Land and Privilege*).

184 Martin, “Les thèmes italiens”, pp. 540 and 543.

185 Cheynet, “Note sur l’axiarque et le taxiarque”.

186 See texts in E. McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon’s Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century*, (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 33), Washington DC 1995.

187 Haldon, “Theory and Practice”, p. 219; von Falkenhausen, “Amministrazione fiscale”, p. 543.

188 We hear of troops from the *Anatolikōn*, *Opsikion*, *Thrakēsion*, *Makedonōn*, Paulicians, Varangians, Russians, “Vandals”, Turks, Bulgarians, Valachs, Slavs, Normans: Martin, “Les thèmes italiens”, pp. 539–540.

189 Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité et exemption*, p. 264.

190 Guillou/Rognoni, “Une nouvelle fondation monastique”, pp. 423–429.

191 Normans fought for Argyros whose signatures and seal specify that his command extended also over Paphlagonia, an element that seems out of place. Should we linked it to the fact that the Norman mercenaries were quartered in the northeastern part of Asia Minor (Magdalino, “The Byzantine Army and the Land”, pp. 26–32) from the end of the 1040s and identify the original regiment of Paphlagonia with a *tagma* of foreign soldiers?

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- ACO 2, *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium*, ed. R. Riedinger, vol. 2/1–2, Berlin 1990–1992.
- cJC, vol. 3, *Novellae*, ed. R. Schoell/ W. Kroll, Hildesheim 1993.
- Gregorius 1, *Registrum epistularum*, ed. D. Norberg. 2 vols. (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, CXL, CXLA), Turnhout: Brepols, 1982.
- Le “*Liber Pontificalis*”. *Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Duschesne, 2 vols., Paris 1886–1892.
- Mauricius, *Strategicon*, *Das Strategikon des Maurikios*, ed. G.T. Dennis/ E. Gamillscheg (CFHB, 17), Vienna 1981.
- Oikonomidès, N., *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Le monde byzantin, 4), Paris 1972.
- Prigent, V., *Catalogue des sceaux byzantins conservés auprès du Museo archeologico regionale Paolo Orsi de Syracuse*, Mémoire de l'École française de Rome présenté à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres en mai 2007, Paris.
- Procopius, *Bella*, ed. H.B. Dewing (Loeb Classical Library, 173) Cambridge 1924.
- Tjäder, J.-O., *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, vol. 1, *Papyri 1–28*, Lund 1955; vol. 2, *Papyri 29–59*, Stockholm 1982.
- Zacos, G./Vegler, A., *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vols. 4, Basel 1972–1985.

Secondary Literature

- Bartusis, M.C., *Land and Privilege in Byzantium: The Institution of Pronoia*, Cambridge 2012.
- Bavant, B., “Le duché byzantin de Rome. Origine, durée et extension géographique”, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge, Temps moderne* 91/1 (1979), 41–88.
- Brandes, W., *Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten. Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Administration im 6.–9. Jahrhundert* (Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte, 25), Frankfurt am Main 2002.
- Brown, T.S., *Gentlemen and Officers. Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554–800*, Rome 1984.
- Brubaker, L./ Haldon, J., *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680–850. A History*, Cambridge 2011.
- Burgarella, F., “Il Senato”, in *Roma nell'Alto Medioevo*, vol. 1, (Settimane CISAM, 48), Spoleto 2001, pp. 121–176.
- Cheyne, J.-C., “Du stratège de thème au duc: chronologie de l'évolution au cours du XI^e siècle”, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985), 181–194.
- Cheyne, J.-C., “La place des catépans d'Italie dans la hiérarchie militaire et sociale de Byzance”, *Nea Rhômē. Rivista di ricerca bizantinistica* 4 (2007), 143–161.

- Cheyne, J.-C., "Les gestionnaires des biens impériaux: étude sociale (X^e–XII^e siècle)", in *Mélanges Cécile Morrisson*. Special issue, *Travaux et Mémoires* 16 (2011), 163–204.
- Cheyne, J.-C., "Note sur l'axiarque et le taxiarque", *Revue des études byzantines* 44 (1986), 233–236.
- Cheyne, J.-C., *Pouvoir et contestation à Byzance (963–1210)* (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 9), Paris 1990.
- Conti, P.-M., *L'Italia bizantina nella "Descriptio orbis romani" di Giorgio di Cipro*, La Spezia 1975.
- Corsi, P., "La Calabria bizantina, vicende istituzionali e politico-militare", in A. Placanica (ed.), *Storia della Calabria medievale*, vol. 1, *I quadri generali*, Reggio Calabria 2001, pp. 15–80.
- Cosentino, S., *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina (494–804)*, 2 vols., Bologna 1996–2000.
- Cosentino, S., "Rileggendo un atto pugliese del 1017. Osservazioni sulla 'terra militare' a Bisanzio", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 60 (2010), 47–67.
- Cosentino, S., *Storia dell'Italia bizantina (VI–XI secolo). Da Giustiniano ai Normanni*, Bologna 2008.
- Cracco Ruggini, L., "Giustiniano e la società italiana", in G.G. Archi (ed.), *Il mondo del diritto nell'epoca giustiniana, caratteri e problematiche*, Ravenna 1986, pp. 173–207.
- Delmaire, R., *Largesses sacrées et res privata. L'aerarium impérial et son administration du IV^e au VI^e siècle* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 121), Rome 1989.
- Di Carpegna Falconieri, T., "La militia a Roma: il formarsi di una nuova aristocrazia (secoli VII–VIII)", in Martin/ Peters-Custot/ Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie*, vol. 2, pp. 559–583.
- Diehl, C., *Études sur l'administration byzantine de l'exarchat de Ravenne* (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome), Paris 1888.
- Durliat, J., "L'évêque et sa cité en Italie byzantine d'après la correspondance de Grégoire le Grand", in *L'évêque dans l'histoire de l'Église*, Angers 1984, pp. 21–32.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Amministrazione fiscale nell'Italia meridionale bizantina (secoli IX–XI)", in Martin/Peters-Custot/ Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 2, pp. 533–556.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Bari bizantina: profilo di un capoluogo di provincia (secoli IX–XI)", in G. Rossetti (ed.), *Spazio, società, potere nell'Italia dei Comuni*, Naples 1986, pp. 195–227.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "I longobardi meridionali", in A. Guillou/ F. Burgarella/ V. Piacentini/ U. Rizzitano/ S. Tramontana/ V. von Falkenhausen, *Il Mezzogiorno dai Bizantini a Federico II* (Storia d'Italia, edited by G. Galasso, 3), Turin 1983, pp. 251–367.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo*, Bari 1978 (German edition, Wiesbaden 1967).

- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Le istituzione bizantine in Puglia nell'alto medioevo", in *Bizantini, Longobardi e Arabi in Puglia nell'Alto Medioevo* (Atti dei congressi CISAM, 20), Spoleto 2012, pp. 185–209.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "A Provincial Aristocracy: The Byzantine Provinces in Southern Italy (9th–11th Century)", in M. Angold (ed.), *The Byzantine Aristocracy IXth to XIIIth Century* (BAR International Series, 221), Oxford 1984, pp. 211–235.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Tra Occidente e Oriente: Otranto in epoca bizantina", in H. Houben (ed.), *Otranto nel Medioevo tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, Galatina 2007, pp. 13–60.
- Górecki, D., "The Strateia of Constantine VII: The Legal Status, Administration and Historical Background", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 82 (1989), 157–76.
- Guillou, A., *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'empire byzantine au VII^e siècle. L'exemple de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie* (Studi Storici, fasc. 75–76), Rome 1969.
- Guillou, A., "La Sicile byzantine: état des recherches", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 5 (1977), 95–145.
- Guillou A./Rognoni, C., "Une nouvelle fondation monastique dans le thème de Calabre", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84/85–2 (1992), 423–429.
- Guzzetta, G., "Dalla 'eparchia delle Saline' al ducato e al *thema* di Calabria: testimonianze monetali e diplomatiche", in S. Leanza (ed.), *Calabria Cristiana. Società Religione Cultura nel territorio della Diocesi di Oppido Mamertina – Palmi*, vol. 1. *Dalle origini al Medio Evo* (Bibliotheca Vivariensis, 9), Soveria Mannelli 1999, pp. 463–475.
- Haldon, J., *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture*, rev. ed. Cambridge: 1997.
- Haldon, J., "Theory and Practice in Tenth-Century Military Administration: Chapters II, 44 and 45 of the Book of Ceremonies", *Travaux et Mémoires* 13 (2000), 201–352.
- Jacob, A./Martin, J.-M./Noyé, Gh. (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine: acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 363), Rome 2006.
- Jones, A.H.M., *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602. A Social Economic and Administrative Survey*, 3 vols., Oxford 1964.
- Kaegi, W.E., *Muslim Expansion and Byzantine Collapse in North Africa*, Cambridge 2010.
- Kühn, H.J., *Die byzantinische Armee im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Organisation der Tagmata* (Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber. Ergänzungsband 2), Vienna 1991.
- Laniado, A., *Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l'empire protobyzantin* (Monographies du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 13), Paris 2002.
- Lefort, J./Martin, J.-M., "Le sigillion du catépan d'Italie Eustathe Palatinos pour le juge Byzantios (décembre 1045)", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 98 (1986), 525–542.

- Magdalino, P., "The Byzantine Army and the Land: From *Stratitikon Ktema* to Military *Pronoia*", in K. Tsiknakis (ed.), *Byzantium at War (9th–12th c.)*, Athens 1997, pp. 15–36.
- Malamut, E., "Constantin VII et son image de l'Italie", in E. Konstantinou (ed.), *Byzanz und das Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, Cologne 1997, pp. 269–292.
- Martin, J.-M., *Guerre, accords et frontières en Italie méridionale pendant le haut Moyen Âge*. Pacta de Liburnia, Divisio principatus Beneventani et autres actes (Sources et documents d'histoire du moyen âge, 7) Rome 2005.
- Martin, J.-M., *La Pouille du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 179), Rome 1993.
- Martin, J.-M., "Les institutions liées à la conquête. Le duché", in R. Vicinio/ F. Violante (eds.), *I caratteri originali della conquista normanna. Diversità e identità nel Mezzogiorno (1030–1130)*, (Centro di studi normanno-svevi, 16), Bari 2006, pp. 305–333.
- Martin, J.-M., "Les thèmes italiens: territoire, population, administration", in Jacob/ Martin/ Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine*, pp. 517–558.
- Martin, J.-M., "L'Occident chrétien dans le Livre de Cérémonies II, 48", *Travaux et Mémoires* 13 (2000), 617–646.
- Martin, J.-M./Noyé, Gh., "Guerre, fortifications et habitats en Italie méridionale du V^e au X^e siècle", in A. Bazzana (ed.), *Castrum 3. Guerre, fortifications et habitat au Moyen Âge* (Collection de la Casa de Velazquez, série archéologique 12 – Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 105), Rome 1988, pp. 225–236.
- Martin, J.-M./Peters-Custot, A./Prigent, V. (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 1, *La fabrique documentaire* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 449), Rome 2011; vol. 2, *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 461), Rome 2012.
- McCormick, M., *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900*, Cambridge 2001.
- Nef, A./Prigent, V., "Guerroyer pour la Sicile (827–902)", in M. Congiu/ S. Modeo/ L. Santagati (eds.), *La Sicilia del IX secolo tra Bizantini e Musulmani*, Caltanissetta 2013, pp. 13–39.
- Nichanian, M./Prigent, V., "Les stratèges de Sicile. De la naissance du thème au règne de Léon V", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 61 (2003), 97–141.
- Oddy, W.A., "The Debasement of the Provincial Byzantine Gold Coinage from the Seventh to the Ninth Century", in W. Hahn/ W.E. Metcalf (eds.), *Studies in Early Byzantine Gold Coinage* (Numismatic Studies, 17), New York 1988, pp. 135–142.
- Oikonomides, N., "Constantin VII Porphyrogénète et les thèmes de Céphalonie et de Longobardie", *Revue des études byzantines* 23 (1965), 118–123.
- Oikonomides, N., *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance (IX^e–XI^e s.)* (Fondation Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique. Institut de Recherches Byzantines, Monographies, 2), Athens 1996.

- Oikonomides, N., "Une liste arabe de stratèges byzantins du VII^e siècle et les origines du thème de Sicile", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s., 1 (1964), 121–130.
- Pellegrini, P., "Una guarnigione bizantina a Roma nell'età di Gregorio Magno: i *Theodosiaci*", in A.S. Lewin/ P. Pellegrini (eds.), *The Late Roman Army in the Near East from Diocletian to the Arab Conquest*, Oxford 2007, pp. 357–366.
- Peters-Custot, A., "Les communautés grecques de Basilicate à l'époque byzantine", in Jacob/ Martin/ Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine*, pp. 559–587.
- Prigent, V., "Byzantine Military Forces in Sicily: Some Sigillographic Evidence", in H. Ivakin/ N. Khrapunov/ W. Seibt (eds.), *Byzantine and Rus' Seals. Proceedings of Rus'-Byzantine Sigillography*, Kiev 2015, pp. 163–178.
- Prigent, V., "Ek prosôpou et stratèges, notes sur les subordonnés du catépan d'Italie", *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 70 (2003), 5–26.
- Prigent, V., "La carrière du tourmarque Euphémios, Basileus des Romains", in Jacob/ Martin/ Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine*, pp. 279–317.
- Prigent, V., "La politique sicilienne de Romain I^{er} Lécapène", in D. Barthélemy/ J.-C. Cheynet (eds.), *Guerre et société en Méditerranée (VIII^e–XIII^e siècle)* (Centre d'histoire et de civilisation de Byzance, Monographies, 31), Paris 2008, pp. 63–84.
- Prigent, V., *La Sicile byzantine (VI^e–X^e siècle)*, PhD diss., Université Paris IV, Paris 2006.
- Prigent, V., "La Sicile byzantine, entre papes et empereurs (6^{ème}–8^{ème} siècle)", in D. Engels/ L. Gei/ M. Kleu (eds.), *Zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit: Herrschaft auf Sizilien von der Antike bis zur Frühen Neuzeit*, Stuttgart 2009, pp. 201–230.
- Prigent, V., "La Sicile de Constant II: l'apport des sources sigillographiques", in A. Nef/ V. Prigent (eds.), *La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam*, Paris 2010, pp. 157–187.
- Prigent, V., "La tradition sigillographique byzantine dans le royaume normand de Sicile", in Martin/ Peters-Custot/ Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie*, vol. 2, pp. 391–418.
- Prigent, V., "Le rôle des provinces d'Occident dans l'approvisionnement de Constantinople (618–717). Témoignages numismatique et sigillographique", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 118/2 (2006), 269–299.
- Prigent, V., "Les empereurs isauriens et la confiscation des patrimoines pontificaux d'Italie du Sud", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 116/2 (2004), 557–594.
- Prigent, V., "Notes sur l'évolution de l'administration byzantine en Adriatique (VIII^e–IX^e siècle)", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 120/2 (2008), 393–417.
- Prigent, V., "Topotèrètes de Sicile et de Calabre aux VIII^e–IX^e siècles", *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 9 (2006), 145–158.
- Prigent, V., "Une note sur l'administration de l'exarchat de Ravenne", *Néa Pómy. Rivista di ricerca bizantinistica* 2 (2005), 79–89.

- Pryor, J.H./ Jeffreys, E.M, *The Age of the Dromon: The Byzantine Navy ca. 500–1204*, Leiden 2006.
- Ravegnani, G., “I corpi dell'esercito bizantino nella guerra gotica”, *Medioevo greco* 2 (2002), 155–175.
- Rémondon, R., “Soldats de Byzance d'après un papyrus trouvé à Edfou”, in *Recherches de papyrologie*, vol. 1, Paris 1961, pp. 41–93.
- Sansterre, J.-M., “La date des formules 60–63 du *Liber Diurnus*”, *Byzantion* 48 (1978), 226–243.
- Schipa, M., “La migrazione del nome ‘Calabria’”, *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 20 (1895), 23–47.
- Settia, A., “La fortezza e il cavaliere: tecniche militari in Occidente”, in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo*, vol. 1, (Settimane CISAM, 45), Spoleto 1998, pp. 555–584.
- Tamassia, N., “La novella giustiniana ‘De Praetore Siciliae.’ Studio storico e giuridico”, in *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari. Scritti di filologia e storia araba, di geografia, storia, diritto delle Sicilia medievale; studi bizantini e giudaici relativi all'Italia meridionale nel medio evo; documenti sulle relazioni fra gli stati italiani ed il Levante*, vol. 2, Palermo 1910, pp. 304–331.
- Whitby, M., “Recruitment in Roman Armies from Justinian to Heraclius (ca. 565–615)”, in A. Cameron (ed.), *The Byzantine and Islamic Near East: States, Resources, Armies*, vol. 3 (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam, 1), Princeton 1996, pp. 61–124.
- Zuckerman, C., *Du village à l'empire. Autour du registre fiscal d'Aphroditô (525/526)* (Monographies du Centre de recherche d'histoire et de civilisation de Byzance, 16) Paris 2004.
- Zuckerman, C., “La haute hiérarchie militaire en Afrique byzantine”, *Antiquité tardive* 10 (2002), 169–175.
- Zuckerman, C., “L'armée”, in C. Morrisson (ed.), *Le monde byzantin*, vol. 1. *L'Empire romain d'Orient*, 330–641, Paris 2004, pp. 143–180.
- Zuckerman, C., “Learning from the Enemy and More: Studies in ‘Dark Centuries’ Byzantium”, *Millennium* 2 (2006), 79–135.
- Zuckerman, C., “Squabbling protospatharioi and other administrative issues from the first half of the tenth-century”, *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 72 (2014), 193–233.
- Zuckerman, C., “Sur le dispositif frontalier en Arménie, le limes, et son évolution, sous le Bas-Empire”, *Historia* 47 (1998), 108–128.

Byzantines and Lombards

Federico Marazzi

1 The Old and the Young: Byzantium in Italy, or How It Was Condemned to Be the Representative of an Antiquated Roman Identity.

One tradition in research, which is now considered to be *passé* but refuses to disappear, has continually presented the issue of the centuries-long confrontation between the Byzantines and Lombards on the mainland of Italy as a tale of perpetual and implacable hostility. This is a venerable tradition, which has its roots in the awareness that developed in some Italian cultural circles after the late Renaissance and was henceforth repeatedly taken up and expanded in the 18th and 19th centuries. This perspective became popular yet again during the end of the last century, indicating that the arrival of the Lombards on the Italian mainland had in fact marked a decisive turning point in the history of Italy.¹

Actually, when we attempt to interpret the results of this event, it is difficult to deny that the Lombard arrival in Italy, in AD 568, has effectively marked the end of the political and administrative unity of the peninsula which dated back to the late Roman Republic (i.e., six centuries previously). It differed, for instance, from the deposition of the last western emperor in 476, which was not seen by contemporaries as an historical milestone. The significance of the shift in geopolitics represented by the arrival of the Lombards and the fact that they quickly transformed numerous regions of Italy into “enemy territory” (at least for those who still remained in areas under imperial control) was very traumatic for those who experienced it. It was made even more devastating by the fact that Rome itself became a frontier city and for decades (at least until

¹ The literature on the subject is endless. I will limit myself to indicating some key titles, reflecting different approaches, in the debate surrounding the historical and archaeological issues: Melucco Vaccaro, *I Longobardi in Italia*, pp. 9–20; Balestracci, *Medioevo italiano*, pp. 23–38; Arnaldi, *L'Italia e i suoi invasori*, ch. 3; Pohl, “Invasions and ethnic identity”, pp. 11–33; Gasparri, “I Germani immaginari”, pp. 3–28; Artifoni, “Le questioni longobarde”, pp. 297–304; Mores, *Invasioni d'Italia*, pp. 27–80; Valenti, “Ma i ‘barbari’”, pp. 25–30.

the early 7th century) laid under the real threat of falling prey itself to the new Lombard conquerors.

The fact that the previous political and administrative union could not be restored has been seen – by those who have studied these events over many centuries – as symbolizing a historic turning-point. This was primarily due to the fact that the Byzantines were neither able to eject the Lombards from the peninsula nor crush them militarily from within, as they had succeeded in doing with the Ostrogoths. This marked off one epoch from another and constituted the beginning of a long historical arc (ending only with the Italian Wars of Independence in the 19th century) that saw Italy permanently divided internally and frequently falling prey to the rapacity of other peoples and states.

However, this did not imply that a similarly negative view was unanimously taken upon the appearance of the Lombards in Italy and of their settlement within its territory. In other words, over time, historians did not see the arrival of this people as only responsible for putting a definitive end to the last gasps of the Roman way of life. On the contrary, even in 19th-century literature, numerous voices were raised who interpreted the “Byzantine” version of Roman-ness restored in Italy at the end of the Gothic War as a weakened continuation of the now-lost greatness of classical Rome. The arrival of the Lombards was held to have replaced this version, offering the luckless peninsula an opportunity for a new beginning.² It was certainly a difficult start which proved in many ways to be traumatic, but it was to contain the germs of social and political renewal and the possibility (which – by the way – the Lombards could never entirely realize) to reestablish the unity and independence of the Italian lands. In the end, attempts to present an overview of the historical literature regarding this first part of the early Middle Ages have seen the Lombards growing progressively in popularity, signalling the unification of the various aspects of post-Roman Europe: too “barbaric” to be assimilable without a trace into Italian society, but inevitably too strongly “contaminated” by contact with it to not form a fascinating experimental terrain for the integration of different worlds. It was a mix that inevitably focused the attention of historians, art historians and archaeologists to a greater degree than was the case for the Byzantine areas, with the exception of perhaps the “anomalies” posed by Justinian’s Ravenna and papal Rome.³

2 Cammarosano, “Tradizione, storiografia e storia”, pp. VI–XIX; Ibsen, “Era già quasi re di tutta Italia”, pp. 279–290; Ibsen, “Unus populus effecti sunt?”, pp. 291–298.

3 See, with bibliographies for further reading: Bertelli/Brogio (eds.), *Il futuro dei Longobardi*; Brogiolo/Chavarría Arnau, *I Longobardi*; Cavallo et alii, *I Bizantini in Italia*; Ravegnani, *I Bizantini in Italia*.

The conflict of the Lombard kingdom against Byzantines lasted for about two centuries (from 568 to 774, the year of the destruction of the kingdom by Charlemagne). Dealing with a confrontation lacking in either victors or vanquished for the control of Italy, it led to a fatal attempt to somewhat fossilize roles and scenarios, relegating the Byzantine presence to that of the waning and backward-looking element in Italian geopolitics. This view was further exacerbated in discussions dealing with the period subsequent to the arrival of the Franks in Italy, so that the entry of a large part of Italy into Charlemagne's orbit led many historians to see this event as the kernel of its later links to a Europe which inexorably coalesced onto the area north of the Alps, in addition to the formation of a privileged connection between the papacy and the Frankish monarchy. From this perspective, the persistence of the last Byzantine possessions in the southern areas remained on the whole a circumstance of negligible importance.

All this depended upon the fact that, aside from the gradual commercial domination set in motion by the maritime cities, the Mediterranean as a whole was perceived by historians as an area relegated to the background of a newly-thriving Western Europe, as well as a world closed and hostile to a Christian, Roman Catholic Italy. The definitive schism between both the eastern and western churches, made final in 1054 (thus, around the same time as the eclipse of Byzantine rule in Italy, which definitively ended in 1071), put the seal on a process of cultural and spiritual estrangement between the two worlds. Many historians believe that a harbinger of this rupture was clearly shown in the perception of the Byzantine world offered by Liutprand of Cremona, which hovered between contempt and incomprehension.⁴

In other words, there has often been a decided neglect of what Italy meant for Byzantium and to understand why the Eastern Empire – in spite of everything – attempted to maintain a presence there for half a millennium. Seen from this perspective, the history of this part of its domains cannot therefore be seen solely as an inert relic of a past in which the Roman world extended along all four shores of the Mediterranean. Rather, it needs to be analyzed in relation to historical events which took place over time.

Within this framework, the confrontation between the Empire and the Lombards, who in 568 forced their way into the peninsula, played a primary role in Byzantine history since, as noted above, they have been living for centuries in close proximity to the Byzantine domains in Italy. Indeed, the two entities disappeared at almost the same time when they were both overwhelmed by the arrival of the Normans.

4 Colonna, *Le poesie di Liutprando*, pp. 17–27.

2 The Byzantines and Lombards in the Age of Invasions: Encounters, Clashes, Settlements

Contacts between the Byzantines and the Lombards had existed long before the entry of the latter into Italy. As we gradually analyse their history from their most remote origins to the time that they settled in Pannonia, we begin to better understand some of the typical features of not only their social and military organization, but of their leaders' political activities and the contacts that they had with surrounding populations and the empire, which had by now been reduced to its *Pars Orientis*.

The older references to their presence are those given by Procopius of Caesarea in his *History of the Wars between the Goths and Byzantines*, which deals with Italy between 535 and 553. The first mention that he makes concerns their clash with the Herules, from which the Lombards emerged victorious, and enabled them to consolidate their position in the lands that include present-day Austria and Slovakia.⁵ At the time in which the war was entering its final phase towards the end of the 540s, Emperor Justinian, in order to guarantee loyal allies on the northeastern borders of Italy, granted the Lombards permission to settle in Pannonia to counterbalance the presence of the Gepids, who had begun to create problems for the Roman population.⁶ However, Lombards proved to be unreliable even though, for the benefit of the Byzantines, they started fighting the Gepids. Interestingly, as they went to war with one another, the leaders of each of these two peoples sent ambassadors to Constantinople to try to persuade Justinian to take their side.⁷

In all the references found in Procopius' *Histories*, which relate to this first phase of their relationship with the empire, we are struck by the fact that the Lombards are generally presented in a light that is far from negative. Already when they first appear on the scene and we are told of their clash with the Herules (i.e. at the end of the 5th century), they are said to be Christians and are contrasted with the wild, unreliable and ruthless nature of their enemies.⁸ What is later emphasized is their ability to maintain consistently good relations with imperial authorities, with whom they would eventually conclude treaties and in whose eyes the Lombards served as a stabilizing factor in the uncertain climate of the Balkans during the decades following the final disintegration of the Western Empire. This is correct to the extent that they were

⁵ Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, 2.14.

⁶ Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, 3.33.

⁷ Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, 3.34.

⁸ Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, 2. 14.

involved in the military operations linked to the last and crucial phase of the Byzantine war in Italy against the Ostrogoths. This culminated in 552 with the battle of *Taginae*, which saw the defeat and death of King Totila, who for many years had managed to hold back the imperial troops, forcing General Belisarius to beat an inglorious retreat back home.

However, the appearance of Lombard troops on Italian soil coincided with a surprising change in Procopius' opinion concerning this people. Incorporated into the battle order of the imperial army, Lombard warriors were kept under close supervision for fear that they would leave the battlefield and take flight. At the end of military operations, the commander of the imperial army, Narses, is said to have quickly conducted them out of Italy because of their disgraceful behaviour that led them, without apparent reason, to commit acts of violence against women and to damage buildings by torching them.⁹

How did this change of view come about? Had the Byzantines not previously had opportunities to gauge the temper of the Lombards in the context of the Balkans? The sudden about-face, although brought about by actual events, may have had other causes of a more subtle, political and strategic nature. In the early 550s, relations between the Franks and the Lombards had become particularly close and cordial, so much so as to lead to marriages between the royal families of the two peoples.¹⁰ Theudebert I, King of the Franks, married the Lombard princess Wisigarda, daughter of King Wacho. Their son, Theudebald, married Wisigarda's sister, Wuldetrada, who in turn married for the second time with King Chlothar, the great-uncle of Theudebald.¹¹ Shortly after this, Audoin arranged a marriage for his son Alboin with one of Chlothar's daughters, Chlothsind.¹² Therefore, it is possible that these unions were intended to seal an understanding between the two populations which involved a shared assessment of the situation in Italy – something which may have also included steps already taken a few years earlier, while the war between the Goths and Byzantines was still in progress. Immediately after speaking of the hurried removal of the Lombards from Italy, Procopius tell us that at that time, Frankish troops were well-established in the plain of the Po Valley – particularly in the area around Venice – and that the Goths, in an attempt to reorganize resistance after their defeat at *Taginae*, had sought to make an agreement with them to oppose the Byzantines.¹³ Nevertheless, Procopius mentions repeatedly that

9 Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, 4. 33.

10 Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 164–169.

11 Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum*, 3.20.27; 4.9; Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 1.21.

12 Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum*, 4. 3. 41.

13 Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, 4. 33.

the Franks had no real reason to choose either side. Hence, their tactic was rather to let the two contenders tear each other apart, so as then to profit from their weakness and expand into northern Italy.¹⁴ Regarding this situation, it seems natural to think that Narses would have considered two different scenarios. On the one hand, there was the possibility that an operational alliance between the Franks and the Lombards might have eventually been raised with the aim of taking hold of Italian territory (especially in the northernmost areas), which imperial troops endeavoured to keep under their control. This may explain why the Byzantine commander was so relieved to be rid of the Lombards, whose loyalty he believed could clearly melt away at any time in order to strengthen their political relations with the Franks. On the other hand, the old Byzantine commander might have also considered the possibility that a direct engagement of the Lombards in Italy – under some kind of agreement with the empire – could have avoided the danger of a wider involvement of the Franks in the Po Valley.¹⁵

These assumptions raise from the fact that several sources contemporary to the events or dating from shortly after them (from the *Liber pontificalis* to Isidore of Seville; from the *Origo gentis Langobardorum* to the so-called *Chronicle of Fredegar*) discuss the *casus belli* that provided Alboin (who had already succeeded his father Audoin some years earlier) with an excuse to enter Italy. This would have been presented by an invitation from Narses, who wished to have revenge for the envy and suspicion he had attracted in Constantinople. This, according to Paul the Deacon, was said to have impelled Emperor Justin II to dispatch a new military commander, the prefect Longinus.¹⁶

There are some scholars who believe that the tale of Narses' treachery amounted to little more than malevolent gossip. However, even if the rumors which stated that Alboin had been 'summoned' by Narses were true, the action of the former Byzantine commander would not have been enough to persuade the Lombard king to take a step that would propel his people into a very challenging situation with an uncertain outcome.

It is probable that what impelled Alboin to attempt the riskiest adventure that his people could ever have imagined was a combination of many factors:

14 See for instance Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, 4. 34.

15 See on this see Marazzi, "L'ambita preda".

16 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 305; *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, 5, in *Le leggi dei Longobardi*, ed. C. Azzara/ S. Gasparri, Rome 2005, pp. 3–11; Isidorus, *Chronica Maiora*, ed. Th. Mommsen, in *MGH, AA XI, Chronica Minora*, vol. 2, Berlin 1894, pp. 424–481: p. 402; *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici libri IV cum continuationibus*, 3.65 ed. B. Krusch, in *MGH, SS. Mer*, vol. 2, Hannover 1888, pp. 18–193; *Prosperi continuatio Havniensis*, 4, ed. Th. Mommsen, in *MGH, AA, IX/1*, Berlin 1891, pp. 288–399.

victory over the Gepids and the period of significant economic and military growth that followed it; the likely weakening of Narses' position combined with a transfer of imperial military command in Italy which was neither peaceful nor harmonious; and ultimately, a momentary weakening of Frankish political dynamism in the Italian peninsula.

Referring once more to the account given by Paul the Deacon, it seems that the Lombards encountered few real obstacles at first. In its first months, the invasion moved down along the Venetian and Friulian foothills. The first centre to be conquered was modern-day Cividale del Friuli, whose Latin name, *Forum Iulii*, has left its trace in the name of the modern-day Italian region. Subsequently, Alboin captured the cities of Vicenza and Verona, while Oderzo, Padua, and Mantua remained in Byzantine hands.¹⁷ Aquileia, which had for centuries been the most important urban centre in northeastern Italy, remained in a sort of no man's land, abandoned by its patriarch who took refuge on the islands of the Grado lagoon.

After this initial surge, expansion seems to have taken a break for a year. It was perhaps necessary to organize authority over the newly-conquered areas and as well as begin the process of settling the groups that had entered Italy in Alboin's train.

Indeed, it was only in the late summer of 570 that Alboin entered what was then called the province of Liguria and which, because of the central position it would later assume in the organization of Lombard settlement, would become modern-day Lombardy. The first city to fall into his hands was Milan, from which, as at Aquileia, the archbishop had fled to take refuge in Genoa. Resistance was offered by Pavia (then called Ticinum), which, according to Paul the Deacon, was held under siege for about three years, until 572.¹⁸ Paul the Deacon also says that while the siege of Pavia was in progress, the king expanded his conquests south "down to Tuscany", excepting only Ravenna, Rome, and "a few fortresses on the coast."¹⁹ The conquests of Alboin were in fact achieved without bloodshed. Except for the siege of Pavia, none of the cities he occupied are said to have offered any resistance. This fact is probably thanks not only to the Lombard king himself but also to a conscious strategy on the part of the Byzantines dictated by very concrete reasons, which Paul the Deacon himself tries to explain: in the years immediately preceding 568, Italy was struck by a severe plague, which greatly decimated the population (and probably also the armed forces), followed by a shortage of food. For these

17 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 2.6–8; 2.14.

18 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 2.25–27.

19 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 2.26.

reasons, he says, it would have been impossible to hold on to the whole of Italy, and evidently the Byzantines decided to fall back to key positions that could be defended with a minimum of effort.²⁰

During the second half of the 6th century, the Byzantines drew their strength mainly from their military, as well as their commercial control of the sea routes of the Mediterranean, where their supremacy was not threatened by any real competitor.²¹ By contrast, the Lombards had no operational capacity in the maritime theatre; therefore, Byzantine garrisons could communicate much more quickly and effectively between themselves as well as with the centre of the empire by sea than they ever could by land. However, some details need to be added to the situation in order to better understand the long-term view of the Byzantines in offering an appropriate reaction to the invasion. From the brief hints offered by Paul the Deacon, we learn that in the second half of the 570s, a garrison of Byzantines (or maybe of Franks allied with the Byzantines) held the strategic fortress at Susa, through the valley from which ran the main communication route between Italy and the heart of the Frankish realm.²² Moreover, even at the end of the 580s, the redoubt of Isola Comacina (located at the northern head of Lake Como) was still in imperial hands and controlled another important transalpine route that ran from Raetia through Valtellina in the direction of Lombardy.²³

This could even raise the suspect that the Lombards, who between 570 and 575 engaged themselves in a series of raids deep into the Frankish territories of Savoy and Provence, operated somehow in agreement with the imperial government, with the aim of causing troubles rather to the Transalpine kingdom than that to the Empire itself and operating as a buffer entity among both, but under imperial influence.

The other aspect that emerges from the account of the years right after 568 is the strategic importance given by the Byzantines to control of the course of the Po river and, more generally, the lower stretches of the main rivers flowing through the Po Valley. This explains the resistance organized at Mantua and Pavia and, likewise, the abandonment without a struggle of Milan to the enemy.

It is clear that the overall strategic plan was to hold on to the main waterway crossing the Po Valley as well as the coasts and sea routes. The valley runs via a branch of the Po delta which is no longer useable today (the so-called

20 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 2.26.

21 Ravegnani, *I Bizantini e la guerra*, pp. 175–183.

22 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 3.8.

23 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 3.27. The possibility of a different location for the Isola Comacina (along the lower course of the Adda river and not in the higher part of the lake Como) is envisaged – but with great caution – by Carminati and Mariani, “L’Isola Comacina”. See also Brogiolo, “La costruzione del regno”, pp. 18–19.

Po of Volano/Primaro) that once allowed navigation directly to Ravenna. This strategic design also explains why it was along this line that the Byzantines would proceed in order on to establish the fortresses of Ferrara and Argenta at the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century.²⁴ Such an organization allowed it to thrust into the heart of the Po Valley without having to take the risks associated with crossing it by land.

Alboin's death in 572 was soon followed by the death of his successor Cleph in 574. As Paul continually reminds us, the Lombards decided not to elect any further kings, but instead chose to continue under the sole authority of the dukes who had divided up the region at the time of the first conquest. This was the period in which the Byzantines seriously attempted, for the first time, to get rid of the Lombards *manu militari*, enlisting the help of the Franks in their attempt, who had gradually reorganized themselves after the period of internal conflict which followed the death of Chlothar.

Some years after, in 584, the Franks – backed by generous economic help from the empire – counterattacked and organized an expedition to Italy, crossing the Alps through the Adige River valley and making their way through lands that had been settled by another Germanic people, the Baiuvari. It is very probable that the Franks, either as they pursued Lombards retreating from Provence along the Susa Valley, or when they tried to penetrate Italy from the north, had somehow been acting together with the empire, as we gather from accounts by Paul the Deacon and Gregory of Tours, who stated that the alpine fortresses still in Byzantine possession were delivered into their hands. The Lombards barricaded themselves in the cities, avoided clashes in the open field and ultimately reached an agreement with the Franks, who returned home after having established a sort of protectorate over the Lombard kingdom (the Lombards declared themselves as *fideles et subiecti* of the Franks and accepted to pay them a yearly tax as a recognition of their lower status).²⁵

Some years earlier, probably in 576, the Byzantines had attempted to attack the Lombards, moving an army of substantial size commanded by Baduarius, the general who was the son-in-law of Emperor Justin II, northward from Ravenna. The army also included contingents made up of Lombard warriors who, according to some authors, even came from Syria, some of whom may have been fugitives who had sided with Alboin's murderers, Rosmund and

24 Gelichi, "La pieve di San Giorgio in Argenta", pp. 15–20; Visser Travagli, *Ferrara nel Medioevo*, p. 61; Brogiolo/ Gelichi, *Nuove ricerche sui castelli altomedievali*, pp. 57–58; Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine*, pp. 123–126.

25 Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum*, 6.42; Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 3.17 does not mention the submission of the Lombards to the Franks.

Helmichis. This expedition, of which Paul the Deacon curiously makes no mention, was to end with the defeat of the Byzantine army.

The urgent need to repel serious attempts to annihilate them were bound to produce in the Lombards, and especially in their military leaders, further reflection about their future, leading them to quickly decide to elect another king in 584. The Frankish expedition had been halted by Ewin, the Duke of Trent, who was said to have married the daughter of the duke of the Baiuvari immediately afterwards.²⁶ Obviously, it was necessary to improve their relationships with populations who inhabited beyond the northern slopes of the Alps in order to avoid further unwanted visits from them. Yet shortly afterwards the understanding between the Byzantines and Franks became official, despite it only involving one of the three kings who ruled the divided kingdom at that time: namely Chilperic, son of Chlothar, who dominated its westernmost part.²⁷ It is unclear whether the terms of the alliance also included promises of Frankish aid to fight in Italy, or even the possibility that the empire might have promised the transfer of parts of northern Italy to Frankish rule.²⁸ Shortly thereafter (sometime between 589 and 590), a second agreement involving the king of Austrasia, Childebert II, was explicitly drawn up for that purpose and resulted in a joint Frankish-Byzantine military expedition to northern Italy. Its impressive size recalled that of the one organized ten years earlier by Baduarius. This time, the manoeuvre was organized as a pincer movement between Byzantine troops from Ravenna commanded by General Romanus and Frankish contingents drawn from the north and west. Just before giving the final strike, though, the Franks decided to come to peaceful terms with the Lombards, reassessing the payment of the yearly toll already established in 584. Thus they kept them alive as a buffer state between them and the Byzantine empire, and definitively reversed the meaning that Lombard presence might have had in its earliest days.

The poor (but apparently not by chance) coordination between the two armies thus prevented the total defeat of the Lombards, but the imperial forces managed nonetheless to recover almost all of the ground lost in the Po Valley, taking back Mantua, Modena, Reggio, Parma, and Piacenza (and hence, presumably also Brescello). In the Veneto region they significantly expanded the territories inland from the coast.²⁹ But this situation on the ground did not last for too long.

26 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 3.9–10.

27 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 3.12–13.

28 Marazzi, "L'ambita preda".

29 Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum*, 10. 2–3; *Epistulae Austrasicae*, nos. 40–41 ed. W. Gundlach, in *MGH, Epp. III, Epistulae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, vol. 1, Berlin 1892, pp. 110–153; Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 3.31.

The election of Agilulf in 590 led the Lombards to take back the military initiative in Italy. These years saw the beginning of a period of military confrontation between the Lombards and Byzantines which lasted until the early 7th century. During the reign of Agilulf, the most important event was the taking of the fortress of Brescello, on the course of the Po between the present-day provinces of Parma and Reggio Emilia. This forced a significant withdrawal of the Byzantine defensive line which was anchored along the course of this river; while Padua and Monselice also fell into Lombard hands, thus driving the Byzantines back towards the Adriatic. Evidently, Agilulf felt it imperative to put the empire under pressure, and it is not too fanciful to imagine that he was aware of the growing difficulties the Byzantines were currently facing in the Balkan region. The latter area saw both a growth in Avar activity and the first signs of penetration by Slavic peoples, who – it would appear – the empire was trying to absorb in ways similar to those it utilised with the Lombards shortly after their entry into Italy retreating towards the better-defensible coastal areas and fortresses.³⁰

Interestingly, at some point around the 580s new groups of Lombards made their way onto the scene. These later arrivals were apparently distinct from those who were already moving into the Po Valley and were in direct contact with the Lombard king. These were core populations who settled in the Umbrian city of Spoleto and in the countryside around Benevento, whose existence and constitution as ‘duchies’ appear to be traceable back to the 570s. The former are mentioned as they are said to have carried out a military operation of the greatest importance into the heart of Byzantine territory at the command of “duke” Faroald, which led to the taking of Classe, the port of Ravenna.³¹ This event is said to have taken place in around 582, when Maurice came to the Byzantine throne following the death of Tiberius II. The ducal title of Faroald is placed in quotation marks here since it is a matter of debate whether he should be considered as part of the circle of dukes that formed directly around the king, or whether he was the head of a group of Lombards who (even if they had entered Italy in Alboin’s train) had, all the same, been independent agents, perhaps in the service of the Byzantines.³² This is far from impossible, as Paul the Deacon mentions the existence of another “duke” around the same time called Droctulf, who had left the Lombards and fought in the imperial service (perhaps even during the expedition of Baduarius) and who, among other things, was also said to be behind the retaking of Classe around 585.³³

30 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 4.7.13. 27.

31 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 3.13.

32 Gasparri, *I duchi longobardi*, p. 73.

33 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 3.18–19; Guillou, “L’Italia bizantina”, p. 230.

Other considerations make it very likely that this could in fact be the case. First of all, it seems quite unlikely that an attack at the gates of Ravenna could have been undertaken without the king being in some way directly involved. Secondly, Paul the Deacon, in relating the text of the epitaph of Droctulf, who was buried in the church of San Vitale in Ravenna, recalls that this contained the claim that Classe had been captured by Faroald “using deception”. This might suggest that his troops were in that area, perhaps together with other Byzantine contingents, and that by mutinying for some still unknown reason, they were able to seize the port of Ravenna. At approximately the same time the *Liber pontificalis* reports that the Lombards had laid siege to Rome for the first time.³⁴ If, as was said to have occurred during the assault on Classe, an action of this type had directly involved the king’s army, Paul would certainly not have failed to mention it. Still, we may assume that even in such a case, it could be seen as undertaken by groups (perhaps the Spoletines themselves?) acting independently while still subordinate to the imperial government, placing pressure on the latter in order to obtain better financial treatment.

The mystery surrounding the nature of these incursions can be clarified by the words of Paul the Deacon. Shortly after referring to the assault on Classe, he gives news of an expedition led by Authari into south-central Italy.³⁵ It is unlikely that it actually took place, but what is intriguing are the goals it was said to have, namely the “conquest” of Benevento, to be carried out by passing through Spoleto towards the Strait of Messina, where the king was said to have planted his lance, declaring that “the borders of the Lombards” ended there. The impression given by this passage is that Paul was trying to allude to the presence of small groups of Lombards settled along the length of the peninsula, who had escaped the authority of the king, most likely because they had been incorporated as mercenaries into the Byzantine army. In the king’s wars with the latter, he was compelled to make some concessions to win them over to his side, perhaps by recognizing them as “dukes” on parity with Alboin’s direct followers, who had divided up a good part of the Po Valley and perhaps also Tuscany.

The end of the campaigns launched by the Byzantines against the Lombards were not entirely unsuccessful, but they certainly did not meet expectations. This cessation had two consequences, which were to gradually become more important in the decades to come and had major long-term repercussions.

The first was undoubtedly the discovery that, twenty or so years after their entry into Italy, the Lombards had been able to sufficiently establish

34 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 309.

35 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 3.32.

firm control over certain areas of the country so as to prevent the local people from rebelling against them and to make it possible for them to resist external threats, despite repeated Frankish-Byzantine counterattacks. The consequence was that expelling the Lombards from their strongholds would require far more substantial military resources than the empire was probably not capable of mustering, given conditions at that time and the far more pressing problems that were besetting them on the Balkan front. The second consequence was directly related to the first, in that the traditional system of running military campaigns, based (as during the Gothic War) on contingents of professionals – many composed of “barbarians” – was no longer workable. This was both because it was excessively expensive and because, in a situation where the enemy was also the largest supplier of auxiliary troops to the imperial army, there was an extremely high risk that any enterprise would end up producing results different to those expected.

Thus, after this phase of military activity, Byzantine strategy for the defence of its Italian possessions underwent a gradual change, with more emphasis on resistance rather than on counterattack. By trying to radically simplify matters, this was the moment when a process of militarization of the administrative structure begins to manifest itself, which seems to have already been set in motion at the height of the most desperate phase of confrontation with the Lombards around the mid-580s. At this time we find the first mention in sources of the *exarchus*, who rapidly became associated with the formation of territorial districts under the command of *duces* or *magistri militum*.³⁶

In all likelihood, the need to consolidate resistance against Lombard expansion also involved the reorganization of Italian defence systems, with the gradual allocation of fortified strongholds to all zones of friction with the Lombards, relocated in the major urban centres and in rural hubs of special strategic importance. This was probably meant to extend and organize in a more thorough way a type of operation of which there had already been a glimpse during the Gothic War and was once again required by the new situation created by the increased Lombard presence in order to stabilize matters more precisely.

The layout of this network intended to protect imperial Italian territory was postulated some twenty years ago in a survey by Enrico Zanini, who placed its construction at the very end of the 6th century.³⁷ Advances in archaeological and topographical surveying in various areas have shown that his insights can be considered to be substantially correct, as in addition to the networks of fortresses already identified in the 1980s in the Tuscia (northern Lazio), similar systems have

36 Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, pp. 135–141.

37 Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine*, pp. 209–290.

been traced more recently in the regions of Abruzzo, Molise, Liguria, Veneto, and in the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines. There are also some strong indications that it can be seen between southern Lazio and northern Campania.³⁸

It is reasonable to ask whether a link existed between the spread of such defensive networks and the gradual “territorialisation” of the military units, which in the course of the 7th century appear to increasingly rely upon local recruitment, in ways probably not dissimilar to those also adopted in other areas of the empire, particularly along the Anatolian frontier.³⁹ In fact, these events appear to precede this organizational transformation, but it is conceivable that the defence of new *castra* and old *civitates* endowed with refurbished defensive systems could just as well have been managed by military units that took form in later periods. On the other hand, if this had not been the case, it would have been difficult to assemble the resistance that the Byzantine areas managed to set up to meet Lombard expansion until the middle of the 8th century.

3 Hostility and Coexistence: Relations between the Lombard and Byzantine Worlds during the 7th and 8th Centuries

At the end of the 6th century, a gradual easing of military tensions occurred. If we take the letters of Gregory the Great as an example, it can be noted that those which were sent to Ravenna and Constantinople in the later years of his pontificate no longer warn of the danger of an imminent Lombard takeover of Rome and the Latium region, a sign that positions on the ground were stabilizing. The empire did not formally recognize the presence of a Lombard political entity (and it would not do so until 680), but the *de facto* truce between the two sides lasted for several decades until the renewal of hostilities during the reign of Rothari (636–652). This must have permitted the establishment of relations not only of a purely political character, but also the gradual creation of less formal networks among the populations living on either side of the various fronts which had formed along the rugged geography of the frontiers that had solidified between the two areas.

An in-depth study of this issue is in many respects still to be undertaken, but it is possible to offer some thoughts on the subject. Contrary to what was believed until a few decades ago, it is now clear that Lombard occupation did

38 Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*, pp. 348–400; Augenti, *Archeologia dell'Italia medievale*, pp. 91–97; Marazzi, “Una valle italiana”, p. 117.

39 Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 39–108; Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, pp. 208–253; id., *The Empire That Would Not Die*, pp. 266–275.

not completely exclude those areas from maintaining commercial contacts with the Mediterranean, although on very reduced scale. Indeed, it is not uncommon to find Mediterranean objects in many burial sites datable to the first phase of conquest, which could also justify the hypothesis that they could have been purchased and were not just spoils of war.⁴⁰ Moreover, the fact that some artefacts (such as buckles and belt plates) datable to the second half of the 7th century found during excavations at Rome of the Crypta Balbi which were certainly manufactured on site, exhibit specific analogies with similar objects from Lombard burial sites in central Italy, suggested that craftsmen working in areas under Byzantine control, such as Rome, found ways of selling their products in cross-border markets, or that they even worked for clients in the Lombard world.⁴¹ In addition, there have also been finds in cities of northern Italy (e.g., Brescia and Milan) – admittedly rather sporadic – of materials imported from the Mediterranean (especially ceramics) linked to life stages that certainly occurred later than the time of the Lombard conquest.⁴² This is a clear sign of some permeability of frontiers to commercial trade, evidently facilitated by a period of relative calm which characterized the first decades of the 7th century, as mentioned earlier. But the nature of these finds also suggests that the goods in circulation would have been available in very limited amounts, which appear to be even more restricted when compared to the goods and shipping containers of eastern and African origin recovered in cities such as Rome, Naples, and Ravenna, which remained in Byzantine hands. This also holds true in rural areas or in smaller centres, also under imperial rule, as evidenced in Liguria, or in the coastal regions of Abruzzo and Salento.⁴³

It is therefore evident, that, although they were not completely isolated from each other, the Lombard and Byzantine territories in the 7th century displayed considerable differences in terms of the availability of consumer goods. Explanations for this may differ, even if one does not necessarily exclude the other. It is possible (but the written sources offer us no solace in this respect) that there was an actual embargo upon the export of commercial

40 The numerous cases of finds of this kind, not terribly common, but occurring in small numbers all over Italy (from Piedmont, to Emilia, to Friuli, to the Marche) are given, with updates for the latest discoveries, in Possenti, *Necropoli longobarde in Italia*.

41 Ricci, "La produzione di merci di lusso", pp. 79–87.

42 Brogiolo, S. *Giulia di Brescia*; Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*.

43 Cirelli, *Ravenna. archeologia di una città*; Staffa, "Le produzioni ceramiche in Abruzzo", pp. 205–234; Sagui, "Il deposito della Crypta Balbi", pp. 305–328; Panella/Sagui, "Consumo e produzione", pp. 757–820; Casalini, "Roma e il Mediterraneo", pp. 535–546; Marazzi, "Il sud dell'Italia fra VII e VIII secolo", pp. 385–401; Arthur, *Naples. From Roman Town to City-State*, pp. 122–133; Carsana/D'Amico/Del Vecchio, "Nuovi dati ceramologici", pp. 423–438; Arthur/Lapadula/De Mitri, "Nuovi appunti sulla circolazione", pp. 331–351.

goods from Byzantine territories to those of the Lombards, and that goods of Mediterranean origin which reached Lombard lands did so via unofficial channels. However, even if there was no political obstacle to trade, it is also possible that the transformations seen within the social body of the Lombard kingdom may have altered habits and dispositions towards the consumption of certain goods and that the generally greater distances from the sea to the Lombard lands made it commercially less attractive to transport them there. Lastly, it should be remembered that the supply of consumer goods of overseas origin in Byzantine Italy in the 7th century seems to have followed a logic which is not always attributable to “pure market” forces; in other words, it has been suggested that the transfer of goods imported from Africa and the east to the *castra* of Liguria or Abruzzo – which were objectively speaking settlements of small size – may be explained by the victualling needs of the troops stationed in those areas. Obviously, a more complex picture would be provided by the cities, where besides this sort of flow of goods there could have been others of equal size. For example, trade was fuelled by the transit of ships in the service of the local diocesan sees such as Rome and Ravenna, both of whom until the beginning of the 8th century held important estates in areas, such as Calabria and – above all – Sicily, where cross-Mediterranean trading circuits established in late antiquity persisted with undiminished importance.⁴⁴ The presence of mechanisms of this type could then act as a driving force to distribute imported goods on an even wider scale and gained customers outside the circles who benefitted from flows of goods and people directly driven by the needs of the imperial government.

Thus, at least to the end of the 7th century (that is, until the fall of Carthage saw the interruption of the flow of goods from Africa), the varying conditions regarding access to certain types of trade circuits marked a clear difference between the areas of Italy under Lombard and Byzantine rule, which suggests that, at least from this perspective, the presence of political frontiers had some real and practical importance. Archaeological data has helped to clarify what the chronicles of the period describe: that in the first seventy years after the invasion of the 568, the inner borders of Italy gradually took the shape of a funnel, with coastal areas still largely in the hands of the empire, while the interior of the Po Valley and the Apennines were occupied by the Lombards. This was similar to the way that imperial control of the Balkan region was also taking shape during this same period, where, as is shown by some of the maps first drafted by John Haldon in the early 1990s, it had been reduced to a constellation of

44 Putrino, “L’antico patrimonio della Chiesa di Roma”, pp. 245–280; Fasoli, “Il patrimonio della chiesa ravennate”, pp. 389–400; Marazzi, “Roma, il Lazio, il Mediterraneo”, pp. 267–285.

fortresses distributed along the rugged coast of Greece and Albania, often surrounded by small territorial extensions into the interior.

This pattern was interrupted by the corridor that connected Rome to Ravenna via Perugia, passing through places such as Orte, Narni, Gubbio, and Urbino. This was the only one that survived in the long period from the 6th through the 8th century among the three similar trans-Appennine routes which the Byzantines had initially created to link the Tyrrhenian and the Adriatic seas. This was an attempt to contain within non-contiguous territorial pockets the encroachments made by the Lombards at around the same time beyond the Po Valley, when they entered Tuscany and when they seized Spoleto and Benevento. The northernmost of these two corridors connected central Emilia with the eastern end of Liguria, which led to its final cornerstone at Luni; the southernmost one connected northern Campania with Abruzzo, passing through the area of western Molise and the province of Chieti. These two passages had already been dismantled by the Lombards by the end of the 6th century, while the one between Rome and Ravenna held out until the middle of the eighth. Considering that it consisted of a series of garrisoned fortresses along a roadway and thus represented a very slender strip of territory enclosed by the duchies of Tuscia and Spoleto, its continued survival constitutes one of the true mysteries in the history of these centuries. Written sources tell us little enough about it and the archaeological record is still almost completely silent. Undoubtedly, the fact that the Lombards apparently opened hostilities against it only at the end of the first quarter of the 8th century can be interpreted as a sign of the stability of a balance of power between the parties, which nobody appeared interested in breaking for quite a long time.

Seen from Byzantium and in light of the pan-Mediterranean scope of the empire which lasted until just before the middle of the 7th century, the Italian territories could in this case be considered as an area that, viewed from "the sea", was still almost entirely under its control.

This state of equilibrium suffered its first drastic setback shortly before the middle of the 7th century. Conflict resumed shortly after 640, when the Lombards waged a real war of aggression and conquest against the Byzantines. The main actor behind these ventures was King Rothari. The moment at which hostilities began – the summer of 643 – was not chosen at random by the Lombard sovereign, since it corresponded with the worst phase of a deep Byzantine political and military crisis. In 641 the Emperor Heraclius died and his succession was beset by problems. In the meantime, the Arabs had taken possession of Egypt in 642, raiding Libya the following year and beginning to menace the areas nearest to Carthage.⁴⁵

45 Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, pp. 51–55.

The faint chance that the Byzantines might be able to produce a reaction in Italy adequate to repel a well-orchestrated attack must have been carefully assessed by Rothari, who managed to seize Liguria without problems. Yet, despite a clear victory at the Panaro River, they were unable to break through to Ravenna. However, the Lombard king was able to expand his domains into the Veneto region with the capture of Oderzo and subjugated what remained of Byzantine lands in Emilia by capturing Modena.⁴⁶ In this period the fighting line also moved into central Italy, where the Lombards of Spoleto and Benevento took possession of all the strongholds still held by the Byzantines along the Adriatic coast between the southern part of Marche and the present-day region of Molise.

Apart from the undoubted ability of the Lombards to seize the right moment to launch their attacks, it was the changing global situation of the empire that offers the key to understanding why the geopolitical map of Italy, which had held up for almost half a century, was torn apart in such a short period of time. The sudden losses of the territories in the Near East and Egypt, followed by that of Spain in circa 625, had radically changed perceptions of how Italy could still play a strategic role for Byzantium. Certainly now this role was chiefly tied to areas such as Calabria, Sicily, and southern Apulia, which dominated the Aegean and Ionian Seas, as well as the Strait of Sicily, thus allowing the Byzantines to block unfriendly incursions aimed at penetrating into the heart of imperial lands while also defending what remained of their possessions in North Africa. It may have already been at this point, when Byzantium began to shift to a more limited geographical perspective, that Ravenna's decline as a strategic hub in the domination of Italy began to occur. Located in Romagna and perfectly positioned to serve as an outpost for the interior of the Po Valley – even assuming the latter could be totally reconquered – this city now occupied a position that was too off-centre. Perhaps it is no coincidence that this is the phase to which archaeologists have dated signs of a rapid decline in use of the port of Classe, probably as the result of the diversion of the traffic that it had enjoyed thus far.⁴⁷ An even clearer sign of Byzantium's changing view of Italy can be clearly understood by the fact that when Constans II made his trip to the peninsula between 663 and 668, he limited himself to the southern regions alone, except for a short stay in Rome, a place whose symbolic value was too high for it to be ignored.⁴⁸ Ravenna could not be abandoned, but the period opening with the second half of the 7th century surely represented a

46 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 4.45.

47 Augenti, *Classe. Indagini sul potenziale archeologico*, pp. 35–40.

48 Corsi, *La spedizione di Costante II*.

new phase in the city's life, its surroundings and the area's relationship with Byzantium. During this period the role of the secular and religious elements of local society became more prominent and the activity of the exarch in the general coordination of imperial possessions in Italy was reduced in favour of granting greater autonomy for the local *duces* (which was also tied to the gradual establishment of the theme system throughout the empire) and of the rising prestige of the *strategos* of Sicily.

Constans II's mission to Italy has generally been regarded as a disaster, as he failed to win any military advantage over the Lombards of Benevento and it ended with the assassination of Constans himself. However, if we consider its purposes more closely, it held an undeniable historical significance as it presented a "vision" of Italy from the Byzantine standpoint of that very period. If perhaps this vision was different from the way Justinian would have conceived matters a century earlier, when he was still reasoning from a "global" perspective appropriate to the Roman state of late antiquity, the peninsula (or at least part of it, its southernmost part) still played a fundamental role in protecting the strategic interests of the empire, apart from obviously retaining a symbolic role by preserving control of Rome, which was of enormous importance.⁴⁹

The Lombards do not seem to have pursued any serious a priori intention of questioning this equilibrium during the 7th century. As they had done in 568, during Rothari's reign they moved into action only when they perceived a weakening of the empire's position, and the Beneventans did the same following the death of Constans II and the failure of his mission, expanding their own domains in Apulia.⁵⁰

This state of affairs remained the same until 676–677, when the two sides reached a lasting diplomatic agreement, producing the first formal recognition of the existence of the Lombard kingdom by the empire as well as an acknowledgement from the Lombard side of the existence of a Byzantine sphere of influence on the peninsula. Scholars of Italian history have given little weight to this event, but the Chronicle of Theophanes, our source for it, clearly indicates that the peace treaty signed between the Byzantines and the Lombards was part of a more general reshaping of the empire's international relations with its neighbours (including the Avars).⁵¹ This in turn came about shortly after it had settled the situation on its borders with the Arab caliphate by concluding a treaty whereby the latter agreed to pay a substantial annual tribute to the

49 Marazzi, "Vittime di Pirenne?", pp. 248–250.

50 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 6.1.

51 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6169 (p. 355).

empire for thirty years in order to put an end to Byzantine counterattacks into its territory in Syria. Hence, the empire was thus at that moment in a position of strength whose visibility – at least as far as relations with the Lombards were concerned – was heightened by the fact that Emperor Constantine IV had also managed to summon a new ecumenical council in Constantinople to resolve the long-standing theological wrangling concerning Monotheletism. This impacted the disputes about Monophysitism and Nestorianism by fully reestablishing a sense of common purpose with the papacy and by shortly afterwards allowing King Cunipert to finally end the issue of the schism of the Three Chapters that had created a number of difficulties between the imperial government and the dioceses of northern Italy.⁵² Viewed from this perspective, the peace treaty reached sometime around 680 emerged in a context in which the empire had regained its recognized position as a temporal and spiritual power of great prestige.

The treaty between the empire and the Lombards seems to have produced a number of side-effects of great importance, or at least an acceleration of processes that must probably have already existed in latent form in the societies of both sectors of Italy. On one hand, it paved the way for the final and official transfer of the Lombard monarchy to the Catholic faith; on the other, the achievement of peace probably gave Byzantine Italian society a greater involvement in managing local issues. For example, in the years that followed, the papacy made clear progress in dealing with a series of internal matters affecting the city of Rome, including the restoration of the city walls, the extension of its activity concerning the management of services for the population and above all, taking responsibility for at least part of the minting of bronze coins destined for local circulation.⁵³ Above all, there were numerous cases in the following two decades where the local population people resist attempts by the central imperial authorities to impose their own decisions concerning various political and religious issues. These demonstrate how relations between the centre and this periphery had evolved to the stage where it could no longer be assumed that the latter would simply accept rule of their territory by total outsiders.⁵⁴

In this situation, what was the stance taken by the Lombards? Strangely, for about thirty-five years the front with the Byzantines was completely quiet. The only notable events in this period which give us some pause for thought were

52 Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6171–6172 (pp. 356–361); Baus et alii, *La Chiesa tra Oriente e Occidente*, pp. 359–367.

53 Rovelli, “Emissione e uso della moneta”, pp. 829–831.

54 Noble, *La Repubblica di San Pietro*, pp. 42–52 (citations refer to the Italian translation).

the attacks on Latium and Rome between the end of the 7th and beginning of the 8th century by the duke of Benevento, Gisulf I. Paolo Bertolini correctly interpreted these events not merely as acts of aggression against the Byzantine territories, but probably as part of a strategy by which the duke intended to display his interest in shadowing relations between the papacy and the empire by giving his active attention to clashes with the pontiff. Thus, this provides the first outline of a web of alliances between Rome and the southern Lombard dukes (in latent opposition towards the kings in Pavia) that was to lead to momentous political events in the 8th century.⁵⁵

Direct clashes between the Lombards and Byzantines only began in 717, when Liutprand launched the first of his military campaigns against the Ravenna region. At the same time, the duke of Spoleto attacked the northern border of the duchy of Rome, and the duke of Benevento moved against the duchy of Naples.⁵⁶ In this case, as in Rothari's day, the chosen timing was not left to chance, since it coincided with the most critical point in the conflict which had reignited between the Byzantines and Arabs, with the imperial capital itself coming under siege in 717. Nonetheless, the first Lombard onslaught was repulsed by an imperial army sent to Italy as soon as the pressure on Constantinople had weakened. Yet the tensions that jeopardized Italian-imperial relations, which initially were of an economic and fiscal nature and later of a religious character, led to the eruption of the iconoclast crisis and a quick changing of the hands dealt to the players. In that period sources report numerous clashes that saw the populations of Rome, Ravenna, and the Venetian lagoons, along with the direct involvement of the papacy in opposition to imperial attempts to impose its will concerning both issues: those of an economic and fiscal nature, and those related to the iconoclast crisis. The end of these conflicts saw the final triumph of forces hostile to the empire striking back, and, as Tom Noble has correctly asserted, it is fair to say that by the end of the 720s, "the emperor's power in Rome was finished, as it was in fact in Ravenna."⁵⁷

Still, we should not underestimate the extremely nuanced nature of the picture revealed by these incidents involving forces of different types and with different motivations, some of which clearly conflicted with the role of main actor that the pope was gradually assuming within the developing situation. Among these, we can make out expressions of what looks like residual loyalty to the empire, as well as protectiveness towards the local self-government that

55 Bertolini, "I duchi di Benevento e San Vincenzo al Volturno", pp. 85–177.

56 Delogu, "Il regno longobardo", p. 148.

57 Noble, *La repubblica di San Pietro*, p. 59.

had gradually emerged over the previous decades. For example, that of Ravenna and its surroundings, and that of the Latium region in its conflicts with the hegemony of Rome, which still has not been closely analysed by historians.

The last act of the first phase of Byzantium's presence in Italy occurred in 751, with the conquest of Ravenna by the Lombard king Aistulf and the incorporation of the city and its surrounding territory into the kingdom, despite not being totally absorbed into its administration. These events took place in the absence of any resistance that could be called "Byzantine" in the strict sense of the word. Eutychius, the last exarch to hold office, seems to have been unable to offer (or participate in) much resistance against the onrush of Lombards and affairs moved quickly onto a totally different political plane, from which Byzantium seems to have been completely excluded. This saw Ravenna and Rome become the subjects of a struggle between the Lombard monarch's desire to unify the Italian territories which they had carved out and the opposition to this, apparently entirely on a local level, whose spokespersons were chiefly the main institutions of the church, such as the diocesan authorities of the two ancient imperial capitals.⁵⁸

4 Long Centuries of Close Proximity: the Lombards and Byzantines in Southern Italy (9th to 11th Centuries)

Paradoxically, when the final collapse of the Lombard kingdom occurred in 774, the last representative of the dynasty overthrown by Charlemagne, Adelchis, son of Desiderius, saw Byzantium as a credible political option as a last chance of redress against the new conquerors. Equally paradoxically, the prince of Benevento, Grimoald III (son of Arechis II), undertook, as his father had done, a delicate balancing act between the Franks and Byzantines in order to doom his uncle's attempt to return to the stage. He chose to play a complex game in order to win some political wriggle space for the surviving Lombard state in southern Italy, which found itself between the two Christian "superpowers" without jeopardizing the Italian interests of one or the other.⁵⁹

On the ground and faced with the final loss of its domains in central and northern Italy, the Byzantine administration attempted at first to anchor its defensive line upon Naples with military actions in the 770s aimed at removing from Rome's control the coastal areas of southern Latium down to Terracina,

58 Savigni, "I papi e Ravenna", pp. 331–368; Orselli, "La chiesa di Ravenna", pp. 405–422; Marazzi, "La configurazione istituzionale", pp. 261–278.

59 Kurze, "Adelchi".

the last of which seems to have managed to remain in imperial hands for an extended period of time. However, during the first quarter of the ninth century, Naples, too, began to increase its own autonomy with respect to the empire, with the result that Sicily and the southern extremities of Apulia and Calabria came to be the sole Byzantine strongholds in Italy.⁶⁰ Of these final possessions, Sicily was gradually lost in the course of the 9th century, and it was only after the fall of Syracuse in 878 and the accession to the imperial office of the new Macedonian dynasty in 867 that Byzantine policy regarding Italy underwent a decisive change in course, restoring relevance to the political and military struggle with parties that we can identify as “Lombards.”

With the crushing of the Arab emirate of Bari in 871, and the continuing fragmentation of the political situation in southern Italy (in the middle of the 9th century, Salerno and Capua had broken away from Benevento), the late 880s saw the launch by Byzantium of an operation to retrieve their positions on the mainland, intended to somewhat compensate for the loss of Sicily. The expansion of Byzantium into the South occurred (certainly by no coincidence) in a period at which all attempts at Frankish dominance in the south of Italy had been completely abandoned after the death of Louis II in 875. Even though the outset witnessed the conquest of Benevento itself in 892 (which was however abandoned five years later), the final goal may have appeared to be an expansion into or at least total hegemony over the area. Afterward, momentum seems to have slackened and settled towards consolidating control over the southern shores of the Adriatic and Ionian Seas. In substance, and with a gap of two hundred years, this repeats the approach taken by Constant II, only now it was perfectly realized. This aspiration to dominate the Balkans and the central Mediterranean was pursued with determination until the era of Basil II, and the reconquest of Crete in 961 was one of the main goals achieved by this counterattack. Imperial possessions in Apulia and Calabria were in this respect of the utmost importance, but the opening of a much larger front involving the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy would not have held a similar importance. In this perspective, the operations of the Byzantine fleet against the Saracens active in lower Latium in 915 can mainly be read as an attempt to reassert an imperial naval presence in the Tyrrhenian Sea and to give the political stamp of approval to the Lombard league of dynasties, as well as those which ruled Naples and Gaeta.⁶¹

This attitude does not seem to change even in the face of the aggressive policy towards the south of Italy put in effect by the Ottonians, in response to

60 Regarding this, see my chapter on the duchy of Naples in this volume.

61 Still substantially valid is the lucid analysis of Gay, *L'Italia meridionale*, pp. 150–154.

which Byzantium aimed instead at a stalemate, repeatedly trying to break the alliance between the German sovereigns and the prince of Benevento and Capua, Pandulf Ironhead. The latter was defeated in 969 and imprisoned in Constantinople in the course of the only attempt at direct confrontation with imperial troops in northern Apulia.

Despite the consolidation of its dominant political position in the South since the beginning of the 10th century, and the fact that it was successful in disrupting the endeavours of the Ottonians and Ironhead, it was only in the period between the last quarter of the 10th century and the first quarter of the 11th that the Eastern Empire tried to give its own presence in this area a better-defined institutional form. Once the imperial domains on the peninsula had grown beyond the borders of Calabria and the Terra d'Otranto, to which they had been confined since the beginning of the 9th century, one of the main problems had to be how to integrate and win the loyalty of the Latin-speaking Catholic populations of Apulia and Basilicata.⁶² The need to consolidate control in these regions is probably behind the establishment of the figure of the *katepano* of Italy, who emerges for the first time shortly after 970 (and thus on the heels of the Byzantine victory over Pandulf and the Germans), who probably had particular jurisdiction over the areas of Apulia which the Byzantines had wrested from the Lombards of Benevento.⁶³ The *katepano*, who undoubtedly took over the territorial powers of the former *strategos* of Lombardy, was nevertheless a dignitary of a higher rank than that of the *strategoi* who commanded single *themata* (which now in Italy, apart from Apulia, had been reduced to the themes of Calabria and Lucania). An explanation for this may be found either in the suggestion that the *katepano* had been given power to co-ordinate matters without the authorization of other provincial commanders, or in the possibility that, given that the areas of Apulia were the least stable politically, their subordination to a person of higher prestige emphasized the special attention given to them by the imperial government.

Even in the initial phase of the 11th century, when commanders of proven military ability, such as Basil Mesardonites and Basil Boioannes, were sent to Italy, ground action was clearly intended to consolidate the boundaries of a domain that ended at the slopes of the Apennines in Campania and Apulia. It focused its activities against the southern Lombard states by drawing them into the political orbit of the empire, but never again by deliberately hostile acts towards them. Archaeology has identified the system of fortifications

62 Guillou, "La Puglia e Bisanzio", pp. 5–36.

63 Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, pp. 46–51; Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, pp. 147–149.

established along the inner edges of the Apulian Tavoliere plain, clearly illustrating how the ground strategy was one of controlling the borders established during the 10th century, rather than pushing beyond them.⁶⁴

It is therefore particularly significant that under different circumstances the empire's approach in confronting the Lombard dynasties during this period involved granting them honorific titles of the Byzantine court, with the intention of getting them to accept formal dependence on the emperor, rather than planning activities aimed directly at rolling them back from their positions. This was a strategy, which the emperors had previously utilised on a fairly regular basis towards the lords of the Tyrrhenian duchies of Amalfi, Gaeta and Naples; who were justifiably viewed as regents in their territories. However, when it was extended, for example, to include the princes of Salerno (who were most frequently at the receiving end of such measures in the 10th and 11th centuries), it indicated their desire to also pull the Lombard states into their orbit, without allowing themselves to be drawn into actions involving direct conquest.⁶⁵

This vision was understood and espoused by Prince Pandulf IV of Capua, the last representative of the Lombard dynasty to attempt to roll out a broadly based political line. In the 1020s and 1030s he tried to reverse the course of action which in the Ottonian age had seen the Lombard states of the south finally fall into the western orbit. Instead, Pandulf IV attempted to assume leadership of a Lombard south linked politically to Byzantium: he certainly aimed to include in this project the two major southern abbeys that traditionally owed obedience to the western empire (Montecassino and San Vincenzo al Volturno), and was perhaps considering the idea of also involving the papacy itself in this plan.⁶⁶

However, Pandulf's venture did not meet with success, either because of the return to the area of the German Emperor Conrad II, which broke its momentum, or because of the inability of the Byzantines to keep control of their own territories (including the unfortunate end of the expedition sent to take back eastern Sicily at the end of the 1030s). Perhaps it was due to the steady expansion of the Norman presence, which introduced a totally new and destabilizing element into the old geopolitical balance of power in the south. Defeated by Conrad II, Pandulf of Capua fled from his lands in 1038 and went to look for help in Byzantium, pursuing the now impractical dream of relaunching an imperial commitment to Italy akin to that of a few decades earlier.

64 Favia, "*Graeci di frontiera*", pp. 414–419.

65 Gay, *L'Italia meridionale*, pp. 215–237.

66 Marazzi, *Pandolfo IV principe di Capua*; Thomas, *Jeux lombards*, pp. 325–336.

It is also interesting in this respect to recall that the last attempt by the Byzantines to defend their possessions in Apulia from Norman expansion at the end of the 1040s was entrusted to Argyros. He was a member of an aristocratic family in Bari, the son of the same Melus who between 1009 and 1018 was behind the best-organized attempt at a revolt against imperial rule in the region, which for the first time used Norman mercenary troops. These were two members of a family that we would find hard to define as “Lombard” or “Byzantine” *tout court* (the chronicler William of Puglia defines them as “Lombards in Byzantine clothing”), but which can instead be seen as representative of a local society that bore the marks of a complex cultural heritage which “Lombard” and “Byzantine” elements had influenced so as to ultimately produce completely original results.⁶⁷

The centuries-long history of the conflict between Lombards and Byzantines thus ended in a paradox, with the last heir of the people who had begun the process of dismantling the Mediterranean world which had been rebuilt by Justinian, as the main actor in a brief but important adventure which envisaged a southern Italy with closer ties to the Mediterranean and the east, rather than to a Europe (and an Italy) led by Germany.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum*, ed. M. Oldoni, Gregorio di Tours, *La storia dei Franchi*, 2 vols, Milan 1981.
- Le « *Liber Pontificalis* ». *Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols, Paris 1886–1892.
- Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. L. Capo, *Storia dei Longobardi*, Milan 1992.
- Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, ed. J. Haury/ G. Wirth, in Procopii Caesariensis *Opera Omnia*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1962, pp. 4–678 (see also Procopio di Cesarea, *La guerra gotica*, ed. E. Bartolini, translated by Domenico Comparetti, Milan 1994).
- Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1895, repr. Hildesheim 1980 (English translation: Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813*, ed. C. Mango/ R. Scott, Oxford 1997).

67 Pio, “Melo da Bari”; Petrucci, “Argiro”.

Secondary Literature

- Arnaldi, G., *L'Italia e i suoi invasori*, Bari 2003.
- Arthur, P., *Naples. From Roman Town to City-State: An Archeological Perspective*, London 2002.
- Arthur, P./Lapadula, E./De Mitri, C., "Nuovi appunti sulla circolazione della ceramica della Puglia meridionale fra tarda Antichità e Alto Medioevo", in S. Gelichi/C. Negrelli (eds.), *La circolazione delle ceramiche nell'Adriatico fra tarda Antichità e Alto Medioevo*, Mantua 2007, pp. 331–351.
- Artifoni, E., "Le questioni longobarde. Osservazioni su alcuni testi del primo Ottocento storiografico italiano", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Moyen Âge*, 119/2 (2007), 297–304.
- Augenti, A., *Archeologia dell'Italia medievale*, Bari 2016.
- Augenti, A. (ed.) *Classe. Indagini sul potenziale archeologico di una città scomparsa*, Bologna 2011.
- Balestracci, D., *Medioevo italiano e medievistica. Note didattiche sulle attuali tendenze della storiografia*, Rome 1996.
- Baus, K./Beck, H.G./Ewig, E./Vogt, E.J., *La Chiesa tra Oriente e Occidente*, vol. 3 (Storia della Chiesa, edited by H. Jedin), Milan 1992.
- Bertelli, C./Brogiolo, G.P. (eds.), *Il futuro dei Longobardi. L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno*, 2 vols., Milan 2000.
- Berto, L.A., *I raffinati metodi d'indagine e il mestiere dello storico. L'alto medioevo all'inizio del terzo millennio*, Mantua 2016.
- Bertolini, P., "I duchi di Benevento e San Vincenzo al Volturno – Le origini", in F. Avagliano (ed.), *Una grande abbazia altomedievale nel Molise. San Vincenzo al Volturno* (Miscellanea Cassinese, 51), Montecassino 1985, pp. 85–177.
- Brogiolo, G.P., "La costruzione del regno longobardo e i nuovi centri di potere a nord di Milano", in G.P. Brogiolo/S. Lusuadi Siena (eds.), *I Longobardi a nord di Milano. Centri di potere tra Adda e Ticino*, Mantova 2020 (*Archeologia Barbarica*, 4), pp. 15–26.
- Brogiolo, G.P. (ed.), *S. Giulia di Brescia, gli scavi dal 1980 al 1992. Reperti preromani, romani e alto medievali*, Florence 1999.
- Brogiolo, G.P./Chavarría Arnau, A. (eds.), *I Longobardi. Dalla caduta dell'Impero all'alba dell'Italia*, Milan 2007.
- Brogiolo, G.P./Gelichi, S., *Nuove indagini sui castelli altomedievali in Italia settentrionale*, Florence 1996.
- Brown, T.S., *Gentlemen and Officers. Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554–800*, Rome 1984.
- Cammarosano, P., "Tradizione, storiografia e storia dei Longobardi: un cenno introduttivo", in P. Cammarosano, S. Gasparri (eds.), *Langobardia*, Udine 1990, pp. VI–XIX.

- Caporusso, D. (ed.), *Scavi MM3. Ricerche di archeologia urbana a Milano durante la costruzione della linea 3*, Milan 1991.
- Carminati, F./Mariani, A., "L'Isola Comacina, Capriate e le case tributarie longobarde", in G.P. Brogiolo/S. Lusuardi Siena (eds.), *I Longobardi a nord di Milano. Centri di potere tra Adda e Ticino*, Mantova 2020 (Archeologia Barbarica, 4), pp. 91–108.
- Carsana, V./D'Amico, V./Del Vecchio, F., "Nuovi dati ceramologici per la storia economica di Napoli fra Tarda Antichità e Alto Medioevo", in M. Bonifay/J.-Ch. Trégliat (eds.), *LRCW2. Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archeology and Archaeometry*, (BAR International Series, 1661–1), Oxford 2007, pp. 423–438.
- Casalini, M., "Roma e il Mediterraneo dal IV al VI secolo", in E. Cirelli/ F. Diosono, H. Patterson (eds.), *Le forme della crisi. produzioni e commerci nell'Italia centrale tra Romani e Longobardi (III–VIII sec. d.C.)*, Bologna 2015, pp. 535–546.
- Cavallo, G./ Falkenhausen, von, V./Farioli Campanati, R./Gigante, M./Pace, V./Panvini Rosati, F., *I Bizantini in Italia*, Milan 1982.
- Christie, N., *From Constantine to Charlemagne. An Archaeology of Italy AD 300–800*, Aldershot 2006.
- Cirelli, E., *Ravenna archeologia di una città*, Florence 2008.
- Colonna, E., *Le poesie di Liutprando da Cremona. Commento fra testo e contesto*, Bari 1996.
- Corsi, P., *La spedizione italiana di Costante II*, Bologna 1983.
- Cosentino, S., *Storia dell'Italia bizantina (VI–XI secolo). Da Giustiniano ai Normanni*, Bologna 2008.
- Delogu, P., "Il regno longobardo", in P. Delogu/ A. Guillou/ G. Ortalli, *Longobardi e Bizantini* (Storia d'Italia edited by G. Galasso, 1), Turin 1980, pp. 3–216.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo*, Bari 1978 (originally published in German, Wiesbaden 1967).
- Fasoli, G., "Il patrimonio della chiesa ravennate", in A. Carile (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna. Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, vol. 2/1, *Territorio, economia e società*, Venice 1991, pp. 389–400.
- Favia, P., "Graeci di frontiera: impronte bizantine nelle soluzioni insediative e territoriali di fine IX-prima metà XI in Capitanata e Lucania", in P. Arthur/ M. Leo Imperiale (eds.), *VII Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, Florence 2015, pp. 414–419.
- Gasparri, S., *I duchi longobardi* (Studi Storici, 109), Rome 1978.
- Gasparri, S., "I Germani immaginari e la realtà del regno. Cinquant'anni di studi sui Longobardi", in *I Longobardi dei ducati di Spoleto e Benevento (Atti del XVI Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto Medioevo)*, Spoleto 2003, pp. 3–28.
- Gay, J., *L'Italia meridionale e l'Impero bizantino. Dall'avvento di Basilio I alla resa di Bari ai Normanni (867–1071)*, Italian translation Florence 1917 (French edition, Paris 1904).

- Gelichi, S., "La pieve di San Giorgio in Argenta e il suo territorio: brevi lineamenti storici", in id. (ed.), *Storia e archeologia di una pieve medievale: San Giorgio in Argenta*, Florence 1992, pp. 15–20.
- Guillou, A., "La Puglia e Bisanzio", in C.D. Fonseca (ed.), *La Puglia fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, Milan 1980, pp. 5–36.
- Guillou, A., "L'Italia bizantina dall'invasione longobarda alla caduta di Ravenna", in P. Delogu/ A. Guillou/ G. Ortalli, *Longobardi e Bizantini* (Storia d'Italia edited by G. Galasso, 1), Turin 1980, pp. 220–338.
- Haldon, J., *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture*, rev. edition, Cambridge 1997.
- Haldon, J., *The Empire That Would Not Die. The Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival, 640–740*, Cambridge 2016.
- Ibsen, M., "‘Era già quasi re di tutta Italia’: uso politico e memoria dei Longobardi dai Visconti al Settecento", In Brogiolo/ Chavarría Arnau (eds.), *I Longobardi*, pp. 279–290.
- Ibsen, M., "‘Unus populus effecti sunt’? La questione longobarda dall'Illuminismo al Romanticismo", in Brogiolo /Chavarría Arnau (eds.), *I Longobardi*, pp. 291–298.
- Kurze, W., "Adelchi", in C. Calderini (ed.), *Adelchi dai Longobardi ai Carolingi*, Milan 1984, pp. 13–15.
- Marazzi, F., "Il sud dell'Italia fra VII e VIII secolo", in E. Baquedano (ed.), *711: Arqueología e Historia entro dos mundos* (Zona Arqueológica, 15), Madrid 2011, pp. 385–401.
- Marazzi, F., "La configurazione istituzionale del potere pontificio nel quadro del processo di territorializzazione dei 'Patrimonia Sancti Petri'", in J.-M. Martin/ A. Peters-Custot/ V. Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*. II. *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 461), Rome 2012, pp. 261–278.
- Marazzi, F., "Pandolfo IV principe di Capua (1016–1049), ovvero l'ultima avventura politica dei Longobardi", *Rassegna Storica Salernitana* 65, n.s. 33/1 (2016), 15–45.
- Marazzi, F., "Roma, il Lazio, il Mediterraneo: relazioni fra economia e politica dal VII al IX secolo", in P. Delogu/ L. Paroli (eds.), *La storia economica di Roma nell'Alto Medioevo alla luce dei recenti scavi archeologici*, Florence 1993, pp. 267–285.
- Marazzi, F., "Una valle italiana fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo: il tessuto insediativo rurale della valle del Volturno (Molise – Campania) fra IV e XII secolo. Prospettive di mutamento nella *longue durée*", in F. Marazzi (ed.), *Civitas Aliphana. Alife e il suo territorio nel Medioevo*, Cerro a Volturno 2015, pp. 103–144.
- Marazzi, F., "Vittime di Pirenne? I confini del Mezzogiorno negli scenari economico-politici di Europa e Mediterraneo (VII–VIII secolo)", in K. Herbers/ K. Wolf (eds.), *Southern Italy as a Contact Area and Border Region During the Early Middle Ages*, Cologne 2018, pp. 241–272.

- Marazzi, F., "L'ambita preda. Contese geopolitiche e pretese di egemonia sulla Penisola italiana fra VI e VII secolo", in P. Giulierini/ F. Marazzi/ M. Valenti (eds.), *Longobardi. Un passato declinato al futuro*, Napoli – Cerro a Volturno 2019 (Studi Vulturnensi, 14 – Le Archeologie, 1), pp. 25–56.
- Melucco Vaccaro, A., *I Longobardi in Italia*, Milan 1982.
- Mores, F., *Invasioni d'Italia. La prima età longobarda nella storia e nella storiografia*, Pisa 2011.
- Noble, T.F.X., *La Repubblica di San Pietro. Nascita dello Stato pontificio (680–825)*, translated by F. Frangini and M. Belli, Genoa 1998 (Originally published as *The Republic of St. Peter. The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825*, Philadelphia 1984).
- Orselli, A.M., "La chiesa di Ravenna tra coscienza dell'istituzione e tradizione cittadina", in A. Carile (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna. Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, vol. 2/2, *Ecclesiologia, cultura e arte*, Venice 1991, pp. 405–422.
- Panella, C./ Sagui, S., "Consumo e produzione a Roma tra tardoantico e altomedioevo: le merci, i contesti", in *Roma nell'Alto Medioevo*, vol. 1 (Settimane CISAM 48), Spoleto 2001, pp. 757–820.
- Petrucchi, A., "Argiro", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 4, Rome 1962, *sub voce* (online ed. [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/argiro_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/argiro_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)).
- Pio, B., "Melo da Bari", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 73 Rome 2009, *sub voce* (online ed. [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/melo-da-bari_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/melo-da-bari_(Dizionario-Biografico))).
- Pohl, W., "Invasions and ethnic identity", in C. La Rocca (ed.), *Italy in the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford 2002, pp. 11–33.
- Possenti, E. (ed.), *Necropoli longobarde in Italia. Indirizzi della ricerca e nuovi dati.*, Trento 2014.
- Putrino, G., "L'antico patrimonio della Chiesa di Roma in Sicilia. Studio storico-giuridico", in *Giustizia e servizio. Studi sul nuovo Codice di Diritto Canonico in onore di Mons. Giuseppe De Rosa*, Naples 1984.
- Ravegnani, G., *I Bizantini e la guerra. Letà di Giustiniano*, Rome 2004.
- Ravegnani, G., *I Bizantini in Italia*, Bologna 2004.
- Ricci, M., "La produzione di merci di lusso e di prestigio a Roma da Giustiniano a Carlo Magno", in M.S. Arena/ P. Delogu/ L. Paroli/ M. Ricci/ L. Sagui/ L. Venditelli (eds.), *Roma dall'Antichità al Medioevo. Archeologia e storia nel Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi*, Milan 2001, pp. 79–87.
- Rovelli, A., "Emissione e uso della moneta: le testimonianze scritte e archeologiche", *Roma nell'Alto Medioevo*, vol. 1 (Settimane CISAM, 48), Spoleto 2001, pp. 821–856.
- Sagui, L., "Il deposito della Crypta Balbi: una testimonianza imprevedibile della Roma del VII secolo?", in ead (ed.), *Ceramica in Italia: VI–VII secolo*, Florence 1998, pp. 305–328.

- Savigni, R., "I papi e Ravenna. Dalla caduta dell'esarcato alla fine del secolo X", in A. Carile (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna. Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, vol. 2/2, *Ecclesiologia, cultura e arte*, Venice 1991, pp. 331–368.
- Staffa, A.R., "Le produzioni ceramiche in Abruzzo nell'Alto Medioevo", in S. Patitucci Uggeri (ed.), *La ceramica altomedievale in Italia* (Quaderni di Archeologia Medievale, 6), Florence 2004, pp. 205–234.
- Thomas, A., *Jeux lombards. Alliances, parenté et politique en Italie méridionale de la fin du VIII^e siècle à la conquête normande* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 501), Rome 2016.
- Valenti, M., "Ma i 'barbari' sono veramente arrivati in Italia?", in P. Favia/ G. Volpe (eds.), *V Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, Florence 2009, pp. 25–30.
- Visser Travagli, A.M., *Ferrara nel Medioevo. Topografia storica e archeologia urbana*, Casalecchio di Reno 1995.
- Wood, I., *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450–751*, London 1994.
- Zanini, E., *Le Italie bizantine. Territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia (VI–VIII secolo)*, Bari 1998.

Byzantium and Islam in Southern Italy (7th–11th Century)

Annliese Nef

Let us begin by defining the frame of the investigation. It starts with the mid-7th century during the first phase of the Islamic conquests, although the intensification of the relations between Byzantium and the Islamic world¹ around the Italian peninsula dates rather from the 8th-century.

Italy? This denomination might not be the best. This article will concentrate on the Southern part of the Italian peninsula, as well as on Sardinia, Sicily and the other neighbouring islands. This entity would be better referred to as the central Mediterranean, since it constitutes a largely maritime space which was very important for the control of the Mediterranean, for it allowed traffic to flow from the oriental to the occidental part of the latter (or the reverse), and to the Adriatic. It is also the space where moving south or northwards through the Mediterranean is the easiest. This explains in part the interest Byzantium and the Islamic political powers demonstrated for this zone throughout the 7th–11th centuries. North Africa and the Balkans are part of the Byzantine Central Mediterranean regions which had to do with Islam, but they will not be the main focus here, although they will appear as part of the explanatory context. The same goes for Latium and Venice, which were also affected by the confrontation between Byzantium and the Islamic world, but in a lesser way.

The end of our inquiry will coincide with the 11th century. Byzantium was then facing new adversaries in the east, the Turks, and was unable to stop the western Mediterranean powers of the time from growing as these assumed the form of different Latin political entities (kingdoms and city-states mainly) eager for expansion.

The history of the central Mediterranean during the first half of the Middle Ages has been the object of recently renewed research. In fact, after the interest shown for “Byzantine and Muslim Italy” during the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, respectively by Paolo Orsi² and Michele

¹ “Islamic world” is the equivalent here of what some historians call “Islamicate world”, thus integrating a strong non-Muslim dimension.

² Arcifa/Bagnera/Nef, “Archeologia della Sicilia islamica”, 241–243.

Amari,³ Italy has often been erroneously seen as a periphery of Byzantium by Byzantinists and as a periphery of the Islamic world by specialists of medieval Islam.⁴ In particular, the Islamic emirates and settlements in southern Italy were (and often still are) seen as non-lasting, anarchic experiments. This conception has begun to change, above all as far as Sicily is concerned, and new publications are awaited for the other regions.⁵

This article will try to show how important from a strategical point of view the central Mediterranean was, how it was a key-zone of contact between Byzantium and the Islamic world, and will also suggest that, as in other regions, what was seen for a long time as short-lived phenomenon of “pirates’ nests” deserves more attention than it has been paid until recently. It will insist upon the necessity to integrate the analysis of the region’s history within a broader Mediterranean context, primarily that of Islam’s and Byzantium’s histories. Finally, it will try and show that these experiments are all the more interesting, as these regions did not spend centuries under Islamic domination. It allows the historian to perceive evolutions that were erased in other places which have remained parts of the Islamic world, above all because of the rewriting of history *a posteriori* which tends to erase or simplify the genesis of a new social order such as the one characterizing the Islamic world.

1 Before the 9th Century: Razzias and Conquests, Two Sides of the Same Medal?

1.1 *A New Mediterranean*

The period prior to the 9th century generally attracts little attention as far as the relations between the Islamic world and the Byzantine central Mediterranean are concerned. It is commonly thought that before this date only razzias were documented as occurring on the islands and the Italian mainland, and these razzias are generally believed to have been short-lived operations of piracy.

Although the image of Arab conquerors cultivating little taste for, or sense of, maritime stakes and policy is hard to die, it has been demonstrated that the first Islamic caliphate developed as early as the 7th century, a Mediterranean

3 Nef, “Michele Amari ou l’histoire inventée”, pp. 285–306.

4 Nef/Prigent, “Per una nuova storia”, pp. 9–64.

5 See especially texts by Marco Di Branco and Kordula Wolf for research regarding the mainland, including: Di Branco, “Due notizie concernenti l’Italia meridionale”, pp. 5–13; Wolf, “Auf dem Pfade Allahs”, pp. 120–166; Di Branco/ Wolf, “Terra di conquista?”, pp. 125–165; Herbers/ Wolf (eds.), *Southern Italy as Contact Area and Border Region*. Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy*, deals almost exclusively with Sicily in the period prior to the 13th century.

policy which was inclusive of the local naval knowledge and practices previously elaborated within the regions they conquered.⁶ In this early context, the struggle against Byzantium and for the control of the seas brought the Mediterranean islands and the “road of the islands” to the forefront.⁷ This explains why from the mid-7th century and for a whole century onward, attacks against Sardinia and Sicily were, if we except a pause in the second half of the 8th century, constant, although their patterns changed over time. In the 8th–9th century they were increasingly launched from Ifrīqiya.⁸

Two factors can be underlined in order to explain this intense activity. First, although the Islamic expansion did open a new era for the regions which were conquered, it did not erase the previous close relationships which existed between neighbouring regions which had previously been part of the same empire (Byzantine in this case), as were the different regions of the central Mediterranean. Thus, one of the issues the Islamic conquerors faced was to define how these relationships should have evolved, above all when it finally appeared that these regions would not become part of the Islamic empire as quickly as those in the eastern Mediterranean. Should the protagonists confront each other militarily, interrupting all other relations, or should they find a way to maintain these relations despite being adversaries? Or perhaps just let the confrontation drop?

Second, the 8th century should not be seen, in this context, in such a Pirennian way, as a moment when a world ended, but rather as a time when a new one was being born. The frame of the answers which were given to the quite classical questions raised by the new political situation is that of a diplomacy which conceptualized anew these rather straightforward political options. Obviously, the Arab-Muslims,⁹ no more than any other social group, did not invent something from nothing, and the diplomatic frame they elaborated – probably going through successive stages that the written sources do not allow us to reconstruct – is a reinterpretation of the general lines of the previous “international law”, in a new key. This frame is more clearly expressed in the written sources from the 9th century onwards than it previously was, but it is nonetheless probable that, perhaps with another terminology and with detail differences, the general lines attested for the following period already existed in the 8th century.

6 As far as Ifrīqiya is concerned, see cf. Talbi, *L'émirat aghlabide*, pp. 384–88; and more generally, Picard, *Sea of the Caliphs*.

7 Fois, “Peut-on dégager une stratégie militaire”, pp. 15–24.

8 Talbi, *L'émirat aghlabide*, 385–88, lists all of them.

9 This expression is used here as a translation of “Arabo-Muslims” i.e., as a way to designate inclusively the diversity of the Islamic society: Arabs and non-Arabs; Muslims and non-Muslims, etc. who were all part of even the ruling classes, as is too often forgotten.

This new diplomatic frame was the following: the state of belligerency between the non-Muslim governments (and thus Byzantium) and the Islamic political powers was conceived theoretically as perennial, since both desired to exert a universal authority. When war was the choice made in a given context, it was understood in an Islamic context as a *jihād* (a constant effort to put an end to the existence of the illegitimate non-Muslim governments).¹⁰ The *jihād* could boil down to *razzias* aiming to capture booty or conquer, both initiating a *fath*, whose form and evolution depended upon the general context and success of the operations. The *fath*, too often translated as “conquest” but which literally means “opening”, constitutes the beginning of a process of integration of a region to the Islamic empire, with all the implications this involves. If the protagonists wanted to tone down this belligerency for a moment, a truce (*hudna*, *ṣulḥ*¹¹) could be established. These very general lines obviously evolved through time, they were quite discussed and the object of different elaborations. What is important is that this conception seems to render the debate about what was *razzia* and what was *jihād* somewhat less interesting, or aiming at determining which military operation was “spontaneous” (as if it could be) and which one was planned. A few articles have definitively established that the presentation of Islamic activities in Italy as piracy or non-lasting activities was fallacious. Another step should be taken in order to better define the *fath* as the beginning of the process of integration of a region, which could take long and fail in the end, but which nonetheless aimed towards gaining a new land to the universal Islamic empire. In a way, even passing a treaty with the Muslims was a way of entering the world which went according to their rule, at least from their point of view.

1.2 *The Central Mediterranean in the 8th Century*

In this context, what about the central Mediterranean? A few raids against Sicily were launched in the middle of the 7th century, which have been put in relation with the reign of Constans II and in particular his stay in Sicily.¹² A few more happened also during the second half of the century¹³ as the Islamic conquest of Africa, one of the most difficult and slow that took place, proceeded, a simultaneity which is logical since maritime and terrestrial strategies had gone

¹⁰ Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*.

¹¹ Khadduri, “Hudna”, and “Ṣulḥ”, in *ET*, *sub voce*.

¹² The first to be mentioned in the Arabic sources is dated ca. 655 and was launched from the oriental part of the Mediterranean. It was first evoked by Vivien Prigent: id., “La Sicile de Constant II”, and it has been recently reinterpreted by Jankowiak, “The first Arab siege” and Nef, “The Medieval Islamic Historiography”.

¹³ Talbi, *L’émirat aghlabide*, pp. 385–86 and Nef, “The Medieval Islamic Historiography”, for new occurrences.

hand in hand since quite early in the mind of the conquerors.¹⁴ The rhythm of the attacks nonetheless decisively increased after the fall of Carthage in 698, during the first half of the 8th century and above all, after 720.¹⁵ Syracuse and Sardinia were forced to pay *jizya* respectively in 735–736 and 752.¹⁶ In that case, the word, which came to designate the poll tax imposed on the *dhimmī*-s (non-converted Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians and a few other groups whose existence was considered to be acceptable under a Muslim government),¹⁷ had the generic meaning of tribute and it has been suggested rightly that the mention of these events might have been a way of underlining the beginning of a process of *fath*, although in the case of Sardinia it never took the shape of a complete territorial conquest,¹⁸ and in the case of Sicily it did so only two and a half centuries later.

The second part of the 8th century is characterized by a pause in Muslim military activity against the Byzantine central Mediterranean for a series of reasons which are clearly put forward by the chroniclers: from 740 onward, Berber revolts threatened the Umayyad rule in the Maghreb and in al-Andalus. Moreover, the Umayyads themselves were overthrown in 750 by the Abbasids, and this new dynasty never completely controlled Maghreb directly again. At first, representatives of the Muhallabid family¹⁹ were sent from the Orient to Ifrīqiya in order to face the kharijite and Idrisid revolts, as well as the political entities born from the latter,²⁰ but, although the sedition calmed down, these new emirates could not be dismantled. It is only in 800 with the beginning of the Aghlabid dynasty that Ifrīqiya was able to resume a stable history within a territory which no longer included western Maghreb and had also lost most of central Maghreb. The Aghlabids were born from a general who claimed an oriental descent and identified as least as much with Ifrīqiya as with the Abbasids.

This chaotic evolution certainly bought Byzantine Sicily some time during the second half of the 8th century, when it had to face a plague which seems to have strongly affected the population of the island.²¹ Eventually, the Aghlabid

14 Fois, "Peut-on dégager".

15 Talbi, *L'émirat aghlabide*, pp. 387–8.

16 Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 360–363; Amari, *Biblioteca, versione araba*, vol. 1, 267–268 (year 117 H.), pp. 268–269 (year 135 H.).

17 Cf. Cahen, "Djizya", in *EI*, sub voce.

18 Fois, "La Sardaigne et l'Islam".

19 On this important group, see P. Crone, "Muhallabids", in *EI*, sub voce.

20 We are missing a historical synthesis about the Idrisids, see García-Arenal/Manzano Moreno, "Légitimité et villes idrissides", pp. 275–284 and relevant bibliography; about the Rustamids, see Aillet, "Tāhart et les origines", pp. 47–78.

21 See the chapter by Lucia Arcifa in this volume.

rule would open a new era in the region and especially for the Byzantine central Mediterranean.

2 The Aghlabid Era (800–909)

2.1 *A Regional Policy*

The second half of the 8th century was probably a period of successive truces between the Byzantine regional authorities and their Ifrīqiyan counterparts,²² although they are not documented before the second decade of the 9th century.²³ The limited operations against Corsica, Sardinia or the islands located in the Gulf of Naples during the first decades of the 9th century seem to have been organised by the emirate of al-Andalus rather than by the Aghlabids.²⁴ What put an end to this quite peaceful phase, if we except an attack against Sardinia launched by the dynasty in 821–822,²⁵ were the inner Sicilian problems which brought the rebel Euphemios, who usurped the imperial title, to seek help from the Aghlabids in 827. The reasons behind his revolt are unclear,²⁶ but what is sure is that Euphemios was still responsible of the Sicilian fleet and some Arabic sources suggest that he had spent some time in the Ifrīqiyan straight just before this date.²⁷ The course of events suggest without any doubt that he was already very familiar with his interlocutors before 827.

This episode, which was to mark the beginning of what is usually described as the “Islamic conquest of Sicily”,²⁸ is indeed highly emblematic of the intensity which still characterized the relations between Ifrīqiya and Sicily at that time. It has been underlined elsewhere that the decision to answer Euphemios’ solicitations and to begin an adventure which ended up outlasting the Aghlabid dynasty itself was taken in a very autonomous way.²⁹ The operations in Sicily never saw the intervention of the Abbasids, their key players were strictly regional as far as the Islamic side was concerned, which does not mean of

22 Mohamed Talbi shares this point of view and enumerates a few pieces of evidence: Talbi, *L’émirat aghlabide*, p. 395 and following pages.

23 Nef, “Comment les Aghlabides”, p. 195; Talbi, *L’émirat aghlabide*, p. 402.

24 Talbi, *L’émirat aghlabide*, pp. 391–92.

25 Talbi, *L’émirat aghlabide*, p. 394.

26 Prigent, “La carrière du tourmarque Euphémios”, pp. 279–317.

27 Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 364–365; Amari, *Biblioteca, versione araba*, vol. 1, p. 270 (year 211 H.).

28 The irrelevance of this denomination has been treated in Nef, “Reinterpreting the Aghlabids”, pp. 76–87.

29 Nef, “Comment les Aghlabides”.

course that the same was true for Byzantium, nor that the Aghlabid policy itself took into consideration nothing but regional stakes.

The sunni Aghlabid emirate was stuck between independent political entities promoting an alternative current of the Muslim creed in the western Maghreb (ibadite for the Rustamids and shiite for the Idrisids) and the Libyan region, characterized by the importance of the tribal organization, always in part reluctant to acknowledge state authority, and by ibadism. It thus developed a Mediterranean policy which would allow it an expansion it could have hardly contemplated in the Maghreb.

2.2 Sicily's Guerilla Warfare

It has also been shown that the notion of "conquest" is not the most pertinent to describe what happened in Sicily during the 9th century. The Aghlabids certainly did establish a new capital in Palermo from which they launched frequent military operations against the oriental part of the island and the peninsular mainland, but this policy – developed over the course of almost a century – made Sicily what might be more convincingly called a *thaghr* (a frontier zone) rather than a conquered region for the entire 9th century. The context was thus more that of a permanent state of *guerilla* warfare, as in the Taurus for example,³⁰ than a context of conquest, interpreted as such only *a posteriori* in a teleological perspective. Although historians tend to consider a Sicilian city conquered once it surrendered to the Islamic armies, the policy of the Palermitan emirate seems to have favoured the one-off imposition of harsh conditions upon the defeated insular cities rather than their submission and integration to the emirate. Such a policy allowed the Palermitan emirate to attack these cities again after some time. There are two not necessarily incompatible reasons for this strategy: the difficulty to act otherwise since the Aghlabids were actually confronting a powerful enemy they were unable to defeat at once; and the economical interest which lay in obtaining booty in the form of men and money repeatedly, as compared with the charges of administering a territory susceptible to powerful retaliations.³¹

Five different phases can be distinguished in the confrontations that took place in Sicily from 827 to 902 (the last years before the advent of the Fatimids were barely documented, no doubt reflecting the growing difficulties of the Aghlabid dynasty).³² The first phase endured for a long decade (827–840 approximately) and saw the elaboration of an emirate identified with a new

30 Eftymiadis, "Chrétien et Sarrasins", pp. 589–618.

31 Nef, "Le statut des *ḍimmī-s*", pp. 112–128.

32 Nef/Prigent, "Guerroyer pour la Sicile", pp. 13–39.

capital and the stabilisation of the control over the western part of the island. The second one (840–860) witnessed an intensification of the attacks, above all against the Val di Noto where the Byzantine capital, Syracuse, stood and against the centre of the island where Enna, a very important city in the Byzantine defensive system, was located.³³ The third phase ranged from the repression of a rebellion against the Islamic authority which had broken out in the centre of the island in 860, until the fall of Syracuse in 878: a scorched earth policy was developed in eastern Sicily. The fourth was characterized by a kind of a pause in Sicilian activities, as the Byzantine general Nikephoros Phokas the Elder waged a counter-attack in Calabria; ending with the last years of the century and Ibrāhīm II's decision to go and fight the *jihād* in Sicily in 901. Although this Aghlabid emir died the following year, he was able to conquer Taormina for the first time; an event which is perhaps mistakenly and too often considered to mark the definitive fall of the city, which in reality only took place sixty years later in 962.

2.3 *A Mediterranean Strategy*

No need to underline that the Sicilian policy had to go hand in hand with a strategy which also regarded the surrounding islands and the Italian peninsular mainland. The ideology of *jihād* alone cannot explain the latter: control over the surrounding islands and the straights was necessary in order to establish and maintain a real dominion over Sicily. As strategists know, controlling a straight implies taking control of both its sides.³⁴ This logic seems to have inspired Aghlabid policy. As far as the islands were concerned, it was as much a question of protection (preventing the enemy from using them as bases for raids) as a means to have at their disposal advanced bases from which they could launch attacks. As early as 835, Pantelleria was attacked quite harshly,³⁵ as were in 836 some unnamed islands described as close to Sicily which, considering that the Aghlabid attacks were at that point concentrated against the Val Demone, could be identified with the Aeolian islands.³⁶ As far as Malta³⁷

33 Cf. the articles by Arcifa and Prigent in this same volume.

34 Henri Bresc, "Du ribât au presidio", pp. 97–127.

35 Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 370–371 (incorrect year indicated in the Italian version: it should state 833 rather than 835); Amari, *Biblioteca, versione araba*, vol. 1, pp. 273–274 (year 220 H.).

36 Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 371; Amari, *Biblioteca, versione araba*, vol. 1, p. 274 (year 221 H.).

37 Regarding the position Malta held within the Mediterranean circuits up until later periods and the stakes it thus constituted, see in this same volume the text by B. Bruno and B. Cutajar.

was concerned, the Arabic sources cite the year 870 as the date of its submission to Islamic rule,³⁸ although it has been rightly underlined that there might have been a period when the simple control of a zone of the island might have been considered as *fath*.³⁹ Justified by this general strategy, the submission of Pantelleria and Malta was not characterized by gentleness.

As far as regards the islands, this strategy might be compared with that utilized in the emirate of Crete after its conquest by the Muslims in 824,⁴⁰ all things being equal. The autonomy of the ruling dynasty which recognized the Abbasids, its unceasing raids against the Aegean islands and even the Greek mainland,⁴¹ as well as its taking control over some of the surrounding islands in order to protect Crete and facilitate its projection against the Greek coasts are elements which recall the Sicilian situation.

The mainland was far from untouched by this strategy. The facts have been well-exposed by M. Talbi and, more recently, by F. Marazzi, who primarily used Latin sources, which provide the most detailed information, and who distinguished five phases of operations,⁴² the phasing being slightly distinct from the one described for Sicily. The first serious wave of military interventions against the peninsular mainland was launched between 835 and 843. It pitted the Aghlabid troops, who, while they probably were not the only side to prompt these attacks, were certainly the primary antagonists, allied with the Neapolitans against Benevento and Messina. More generally, their difficult progression in Sicily explains why the Aghlabids felt the need to attacking the Byzantines in Calabria and Puglia.⁴³ Once again, the Islamic operations cannot be reduced to a series of alliances between the local political entities and Muslims, nor to their employment as paid mercenaries in the service of these Christian leaders and other types of non-lasting operations of this nature. Taranto fell in 840 and became the centre of a settlement (and of an emirate?) until 880, Amantea fell in 839 and was held until 886. The Venetian fleet, which tried to repel the Arab-Muslims, was defeated and throughout 841 the latter continually raided the Adriatic coastline.⁴⁴

A second phase (843–852) was characterized by Byzantium's absence within the conflict, although it did result in some consequences for Constantinople.

38 A thorough interpretation of the Arabic sources is in Brincat, *Malta 870–1054*; concerning this particular argument: *ibid.*, p. 19.

39 Fois, *La Sardaigne et l'Islam*.

40 Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*.

41 Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, p. 192 *id.*, "The Raids of the Moslems of Crete", pp. 76–111.

42 Marazzi, "Ita ut facta videatur", pp. 159–202.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 170.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 171.

The Arab-Muslims developed a double-sided policy: they accentuated the inner divisions of the political actors present at that time in the Italian mainland as much as possible while simultaneously reinforcing positions that allowed them to encircle Byzantine Sicily and to protect their position in the island. Militarily, the advance was twofold: firstly, in Campania, Rome (sacking the city in 846) and southern Latium; secondly, attacks against Benevento, and the conquests of Bari, which became the seat of an emirate from 847 to 871, as well as Taranto, which had a brief respite from Muslim authority in 847.

A third phase (852–871) is marked by the success of Louis II's reaction. Although he did not put an end to the Arab-Muslim presence or immediately stop the destruction occurring in southern Italy, his action did lead to the fall of Bari and to the takeover of a number of cities under Islamic authority. It is after the fall of Bari that a *wālī* (an emir) of the *Arḍ al-kabīra* (the "Great Land", that is, the Italian mainland) was designated by the Ifrīqiyan emir: 'Abd Allāh b. Ya'qūb, a brother of the new emir of Sicily Rabāḥ b. Ya'qūb. He died at the beginning of 872 and does not seem to have been replaced.⁴⁵

A fourth phase lasted from 872 until 878. The emirate of Sicily intervened in order to balance the situation, not in the Adriatic, which had returned under Byzantine authority, but rather in Campania, through alliances with Naples, amongst others, and a quite intense military activity.

The last phase of the Aghlabid emirate began in 878 with the fall of Syracuse: the Byzantine forces returned to Adriatic and accentuated the pressure on Campania and Calabria. In 880, a large operation succeeded in recuperating a sizeable portion of Calabria, southern Longobardia and finally, Taranto. Nikephoros Phocas the Elder finally succeeded in regaining Tropea, Amantea and Santa Severina for Byzantium in 885.⁴⁶ Byzantium thus developed a policy of hellenization around Cassano and Rossano, Santa Severina was transformed into a metropolis and was renamed Nicopolis, while other bishoprics were created. This policy aimed to recuperate the region from the Muslims, but it was also meant to underline the Byzantine presence to the Carolingian Empire.⁴⁷

This did not prevent Ibrāhīm II, an Aghlabid emir who came to fight the *jihād* in southern Italy, from being highly successful in 902 in Calabria, nor the autonomous Garigliano settlement, which appeared at the beginning of the 880s, from demonstrating its military efficiency. The situation in the region was confused and the inner divisions so numerous that the Arab-Muslims kept

45 Di Branco/Wolf, "Terra di conquista?", pp. 144–45.

46 See on that aspect, Noyé, "La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands", pp. 90–92.

47 Noyé, "La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands", pp. 93–96.

taking advantage of it. As far as concerns the mainland, the death of Ibrāhīm II in 902 and the end of the Garigliano settlement in 915 at the hands of a coalition marked the end of the Aghlabid offensive policy in the Central Mediterranean. Let us underline, finally, that when Ibrāhīm II fought in Calabria, his final objective is said to have been Constantinople. This shows how strongly Byzantine Italy and the imperial capital, which remained for long the city whose destruction was supposed to mark the definitive religious domination of Islam over the world, were still linked in the contemporary regional representations, and that the emir's enterprise had an eschatological dimension.⁴⁸

The difficulty is to analyse these events in a global and coherent way, but it would not be easy to deny the twofold reality which endured through time: first, the existence of a global strategical conception carried on by the Aghlabid emirs of Kairouan and Palermo more or less energetically throughout the 9th century. It was inseparable from the ideology of *jihād* which was unmistakably one of the sources of their legitimacy. It also explains why the short-lived Sicilian emir Ibn Qurhub, who opposed the advent of the Fatimids and sided with the Abbasids, attacked Calabria in 912–913.⁴⁹ It has been convincingly demonstrated that even the contemporary Latin witnesses of the events and chroniclers saw these operations as part of a unique plan.⁵⁰ Second, the equally evident autonomy which the mainland settlements and emirates enjoyed. The names of the leaders of Taranto and Bari are known, sources describe them making decisions according to the local context and even trying to forge links with the Abbasids rather than with the Aghlabids at some point.⁵¹ Nonetheless, each time their situation appeared more fragile and the adversaries stronger, the Aghlabids tended to intervene,⁵² and Arabic sources more often than not gave credit of the mainland operations to the Aghlabids.⁵³

2.4 *Beyond Politics and War*

As in all the regions characterized by such intense contacts, military operations and political relations gave birth to and were motivated by a growing mutual knowledge. The sources documenting this dimension are less numerous than for the following century, and this might be one of the reasons why the worst

48 Nef, "Instruments de la légitimation", p. 82.

49 Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 410; Amari, *Biblioteca, versione araba*, vol. 1, p. 297 (year 300 H.).

50 Marazzi, "Ita ut facta videatur", pp. 165–66.

51 Di Branco, "Due notizie concernanti l'Italia meridionale".

52 This is also the position of Marazzi, "Ita ut facta videatur", p. 177.

53 Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 382; Amari, *Biblioteca, versione araba*, vol. 1, p. 281 (year 247 H.).

texts have been produced on this theme, putting forward so-called "Islamic influences" in all fields without providing a scientific basis.⁵⁴ Nonetheless, intense diplomatical relations are evident; economical impact (at least through booty and reduction in slavery) and trade, although little documented, are admitted by historians.⁵⁵ Palermo appears as a capital open to the world.⁵⁶

As far as the Italian mainland is concerned, it has been insisted that the political and military alliances between Naples, Amalfi, Gaeta, and the Arab-Muslims were numerous.⁵⁷ The letter sent by Louis II, also known as the Pious, to Emperor Basil I in 871 denouncing Naples and asking Constantinople to intervene with this ex-byzantine duchy is very clear. Also clear was the negotiation between Amalfi and the Roman pontiff through which the latter tried to buy the resistance of the Amalfitan navy to fend off the Islamic operations in the Tyrrhenian Sea. It has been suggested that the motivation of the unscrupulous and faithless representatives of the semi-autonomous territories which forged these alliances was to make as much money as possible from their key position.⁵⁸ I would rather propose to see these negotiations as a reflection of the important revenues Amalfi, Gaeta and Naples gained from their relations with the Islamic world. In a region where the economical exchanges were in good part established with Islamic territories, they had little choice but to make these alliances.

There are also sources which instead focused on documenting the daily relations between Muslims and Christians within the Italian Byzantine mainland.⁵⁹ Regarding southern Calabria,⁶⁰ it has clearly to be understood that together with Sicily, it comprised a single entity, as revealed by a letter written by the Patriarch Photios to Leo, archbishop of Reggio dated from 880–886.⁶¹ It exposes the religious problems raised by the long Islamic presence and domination of that region and shows the flexibility demonstrated by the church in order to recuperate some lost souls to Christianity. The Calabrian hagiographies which evoke the

54 An idea of this impact can be drawn from Gabrieli/ Scerrato, *Gli Arabi in Italia*, although most of the preserved remains attesting these contacts are of a later period.

55 On this question, see Talbi, *L'émirat aghlabide*, pp. 528–36.

56 Bagnera, "From a Small Town to a Capital", pp. 61–88.

57 Interesting notes on this point are in Di Branco/Wolf, "Terra di conquista?", pp. 152–59.

58 On this very point, see Feniello, *Sotto il segno del Leone*, pp. 107–11.

59 Regarding the necessity to conduct a systematic study of the mentions referring to hostages, captivity, slavery and ransoming in the region, Di Branco/Wolf, "Terra di conquista?", pp. 152–59.

60 For examples relative to Benevento: Di Branco/ Wolf, "Terra di conquista?", p. 112.

61 Martin, "Léon, archevêque de Calabre", pp. 481–491.

presence of the Muslims, although known through texts written after the 9th century, also suggest closer relationships than one might think.⁶²

3 The Fatimid Moment (10th–Mid-11th Century)

3.1 *A Maritime Empire*

Historians have thus far insisted upon a conscious policy on the part of the Aghlabids which contemplated above all the conquest of the entire Central Mediterranean horizon. With the Fatimids, who put an end to the Aghlabid emirate in 909 and whose first territorial construction was ifriqiyan, the change of scale was immediate from an ideological point of view, before becoming also political.⁶³ Carrying a shi'ite isma'ilian conception of the Islamic government,⁶⁴ the Fatimids' objective was to become the sole legitimate Islamic caliphate by destroying that of the Abbasids (as well as that of the Umayyads of al-Andalus, once the latter proclaimed a Sunni caliphate in 929) in their quest to establish themselves as an imperial, universal authority.

This was not the first time that a caliphate opposed an already existing one, even if in theory the caliphate was unique, but it was the first which claimed Isma'ilian ideology and, above all, the first to be born in the Maghreb and the first whose original horizon was the Central Mediterranean and so clearly maritime in character. Moreover, over time this last dimension was to become fundamental as the Fatimids constructed what can be designated as a maritime empire.⁶⁵ In 969 they begun the conquest of Egypt, where they transferred their capital in 973. They went on to conquer Syria-Palestine during the middle of the 970s and became, at a moment when the Abbasids were little reactive, the most efficient protectors of the Islamic world against the Byzantine Reconquest of the mid-10th century (which led them to reconquer northern Syria, and in particular Antioch, Crete, Cyprus, parts of the southern Italian mainland and territories disputed by the Bulgars). Thus, the Fatimids were able to build an empire which controlled Sicily and the surrounding straights, the Mediterranean coasts from Syria to the centre of Maghreb (the limit between the Umayyad and the Fatimid zones of influence eventually settling around Algiers),⁶⁶ and access to the Red Sea. In the meantime, the

62 Re/Rognoni, "Cristiani e musulmani nella Sicilia islamica", pp. 119–28.

63 Hamdani, *Between Revolution and State*.

64 Halm, *The Empire of the Mahdi* and Brett, *The Rise of the Fatimids*.

65 Bramoullé, *Les Fatimides et la mer*.

66 Guichard, "Omeyyades et Fatimides", pp. 55–67.

Umayyads of Cordoba developed a highly efficient maritime policy in the western Mediterranean which also explains why the Fatimids concentrated on the central and, increasingly, the eastern Mediterranean. Obviously, the change of scale compared with the policy of the Aghlabid emirate was complete. Nonetheless, it is probable that the basis set by the Aghlabids was a good point of departure.

The imperial pretensions of the Fatimids, in a highly competitive context, also caused a drastic change in the production and the nature of the Arabic texts and documents which allow the historians to write the dynasty's history in greater detail than when they deal with the Aghlabids. Throughout their existence, each rival caliphate developed a propagandistic war and elaborated an ideology which justified its ambitions. Their efforts to attract learned men and artists to the respective caliphal courts were huge. The result was an explosion of written production.⁶⁷

3.2 *Confrontation in the Central Mediterranean*

Before their transfer in Egypt, the Fatimids laid the foundations for their future power by reinforcing what had previously been Aghlabid territory, in which the Mediterranean, as seen, played a great role. As early as 916 they had already begun building a new maritime capital, Mahdiyya. This fortified peninsula, equipped with an arsenal, offered a powerful base for Fatimid expansion.

The conquest of Ifrīqiya proved to be quite easy, while Sicily and the southern Italian mainland at first tended to take a path that moved them away from Maghreb and thus from the Fatimids. That is why, in a first phase, the Fatimids concentrated part of their military effort on the establishment of a long-lasting and stable authority in Sicily, a project which did not turn out to be an easy task. A first rebellion⁶⁸ (912–916) was directed against the emir sent to the island by the new caliph equipped with the ideology of the Fatimids. It brought to power Ibn Qurhub (or more probably Ibn Qarhab⁶⁹), who became the standard-bearer of Sunnism and of Abbasid legitimacy.⁷⁰ Although the sedition did not last long, the Sicilian political situation remained difficult and characterized by a series of revolts. The advent of the new caliphate obviously perturbed the way the urban elites were structured in Sicily until then. Repression was fierce, and in 935 the construction of a new fortified palatine

67 For the Fatimids, cf. Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire*.

68 The most complete work on this argument is Mandalà, "Una nueva fuente".

69 Cf. Mandalà's hypothesis on this point: "Una nueva fuente".

70 This is the only version transmitted by the oriental chroniclers, while Ibn Ḥayyān, a major Andalusī chronicler, wrote about the contacts between Ibn Qurhub and the Umayyad caliph: Mandalà, "Una nueva fuente".

city called al-Khāliṣa and housing an arsenal, was begun near the exterior of the walls of Palermo, along the coast.⁷¹ Things calmed down when al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Kalbī was sent to be the new emir in 947–948, marking the beginning of the Kalbid autonomous dynasty of Sicily who governed the island until the 1040s – almost until the end of its Islamic history. The general situation of the Fatimid caliphate was so unstable that in Ifrīqiya, between 934 and 947, the Fatimids were seriously threatened by the kharijite revolt led by Abū Yazīd, who was all the more threatening as he was supported by sunni Ifrīqiyans opposed to the Fatimids.⁷²

At first, the political instability in Ifrīqiya did not slow the Fatimid activity against Byzantium down. Once Ibn Qurhub was defeated, the dynasty attacked the southern Italian mainland with regularity: first, only the Southern part of Calabria (Reggio is taken in 918; Hagia Agathè attacked in 921–922, Bruzzano in 923–924 and 929–930), followed by Puglia and Campania (Oria in 925, Taranto towards the end of 926, Otranto in 927–928; Salerno and Naples in 928–929).⁷³ The situation in Calabria was particularly difficult: disappointed by Byzantine helplessness and obliged to pay a heavy tribute to the emirate of Sicily, the population was quite divided and the Latins tended to look towards the Lombards in order to be defended, while a series of revolts shook the region. This explains why the Fatimids intervened little in Calabria, and it seems they only did so in order to address these inner divisions and make sure the tribute the population owed them was paid.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, after the 880s, although the Byzantine territories in the region were never fully exempt from attacks launched by the Sicilian Kalbids, and less frequently by the emirate of Ifrīqiya as well as, from the 990s on, by groups installed on the mainland, they were never in as chaotic a situation as in the previous period.

As the instability also gained ground in Sicily from 936–937, Byzantium took the opportunity to pander to these divisions. Vivien Prigent has also shown that from 938 and for the next few years the empire would counterattack in Sicily and would spend the following decades reconquering territories, a situation that was to favour Nikephoros Phokas II's reconquest in the southern part of the mainland later in the 960s.⁷⁵ Two other consequences of this counterattack are worth noting: the creation of the theme of Calabria which would finally replace Sicily's and which suggests a significant Byzantine territorial

71 On the role of Sicily in the maritime policy of the Fatimids and on the Palermitan arsenal, see Bramoullé, "La Sicile dans la Méditerranée fatimide", pp. 25–36.

72 Lastly, see Chapoutot-Remadi, "Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī", in *EI*, *sub voce*.

73 Noyé, "La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands", p. 98.

74 Noyé, "La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins, et Normands", pp. 101–102.

75 Prigent, "La politique sicilienne de Romain", pp. 63–84.

recovery during the 940s.⁷⁶ The second was a reduction in Fatimid attacks against southern Byzantine Italy. After 930, if we except a general operation against Genoa, Sardinia and Corsica in 934–935, the next intervention we hear of was launched in the 950s – that is, once the Sicilian situation had been restored – and it was in response to a large Byzantine intervention. Reggio was taken, a mosque was built in the city and a truce including a heavy tribute was established once again. Let us note that the Fatimid expedition against al-Andalus and in particular the centre of the naval Umayyad organization since ‘Abd al-Rahman III’s reign, Almeria, was headed by the emir of Sicily.⁷⁷ Once again, the bigger frame was never forgotten by the dynasty, whereas, in the Italian peninsula, southern Calabria seems to have absorbed most of their efforts, which can be explained by the strategic necessity of maintaining a protective glacis around the Strait of Messina.

Meanwhile, the Kalbids, who claimed Arabic descent, were better accepted than the first emirs and their Berber Kutama supporters had ever been. They remained in power for almost a century in Sicily. The new emir and the new caliph quickly launched operations in order to avoid allowing the Byzantine reconquest to have the same efficiency it demonstrated in the east, where Crete (961), Cyprus (963), Antioch (969) were recuperated by the *Rūm*. The situation in the region from the 960s onwards can be summed up, oversimplifying, as follows: the Fatimids gained complete control over Sicily, a control marked by the definitive conquest of Taormina (962), Rametta (965) and Messina (976), but they progressively lost any stable grip on Calabria after the 950s, where they still managed to maintain a presence and extract a levy.

The Byzantines appear to have been quite efficient in Calabria, less because of their military interventions than their policy of constructions and fortification⁷⁸ of the region.⁷⁹ After 977 and two years of expeditions led by the emir of Sicily against Calabria, the Muslims, whose identity is not always clear but who seem to have been rather local groups (which does not mean they were “informal” or “pirate” groups), were only able to attack Lucania and southern Puglia. Byzantium gave ground only to the Lombards in the Vallo del Crati. As for the Kalbids, the Sicilian emir died fighting against, and defeating, Otto II in 982 in Calabria, and the expedition of 986 was the last against Byzantine Calabria, putting an end to any serious Fatimid pretentions in the region. As

⁷⁶ Cf. Prigent in this volume.

⁷⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 423–424; Amari, *Biblioteca, versione araba*, vol. 1, p. 305 (year 344 H.).

⁷⁸ Noyé, “La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands”, pp. 108–109. Also see Noyé, “Les façades maritimes”, pp. 467–512; and Martin/Noyé, “Guerre, fortification et habitat”, pp. 225–236.

⁷⁹ This followed the institutional evolutions, for which, see Prigent in this very volume.

far as the land south of Calabria and Capitanata were concerned, Byzantium even gained ground against the Muslims installed in the region after 1025 and under the impulsion of the new Macedonian dynasty.⁸⁰ Constantinople also launched a series of attacks in Sicily under the command of Maniakès in 1037–1038. The Byzantine difficulties, which over time were to increase, had more to do with the Latin political entities in the region rather than the Arab-Muslims, even if the latter were the authors of a series of attacks in the second half of the 1020s and the early 1030s.

This evolution should also be seen as a consequence of the dynasty's transfer towards Egypt and of the subsequent delegation of Ifrīqiya's government from 969 onward to the local dynasty of the Zirids, on the model of what had been done in Sicily with the Kalbids two decades earlier. The control of Sicily remained an absolute necessity for its Mediterranean strategy, but it must be understood within a wider picture, as the Fatimid centre of gravity had clearly moved eastward, or rather had consolidated its choice of establishing itself in the central Islamic lands, which became the core of its power. The energy spent on military activities beyond the Tyrrhenian Sea and Sicily in the most western part of the Mediterranean would henceforth be limited. This decrease was not compensated by a soaring of the Zirid military activity in the region, for the Ifrīqiyan dynasty had some other preoccupations in the Maghreb where the Umayyads of al-Andalus were not ready to give them a free hand. Nonetheless, what is noticeable is that this Fatimid military evolution goes hand in hand with a valorisation of the commercial policy of the dynasty in the Central Mediterranean.

3.3 *The Central Mediterranean: A Sphere of Prosperity and Intense Contacts*

If, for the most part one can only suspect that exchanges linked the Islamic political entities and the Byzantines in the central Mediterranean as early as the 9th century, due to the scarcity of evidence indicating their existence, it is not true for the following century and a half. It cannot be considered that a change of dynasty, even with a change of scale, primarily ideological until 969, was enough to create the conditions for this trade. Some of it was already preexistent. However, the installation of the dynasty in Egypt did modify the frame of the exchanges.

80 The Byzantine intervention against Calabria and Sicily in the 1025–1026 was serious enough to provoke the preparation by the Zirids of an important military operation in Ifrīqiya, but it ended up in a shipwreck: Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, in Amari, *Biblioteca, versione italiana*, vol. 1, p. 440; Amari, *Biblioteca, versione araba*, vol. 1, pp. 314–315 (year 416 H.).

Two new types of sources document the history of the 10th century: the Islamic treaties of geography and the business letters of the Cairo Gheniza. The first reflect a growing knowledge of the central Mediterranean regions which were not under an Islamic government. The second document an intensity of trade linked to a general amelioration of the situation (demographic, economical) around the Mediterranean, but also to a drastic change in the political situation, with each of the poles of legitimacy which competed in the Mediterranean (Byzantine, Umayyads of Andalus, Fatimids, and to a lesser extent the Abbasids and western Mediterranean Latin kingdoms) trying to attract commercial flows. While merchants, in particular those from the Central Mediterranean, played upon the rivalries existing between these poles in order to reinforce their own positions.

For example, Ibn Ḥawqal, the famous Iraqi geographer who visited Sicily in 973, dedicated a section of his *Book of the Description of the Earth* to the Mediterranean Sea, in which he mentions and describes places of interest to us here.⁸¹ He locates on the map of the Mediterranean⁸² a so-called “Land of Calabria”, in which are situated: Bisignano ? (Mas.niyān), Cosenza, Amantea, Reggio, Pentadattilo, Bova, Petra Kaukas (Qastarqūqa), Gerace, Stilo, Santa Severina, Crotona, Rossano and Cassano.⁸³ Although all these places are described by the author as being along the coastline, they reveal a good knowledge of the Byzantine strongholds the Arab-Muslims had to deal with in Calabria, part of which was the result of the reorganization of the defence actuated throughout the 10th century. The Adriatic side is quite less precise: the Gulf of Venice is represented with, at its two extremities, Brindisi and Otranto. As for the text, it mentions Shalūrī, probably Salerno, describes Amalfi, evoked in parallel with Naples, to which it is superior, and Gaeta;⁸⁴ these cities are also represented on the map of the Maghreb, just as the Calabrian localities are.⁸⁵ Here, the choice of the localities is more political and economic rather than strategic, and their description confirms it. As for the links between Mahdiyya and Palermo, and between Ifrīqiya and Sicily in general, they are attested by a list of anchorages dated from around 1050 and composed in a Fatimid context.⁸⁶ Nonetheless, in this latter anonymous text, known as the “Book of Curiosities,” as well as in

81 The text's well-known description of Sicily is not taken into consideration here.

82 Ducène, “L'Europe dans la cartographie”, pp. 251–268; and Mandalà, “La Longobardia, i Longobardi e Pavia”, pp. 336–37.

83 Ibn Ḥawqal, *Configuration de la Terre*, p. 189 = *Kitāb Šūrat*, p. 194.

84 Ibn Ḥawqal, *Configuration de la Terre*, p. 197 = *Kitāb Šūrat*, p. 202–03.

85 Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Šūrat*, p. 64.

86 See Rapoport/Savage-Smith, *An Eleventh-Century Egyptian Guide* (English, p. 469; Arabic, pp. 130–131).

the remarkable Mediterranean map it contains, the southern Italian mainland is absent,⁸⁷ which might reflect the reorientation of the Fatimid interests (in contrast, the Byzantine coasts are evoked in much more detail).⁸⁸

Ibn Ḥawqal's textual description has to do with the economical context evoked above and with the realities documented by the Gheniza corpus. The latter illustrates the integration of Sicily within a triangular trade between Egypt, Ifrīqiya and Sicily, and recurrently Amalfi; a triangle which was linked with further trade markets. This point will not be developed here since it has been treated quite thoroughly recently,⁸⁹ but it is clear that this economic integration had noticeable effects in some sectors: for example, it boosted the textile production in southern Italy (linen and silk), among others. It has been emphasized that the monetary evolution of the southern Italian mainland, and particularly of the above-cited cities went hand in hand with this economical integration. In Amalfi, from 935 onward, the quarter of dīnār (*rubāṭī*), a coinage invented in Sicily and inspired by the Byzantine coins,⁹⁰ appeared side by side with the Byzantine coinage in documents; after 987, only the *rubāṭī* was mentioned. This "monetary revolution" tells more than many words.⁹¹ This situation would continue until the middle of the 11th century.

3.4 *The Second Half of the 11th Century: Onto a New World?*

To acknowledge that the 11th century witnessed profound changes in the Mediterranean is not to say that it was marked by a crisis of the Islamic world which went hand in hand with the expansion of the Latin world; a double evolution doomed only to reinforce itself, as has sometimes been written quite teleologically. Nonetheless, this century witnessed a multi-fold change which affected all parts of the Mediterranean, giving birth to a new situation, although the effects of it appeared clearly only during the following century.

As far as the central Mediterranean is concerned, the last third of the 11th century was the moment when Byzantium and the Islamic political powers definitively lost ground in the region. What is quite mind-shattering is the

87 Rapoport/Savage-Smith, *An Eleventh-Century Egyptian Guide* (English, p. 447ff.; Arabic, p. 152ff).

88 Unless, as David Bramoullé proposes convincingly, we read differently some of the toponyms on the map: Bramoullé, D., "Représenter et décrire".

89 Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*; Goldberg, *Trade and Institutions*; and more specifically for Sicily see Nef, "La Sicile dans la documentation de la Geniza", pp. 273–291. Regarding Amalfi, Cahen, "Le commerce d'Amalfi", pp. 291–301. For southern Italy, Feniello, *Sotto il segno del Leone*, pp. 147–82.

90 Bates, "The Introduction of the Quarter-Dinar", pp. 115–128; De Luca, "Un contributo al dibattito", pp. 113–130; and Prigent, "Monnaie et circulation monétaire", pp. 455–482.

91 Feniello, *Sotto il segno del Leone*, pp. 124–25.

almost contemporaneous fall of Palermo (1072) and Bari (1071). Nonetheless, neither of the two enemies prevailed upon the other in the end, but a third force imposed itself, identified quite simplistically as the 'Normans'.

The tensions between Muslim petty-kings in Sicily, where the Kalbid emirate imploded in the 1040s, did facilitate the conquest of the island, but the latter nonetheless lasted three decades, proof that this was not easy. The simultaneity of these events with the first great Turkish victory against Byzantium, Mantzikert in 1071 (although this battle was never as important as myth makes it), certainly changed the priorities of Constantinople. The empire did not take advantage of the difficulties of the Arab-Muslims in the central Mediterranean.

At the same moment, Ifrīqiya was in a difficult situation due to its exiting from the Fatimid sphere, a political rupture which motivated the Egyptian dynasty to encourage the migration of Arab tribes towards the "faithless" Zirid territories. The attack of Mahdiyya in 1087 by a coalition of Genovese, Pisans and Amalfitans was a sign that the fear that had previously surrounded this city was decreasing (the *Carmen Pisanorum* which sings this victory reflects it quite well). The second half of the 11th century was also a very difficult time for Egypt, which was famine-ridden and struck by an intense political instability. Thus, we are able to understand why the interventions of the Islamic allies of Sicily never threatened the Norman advance.

Of course, this does not mean that all the populations who until the 1070s had lived in Islamic or Byzantine Italy disappeared at once, nor that their interactions in a new southern Italian political context ceased to exist or even that there were no links between the new rulers and Byzantium, the Zirids and the Fatimids. However, this is another story ...

4 Conclusion

Today, no one doubts that the interactions between the Byzantine Central Mediterranean and the Islamic World had important and lasting effects. As we saw, the constant military confrontation, the effects it had on the societies exposed to it and on the evolution of the human settlements in the region are only a part of these consequences. The economic exchanges, with the modification of material culture that accompanied it, is yet another.⁹² The growing

92 As the recent renewal of ceramic studies concerning the Islamic period is very important from that point of view: cf. Sacco, "Le ceramiche invetriate"; id., "Produzione e circolazione".

knowledge of the region by Arabic geographers, even imperfect, the reciprocal familiarity which ensued from vicinity, the cultural exchanges – which we did not dwell on as, just as the evolutions of the material culture, still need to be investigated – were also part of this period of central Mediterranean's history.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Amari, M., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione araba*, Leipzig 1857 (reprinted with a revision by U. Rizzitano, Palermo 1988).
- Amari, M., *Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione italiana*, 2 vols., Turin 1880–1881 (reprint, Catania 1982).
- Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, in Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione araba*, vol. 1, pp. 263–354.
- Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, in Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione italiana*, vol. 1, pp. 353–507.
- Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. J.H. Kramers, Beirut 1964.
- Ibn Ḥawqal, *Configuration de la terre (Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ)*, translated by J.H. Kramers/ G. Wiet, Paris 1964.
- Rapoport, Y./ Savage-Smith, E., *An Eleventh-Century Egyptian Guide to the Universe* (Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science. Texts and Studies, 87), Leiden 2013.

Secondary Literature

- Aillet, C., “Tāhart et les origines de l'imamat rustumide. Matrice orientale et ancrage local”, *Annales islamologiques* 45 (2011), 47–78.
- Amari, M., *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, Florence 1854 (reprinted and revised edition with notes by C.A. Nallino, Catania 1933–1939; third edition Catania 1991).
- Arcifa, L./Bagnera, A./ Nef, A., “Archeologia della Sicilia islamica: nuove proposte di riflessione”, in Ph. Sénac (ed.), *Histoire et archéologie de l'Occident musulman (VII^e–XV^e siècle): al-Andalus, Maghreb, Sicile*, Toulouse 2012, pp. 241–274.
- Bagnera, A., “From a Small Town to a Capital: The Urban Evolution of Islamic Palermo (9th–mid-11th Century)”, in A. Nef (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Palermo*, Leiden 2013, pp. 61–88.
- Bates, M., “The Introduction of the Quarter-Dinar by the Aghlabids in 264 H. (A.D. 878) and its Derivation from the Byzantine Tremissis”, *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 103 (2002), 115–128.
- Bonner, M., *Jihad in Islamic History: Doctrines and Practice*, Princeton 2008.
- Bramoullé, D., “Représenter et décrire l'espace maritime dans le califat fatimide. L'exemple des cartes de la Méditerranée et de l'océan Indien dans le *Kitāb Gharāʾib al-funūn*”, in E. Vagnon/S. Victor/ T. Courcell (eds.), *À l'échelle du monde. La carte*,

- objet culturel, social et politique, du Moyen Âge à nos jours, Géomatique. Revue du Comité français de cartographie* 234 (dic. 2017), 55–68.
- Bramoullé, D., *Les Fatimides et la mer* (909–1171), Leiden 2020.
- Bramoullé, D., “La Sicile dans la Méditerranée fatimide (Xe–XIe siècle)”, in Nef/ Ardizzone (eds.), *Les dynamiques de l'Islamisation*, pp. 25–36.
- Bresc, H., “Du ribât au presidio, les enjeux et les contrôles des détroits siciliens”, in R. Villari (ed.), *Controllo degli Stretti e insediamenti militari nel Mediterraneo*, Roma 2002, pp. 97–127.
- Brett, M., *The Rise of the Fatimids: The World of the Mediterranean and the Middle East in the Fourth Century of the Hijra, Tenth Century CE*, Leiden 2001.
- Brincat, J.M., *Malta 870–1054: al-Ḥimyarī's Account and its Linguistic Implications*, Valletta 1995.
- Cahen, C., “Le commerce d'Amalfi dans le Proche-Orient musulman avant et après la Croisade”, *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles lettres* 2 (1977), 291–301.
- Cahen, C., “Djizya”, in *EI*, *sub voce*.
- Chapoutot-Remadi, M., “Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī”, in *EI*, *sub voce*.
- Christides, V., *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 824): A Turning Point in the Struggle Between Byzantium and Islam*, Athens 1984.
- Christides, V., “The Raids of the Moslems of Crete in the Aegean Sea: Piracy and Conquest”, *Byzantion* 51 (1981), 76–111.
- Crone, P., “Muhallabids”, in *EI*, *sub voce*.
- De Luca, M.A., “Un contributo al dibattito sull'introduzione del quarto di dīnār”, in A. Nef/ V. Prigent (eds.), *La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam*, Paris 2010, pp. 113–130.
- Di Branco, M., “Due notizie concernenti l'Italia meridionale dal *Kitāb al-'Uyūn wa l-ḥadā'iq fī akhbār al-ḥaqā'iq* (*Libro delle fonti e dei giardini riguardo la storia dei fatti veridici*)”, *Archivio per la Calabria e la Lucania* 77 (2011), 5–13.
- Di Branco, M./Wolf, K., “Terra di conquista? I musulmani in Italia meridionale nell'epoca aghlabita (184/800–269/909)”, in M. Di Branco/ K. Wolf (eds.), *'Guerra santa' e conquiste islamiche nel Mediterraneo (VII–XI secolo)*, Rome 2014, pp. 125–165.
- Ducène, J.-C., “L'Europe dans la cartographie arabe médiévale”, *Belgeo* 3–4 (2008), 251–268.
- Efthymiadis, S., “Chrétien et Sarrasins en Italie méridionale et en Asie Mineure (IXe–XIe): essai d'étude comparée”, in A. Jacob/ J.-M. Martin/ Gh. Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine: acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 363) Rome 2006, pp. 589–618.
- Feniello, A., *Sotto il segno del Leone: storia dell'Italia musulmana*, Rome 2011.
- Fois, P., “Peut-on dégager une stratégie militaire islamique propre aux îles de la Méditerranée aux VIIe–VIIIe siècles?” in Nef/ Ardizzone (eds.), *Les dynamiques de l'Islamisation*, pp. 15–24.

- Fois, P., *La Sardaigne et l'Islam (VII^e–XI^e siècles)*, PhD diss., Université Paris I-Panthéon Sorbonne 2012.
- Gabrieli, F./Scerrato, U., *Gli Arabi in Italia*, Milan 1979.
- García-Arenal, M./Manzano Moreno, E., "Légitimité et villes idrissides", in P. Cressier/M. García-Arenal (eds.), *Genèse de la ville islamique en al-Andalus et au Maghreb occidental*, Madrid 1998, pp. 275–284.
- Goitein, S.D., *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 5 vols, Berkeley 1967–1988.
- Goldberg, J.L., *Trade and Institutions in the Medieval Mediterranean. The Geniza Merchants and their Business World*, Cambridge 2012.
- Guichard, P., "Umayyades et Fatimides au Maghreb. Problématique d'un conflit politico-idéologique (vers 929–vers 960)", in M. Barrucand (ed.), *L'Égypte fatimide. Son art et son histoire*, Paris 1999, pp. 55–67.
- Halm, H., *The Empire of the Mahdi: The Rise of the Fatimids*, Leiden 1996.
- Hamdani, S.A., *Between Revolution and State: The Path to Fatimid Statehood*, London 2006.
- Herbers, K./Wolf, K. (eds.), *Southern Italy as Contact Area and Border Region during the Early Middle Ages. Religious-Cultural Heterogeneity and Competing Powers in Local, Transregional and Universal Dimensions*, Bonn 2018.
- Jankowiak, M., "The first Arab siege of Constantinople", in C. Zuckerman (ed.), *Constructing the Seventh century, Travaux et Mémoires*, 17 (2013), 237–319.
- Khadduri, M., "Hudna", in *EI*, *sub voce*.
- Khadduri, M., "Şulḥ.", in *EI*, *sub voce*.
- Mandalà, G., "La Longobardia, i Longobardi e Pavia", *Aevum* 88/2 (2014), 331–86.
- Mandalà, G., "Una nueva fuente para la historia de la Sicilia islamica: un pasaje de *al-Muqtabis* de Ibn Ḥayyān sobre la revuelta de Aḥmad Ibn Qarhab (300-304-913-916)", *al-Qanṭara* 33/2 (2012), 343–74.
- Marazzi, F., "Ita ut facta videatur Neapolis Panormus vel Africa. Geopolitica della presenza islamica nei domini di Napoli, Gaeta, Salerno e Benevento nel IX secolo", *Schede medievali* 45 (2007), 159–202.
- Martin, J.-M., "Léon, archevêque de Calabre, l'Église de Reggio et la lettre de Photius (Grumel-Darrouzès n. 562)", in *Eupsychia. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler* (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 16), Paris 1998, pp. 481–491.
- Martin, J.-M./Noyé, Gh., "Guerre, fortification et habitat en Italie méridionale du V^e au X^e siècle", in A. Bazzana (ed.), *Castrum 3. Guerre, fortification et habitat dans le monde méditerranéen au Moyen Âge* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 105/3), Rome 1988, pp. 225–236.
- Martin, J.-M./Noyé, Gh., "Les façades maritimes de l'Italie du Sud. Défense et mise en valeur (IV^e–XIII^e siècle)", in id. (ed.), *Castrum 7. Zones côtières littorales dans le monde méditerranéen au Moyen Âge: défense, peuplement, mise en valeur* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 105/3), Rome 2001, pp. 467–512.

- Metcalf, A., *The Muslims of Medieval Italy*, Edinburgh 2009.
- Musca, G., *L'emirato di Bari 847–871*, Bari 1978.
- Nef, A., "Comment les Aghlabides ont décidé de conquérir la Sicile ...", *Annales islamologiques* 45 (2011), 191–212.
- Nef, A., "Instruments de la légitimation politique et légitimité religieuse dans l'Ifrīqiya de la fin du IX^e siècle", in A. Nef/ É. Voguet (eds.), *La légitimation du pouvoir au Maghreb médiéval*, Madrid 2012, pp. 75–91.
- Nef, A., "La Sicile dans la documentation de la Geniza cairote (fin X^e–XIII^e siècle): les réseaux attestés et leur nature", in D. Coulon/ Ch. Picard/ D. Valérian (eds.), *Espaces et réseaux en Méditerranée (VI^e–XVI^e siècle)*, vol. 1. *La configuration des réseaux*, Paris 2007, pp. 273–291.
- Nef, A., "Le statut des *dhimmī*-s dans la Sicile aghlabide (827–910)", in M. Fierro/ J. Tolan (eds.), *The Legal Status of dhimmī-s in the Islamic West (Second/Eighth-Ninth/Fifteenth Centuries)*, Turnhout 2013, pp. 112–128.
- Nef, A., "Michele Amari ou l'histoire inventée de la Sicile islamique: réflexions sur la *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*", in B. Grévin (ed.), *Maghreb-Italie, des passeurs médiévaux à l'orientalisme moderne (XIII^e–milieu XIX^e siècle)* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 439), Rome 2010, pp. 285–306.
- Nef, A., "Reinterpreting the Aghlabids' Sicilian Policy (827–910)", in G.D. Anderson/ C. Fenwick/ M. Rosser-Owen (eds.), *The Aghlabids and Their Neighbours. Art and Material Culture in 9th-Century North Africa*, Leiden 2017, pp. 76–87.
- Nef, A., "The Medieval Islamic Historiography of Sicily: marginal historiography or Imperial historiography?", in S. Garnier/ J. Zenka (eds.), *The Forms of History in the Medieval Maghrib*, Leiden, in press.
- Nef, A./Ardizzzone, F. (eds.), *Les dynamiques de l'Islamisation en Méditerranée centrale et en Sicile: nouvelles propositions et découvertes récentes*, Bari 2014.
- Nef, A./Prigent, V., "Per una nuova storia dell'alto medioevo siciliano", *Storica* 12 (2006), 9–64.
- Nef, A./ Prigent, V., "Guerroyer pour la Sicile (827–902)" in M. Congiu/ S. Modeo/ L. Santagati (eds.), *La Sicilia del IX secolo tra Bizantini e Musulmani*, Caltanissetta 2013, pp. 13–39.
- Noyé, Gh., "La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands", in E. Cuozzo/ J.-M. Martin (eds.), *Cavalieri alla conquista del Sud. Studi sull'Italia normanna in memoria di Léon-Robert Ménager*, Bari 1998, pp. 90–116.
- Picard, Ch., *Sea of the Caliphs. The Mediterranean in the Medieval Islamic World*, Cambridge (Mass.) 2018.
- Prigent, V., "La carrière du tourmarque Euphémios, basileus des Romains", in A. Jacob/ J.-M. Martin/ Gh. Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine: acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 363) Rome 2006, pp. 279–317.

- Prigent, V., "La politique sicilienne de Romain Lécapène", in D. Barthélemy/ J.-C. Cheynet (eds.), *Guerre et Société au Moyen Âge, Byzance-Occident (VIII^e–XIII^e siècle)*, Paris 2010, pp. 63–84.
- Prigent, V., "La Sicile de Constant II: l'apport des sources sigillographiques", in A. Nef/ V. Prigent (eds.), *La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam*, Paris 2010, pp. 157–188.
- Prigent, V., "Monnaie et circulation monétaire en Sicile du début du VIII^e siècle à l'avènement de la domination musulmane", in J.-M. Martin/ A. Peters-Custot/ V. Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*. vol. 2. *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 461), Rome 2012, pp. 455–482.
- Re, M./Rognoni, C., "Cristiani e musulmani nella Sicilia islamica. La testimonianza delle fonti letterarie italogreche", in Nef/ Ardizzzone (eds.), *Les dynamiques de l'Islamisation*, pp. 119–28.
- Sacco, V., "Le ceramiche invetrate di età islamica a Palermo: nuovi dati dalle sequenze del quartiere della Kalsa", *Archeologia medievale* 44 (2017), 337–366.
- Sacco, V., "Produzione e circolazione delle anfore palermitane tra la fine del IX e il XII secolo", *Archeologia medievale* 45 (2018), 175–191.
- Talbi, M., *L'émirat aghlabide (184–296/800–909)*. *Histoire politique*, Paris 1966.
- Walker, P.E., *Exploring an Islamic Empire: Fatimid History and its Sources*, London 2002.
- Wolf, K., "Auf dem Pfad Allahs. Jihād und muslimische Migrationen auf dem süd-italienischen Festland (9.–11. Jahrhundert)", in M. Borgolte/ M.M. Tischler (eds.), *Transkulturelle Verflechtungen im mittelalterlichen Jahrtausend. Europa, Ostasien, Afrika*, Darmstadt 2012, pp. 120–166.

Greek Communities in Post-Byzantine Italy

Annick Peters-Custot

1 Introduction

Southern Italy is one of the key regions for studying and understanding the phenomenon of cultural interactions in the medieval Mediterranean area, since it includes the three monotheisms and the two main spheres of Christianity – Roman and Oriental – in a restricted zone. It is no wonder that the existence of Greek-speaking communities, living under the Byzantine law and practicing oriental liturgy, has been a central point in the debates about acculturation and “convivencia.”¹ However, this small, medieval and very complex world is not yet entirely devoid of *clichés* that, in theory, should explain, but actually distort the reality in relation to the stereotypes developed around the relationships between the western world, the Byzantine Empire and the Islamic states.

Thus, the recounting of the medieval Italo-Greek story after the Byzantine domination is a complex work for many reasons. First of all, because the Italian regions included in the Eastern Roman Empire left it at different periods: the regions coming from the Italian Exarchate (Ravenna, Venice, Rome) gradually left the empire during the early Middle Ages, and were permanently free from its dominion by the 8th century.² Sicily left the Byzantine Empire at the end of the long Islamic conquest that lasted throughout the 9th and 10th centuries.³ In the southern zones of medieval Italy, the frontiers of the Byzantine provinces (including the Latin-speaking Lombard regions) moved continually until the Norman conquest,⁴ which lasted several decades until the fall of Bari in 1071.⁵ It is necessary to first define what must be understood as the “Greek populations of post-Byzantine Italy”, and in which regions these populations were relevant.

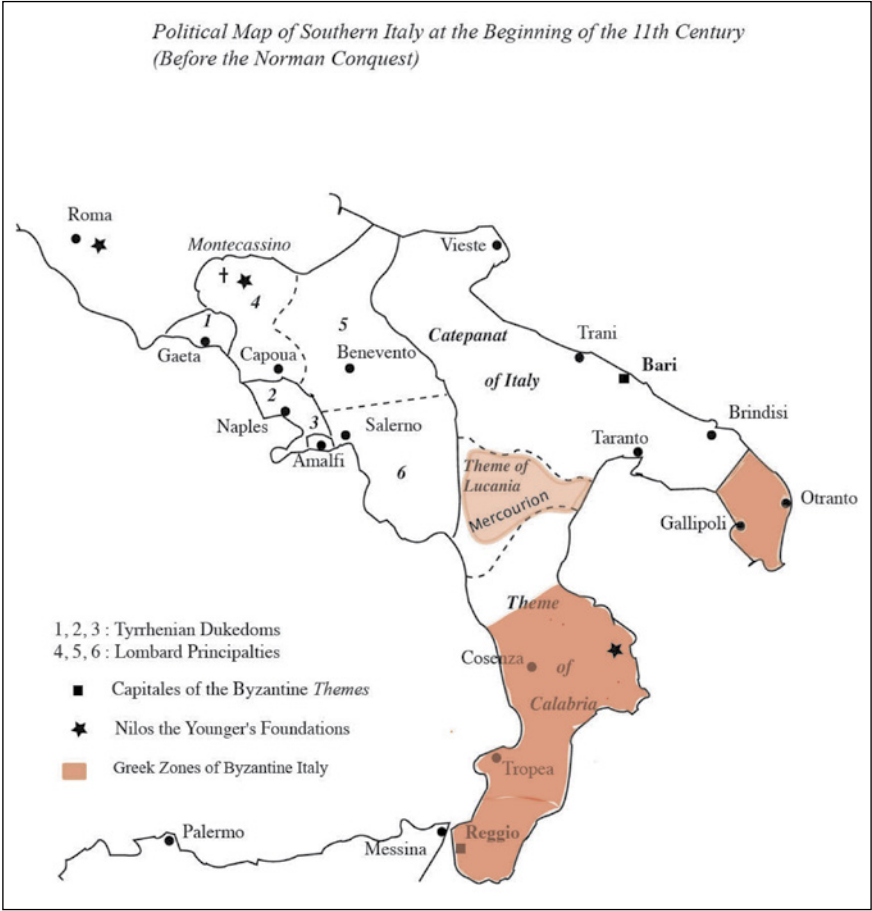
1 The notion of “convivencia” itself has undergone, over the past fifteen years, critical scrutiny and constant reappraisal, in particular in David Nirenberg’s studies, which brought mistrust to this concept and to the idea of religious tolerance applied to medieval societies.

2 Martin et al. (ds.), *L’héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, 4 vols.

3 Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner la Sicile islamique*.

4 Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*; Gay, *L’Italie méridionale*.

5 Martin, *Italiens normandes*; Gay, *L’Italie méridionale*.



MAP 7.1 Political map of southern Italy at the beginning of the 11th century
© PETERS CUSTOT

2 Greek Populations, Greek Communities

The Greek presence in medieval Italy spread far beyond the Byzantine Empire's frontiers: the presence of Greek-speaking monks is attested in Rome throughout the early Middle Ages. On the whole, from 980 onwards, numerous testimonies attest a Greek presence in Naples and the whole of Campania,⁶ in Rome

6 Martin, "Hellénisme politique", pp. 59–77; Granier, "Les moines 'grecs'", pp. 197–218.

and southern Latium,⁷ in Salerno and Cilento,⁸ and in the southern part of Apulia (Salento).⁹ Both hagiographical texts and chronicles mention that, during the same period, monastic communities spread throughout these regions,¹⁰ whilst Greek-written subscriptions in the notarial deeds reflect the presence of lay populations.¹¹ The same phenomenon occurred in the Latin regions of Byzantine Apulia. In southern Basilicata,¹² the immigration of Greek-speaking populations to Taranto¹³ benefitted *a posteriori* from Byzantine consolidation measures in the ecclesiastical, administrative, and juridical fields. In spite of the internal solidity of these communities, the different manifestations of their Greek and Byzantine culture gradually disappeared in the documentation during the 12th century. Thus, with the exception of the monastery of S. Maria di Grottaferrata founded by Neilos the Younger near Rome and for a long time a strong focus for the medieval Hellenism in southern Italy,¹⁴ the Greek populations of the medieval Peninsula – not including Sicily – are to be found in two main regions: southern and central Calabria, the Salento (the southern part of Apulian peninsula), as well as, in a role of lesser importance, the region centred around the Greek monastery of S. Elia di Carbone in southern Basilicata.¹⁵

With the Norman conquest over, the political might of the Norman monarchy and that of their successors (Hohenstaufen and Anjou) during the 12th and 13th centuries contributed to concealing, for a long time, the real diversity of the populations included in this state behind an outward uniformity nowadays considered as incomplete, if not absent.¹⁶ Moreover, the diversity of the people, languages, juridical manners, and liturgical customs was in itself

7 Von Falkenhausen, "Il monachesimo greco", pp. 305–314; id., "Greek monasticism", pp. 78–95.

8 Peters-Custot, "L'identité d'une communauté minoritaire", pp. 83–97. A new interpretation of this migration process is to be found in Peters-Custot, "Gli Italo-Greci", pp. 229–240.

9 Martin, "Une origine calabraise", pp. 51–63.

10 Peters-Custot, "Le monachisme byzantin", pp. 359–396.

11 It is important to distinguish the Napolitan pseudo-hellenism (when the local notables prefer the Greek letters to be signed in the Latin language, as a sign of social predominance) from the real Greek subscriptions, which attest a Greek presence: see Martin, "Hellénisme politique".

12 Peters-Custot, "Les communautés grecques", pp. 559–587.

13 Documentation concerning early medieval Taranto is written only in Greek, which explains why it has been thought that the city was for the most part Greek-speaking: see von Falkenhausen, "Taranto in epoca bizantina", pp. 133–166; and, *contra*, Martin, *La Pouille*, p. 512.

14 Parenti, *Il monastero di Grottaferrata*; Burgarella (ed.), *San Nilo di Rossano*.

15 Robinson, *History and Cartulary* and Peters-Custot, "Le monastère de Carbone", pp. 1045–1066. See also Di Lorenzo/Martin/Peters-Custot, "Le monastère de S. Elia di Carbone".

16 Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner la Sicile*.

continually modified by the natural blending of these populations. Thus, the difficulty in analysing the story of Greek communities comes from historiographical prejudices as well as from continual movements of cultural practices: in this context, speaking of “cultural identity” seems inopportune.

Only an approach of the documentation as a whole will allow the handling of such a complex topic regarding the economic, social, political, and religious story. First of all, the documentation coming from these populations is essential: literary texts produced or copied *in situ*, manuscripts,¹⁷ hagiographical narratives,¹⁸ as well as inscriptions,¹⁹ *typika* (monastic foundation documents),²⁰ and above all, notarial deeds.²¹ This production of Italo-Greek documentation emerged mainly in the 10th century and lasted until the 13th century. The Latin documentation, which came from Norman or Swabian Italy (deeds issued by counts, dukes, kings,²² bishops, administrative

- 17 Jacob, “Fragments liturgiques byzantins”, pp. 345–376; id., “Les euchologes du fonds Barberini”, pp. 131–22; id., “L’euchologe de S. Maria du Patir”, pp. 75–118; Lucà, “I Normanni e la ‘Rinascita’”, pp. 7–91; id., “Il libro bizantino e postbizantino”, pp. 25–76.
- 18 For the post-Byzantine period, the most important Italo-Greek *vitae* are those of Bartolomeo of Simeri, San Giovanni Teriste, and Luca of Isola Capo Rizzuto: Zaccagni, “Il Bios di san Bartolomeo”, *Rivista di Storia Bizantina e Neoellenica*, n.s., 33 (1997), 193–274; S. Borsari, “La vita di San Giovanni Terista”, *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 22 (1953), 136–151; *Vita di S. Luca, vescovo di Isola Capo Rizzuto*, ed. G. Schirò (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Greci and Neoellenici, Testi e monumenti, Testi 2), Palermo 1954.
- 19 A. Guillou, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques médiévales d’Italie* (Collection de l’École française de Rome, 222), Rome 1996; A. Jacob, “Une fondation d’hôpital à Andrano en Terre d’Otrante (inscription byzantine du musée provincial de Lecce)”, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 94–2 (1982), 703–710; id., “Apigiano, 828/829. La più antica iscrizione datata di Terra d’Otranto?”, *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 46 (2009), 127–139.
- 20 *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, vol. 2, pp. 621–636 (P. Karlin-Hayter/ T. Miller, “Testaments of Gregory for the Monastery of St. Philip of Fragala in Sicily”); vol. 2, pp. 637–648 (T. Miller, “Luke of Messina: Typikon of Luke for the Monastery of Christ the Savior (San Salvatore)”).
- 21 Mainly: Trinchera, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum; Saint-Jean-Théristès, (1054–1264)*, ed. C. Giannelli/ A. Guillou, S.G. Mercati, in *CAG*, vol. 5, Vatican City 1980; *Les actes privés grecs de l’Archivio Ducal de Medinaceli (Tolède)*, ed. C. Rognoni, 2 vols., Paris 2004–2011; Robinson, *History and Cartulary*.
- 22 The Norman sovereigns: for Roger I, J. Becker, *Edizione critica dei documenti greci e latini di Ruggero I, conte della Calabria e della Sicilia (1080–1101)* (Ricerche dell’Istituto Storico Germanico di Roma), Rome 2013. For Roger II and his Norman successors, the volumes from the *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae* (= *CDRS*): *Rogarii II regis diplomata latina*, ed. C. Brühl (*CDRS*, ser. 1, vol. 2, 1), Cologne 1987; *Guillelmi regis diplomata; Tancredi et Willelmi III regum diplomata*, ed. H. Zielinski (*CDRS*, ser. 1, vol. 5), Cologne 1982; *Guillelmi regis diplomata*, ed. H. Enzensberger (*CDRS*, ser. 1, vol. 3), Cologne 1996. The Swabians: for Empress Constance: *Die Urkunden der Kaiserin Konstanze*, ed. T. Kölzer, in *MGH, Diplomata*

documentation,²³ monastic records,²⁴ chronicles²⁵) as well as documents originating from the papacy are the most important, in addition to the numismatic, iconographic, and archaeological documentation.

As regards the historiographical commitments, the story of the Greek populations of southern Italy was subject to the prejudices of the Italian historiography as developed from the *Risorgimento*, with its two main failings: the “extra-national” one of the Byzantine world (the deceitful story of a decline), and the “national” one concerning the *Mezzogiorno*.²⁶ In the 20th century, southern Byzantine Italy benefitted from a new interest, first in the juridical field, then in the historical one, without forgetting the study of palaeography and manuscripts.²⁷ However, heretofore the subject of the Italo-Greek populations in the post-Byzantine period did not receive the synthesis it deserved; for too long the Greeks of medieval Italy were identified with the monks, as reflected by the meaning of the term *italo-greci* in the Italian language, which exclusively refers to the Italo-Greek monasteries (frequently named, mistakenly, “basilians”²⁸).

Nowadays, Italo-Greek people have been integrated into a renewed historiography which aims at questioning traditionally held notions, such as the “ethnic” criterion of cultural groups. At the same time, the notions of “minority”,

regum et imperatorum Germaniae vol. 11, 3, Cologne 1990. For Frederick II's reign, the old diplomatic edition (*Historia diplomatica Frederici Secundi*, ed. J.L.A. Huillard-Bréholles, 7 vols., Paris, 1852–1861), has been partially replaced by the following works edited by Walter Koch: *Die Urkunden Friedrichs II*, in *MGH, Diplomata et Imperatorum Germaniae*, vol. 14, 1–3, Hannover 2002–2010.

23 Let us mention, in particular, *Catalogus Baronum*, ed. E. Jamison (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, 101), Rome 1972, inventory of the chivalry and its obligations toward the king, and Errico Cuzzo, *Catalogus Baronum. Commentario*, ed. E. Cuzzo (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, 101**), Rome 1984.

24 Pratesi, *Carte latine*.

25 For example: Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii*; for the first two books see Malaterra, *Histoire du Grand Comte Roger et de son frère Robert Guiscard*, vol. 1, *Livres I–II*, ed. M.-A. Lucas-Avenel, Caen 2016; Amatus of Montecassino, *Storia de' Normanni di Amato di Montecassino*, ed. V. De Bartholomaeis (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, 76), Rome 1935; Guillaume de Pouille, *La geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. M. Mathieu (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Testi e Monumenti, Testi 4), Palermo 1961.

26 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. xvi–xvii and pp. 1–2.

27 Ferrari Dalle Spade, *I documenti greci medioevali*; Brandileone, “Le così dette clausole al portatore”. Regarding other scholars, let us mention Vera von Falkenhausen, André Guillou, Jean-Marie Martin, Ghislaine Noyé, André Jacob, Gerhard Rohlf, Agostino Pertusi, Enrica Follieri, Léon-Robert Ménager, Augusta Acconcia Longo, Santo Lucà, Daniele Bianconi, Filippo Ronconi, among many others.

28 Korolevskij, “Basiliens italo-grecs”; Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 459–472.

“identity” and even “community” are also being questioned, most often starting with the case of Islamic and Norman Sicily.²⁹ The Greek populations of southern post-Byzantine Italy have been the subject of studies on the community’s definition: to which extent did they form communities, defined as stabilized groups identified by common institutional structures? In order to answer this question, it seems necessary to return to the definition of the Italo-Greeks and to the criteria which allow us to distinguish members of this group. Nowadays, the historical trend is to concurrently use that which defined a structured group in the Middle Ages (the law), and an anthropological definition of culture, which includes essential elements such as language, religious customs, clerical organization, juridical practices, and some secondary elements such as anthroponomical choices.³⁰ Upon the arrival of the Normans and according to this definition, the Greek populations of Italy constituted cultural communities with a dense geographical distribution in the peninsula.³¹

Regarding the law, insofar as the juridical manuscripts stemming from southern Italy which include some elements of Byzantine legislation date from a later period,³² the juridical customs specific to the Italo-Greeks are visible only through notarial deeds. The latter did not include precise citations of law or rules before the very end of the 12th century,³³ and explicit mention of Byzantine law was very rare and sometimes confused with the Roman-Justinianic law enforced in the Tyrrhenian dukedoms.³⁴ The juridical customs have to be deduced from the practices in the notarial deeds, particularly those regarding matrimonial gifts or women’s rights.³⁵ In these fields, the Italo-Greeks of the 11th century had the exact same practices as those enforced within the Byzantine Empire, even if some Lombard influences were evident before the Norman conquest.³⁶ In addition, the documentation existing for the Greek communities living in a Latin environment, inside or outside the Byzantine Empire (Taranto, Salerno), shows the presence of a “judge of the Greeks”, thus evidencing a probable common institution based upon the juridical Byzantine peculiarity, in a Lombard context.³⁷ Juridical personality is the standard.

29 Nef, “Les groupes religieux minoritaires”, pp. 413–440.

30 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l’Italie méridionale*, pp. 32–50.

31 Peters-Custot, “Les communautés grecques”.

32 Ménager, “Notes sur les codifications”.

33 Peters-Custot, “La mention du sénatus-consulte”, pp. 51–72.

34 Peters-Custot, “L’identité d’une communauté”.

35 Peters-Custot, “Qu’est-ce qu’être « grec »”, pp. 215–233.

36 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l’Italie méridionale*, pp. 146–150.

37 Martin, “Une origine calabraise”; Peters-Custot, “L’identité d’une communauté”.

Religious practices attest a similar situation. The customs and the ecclesiastical organization demonstrate real distinctions between the Greeks of southern Italy and the rest of the population: the bearded monks;³⁸ married priests and their children;³⁹ their liturgical practices; their features of sanctity and calendar of saints,⁴⁰ and so on. Just as with their juridical specificities (the “judge of the Greeks” for example), at Taranto or Salerno a Greek “chōrepiiscopos” was to be found, probably in charge of the Greek community and of the clergy’s *patronage*.⁴¹ On the other hand, the Greeks of southern Italy belong, in the eyes of the west, to the same universal, “catholic” Christianity, the so-called “1054-schism” having had no impact on this deep feeling of unity. The documentation never adopts – except in a deliberately controversial literature – a discourse of identity based upon religion, nor the expression of a religious difference.

Similarly, the language is a complex phenomenon. The documentation only gives access to the written language, certainly distinct from the spoken language, and whose use is exclusively limited to the literary *élites*. The production of Italo-Greek hagiographical texts and the copy of Greek manuscripts in the monasteries of medieval southern Italy attest to a literary use of Greek; but Greek notarial deeds allow us to determine how deep (or not) the Greek language was rooted in the everyday use of this language among the population.

So, at the very moment of the Norman Conquest, the Italo-Greek populations had Byzantine juridical practices, Eastern liturgy and ecclesiology, and the written use of Greek in common. The onomastic choices favoured Christian and oriental names, just as in other parts of the Byzantine Empire.⁴² The union of these elements of Byzantine “cultural identity” is real, even if it was a provincial Byzantine culture. One of the challenges of the post-Byzantine story of these communities is distinguishing the evolution of these elements.

Let us close this brief presentation with two remarks: on the one hand, the communities of southern Italy are present in strictly delimited zones. With regard to the Greek communities, southern and central Calabria and Salento are the main centres (not to mention Sicilian hubs such as the Val Demone in the north-eastern section of the isle). Even if the flow of both individuals and groups is well known, the cultural concentration is also, in a way, a geographical one. The presence and coexistence of different cultural groups are attested

38 Peters-Custot, “Grecs et Byzantins dans les sources latines”, pp. 181–191.

39 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 173–175.

40 Ibid., pp. 150–153 and 176–180.

41 See note 36.

42 Peters-Custot, “L’anthroponymie italo-grecque”, pp. 187–206.

to only in the frontier zones (Salerno) or in the most important cities, such as Taranto, or in the Byzantine Italian capitals of Bari and Reggio di Calabria.⁴³ The Italo-Greek populations which expanded throughout the southern Basilicata (Lucania) created a dense enclave inside a largely under-populated Latin area. The imperial policy, moreover, did not seem to be at the origin of these spontaneous movements and restricted itself to crown them with a *a posteriori* administrative action.⁴⁴

On the other hand, the “Byzantinity” of southern Italy at the moment of the Norman Conquest, was also political and ideological; the populations accepted submission to the *basileus*, as well as the jurisdiction of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate. Rebellions certainly did exist: hagiographical texts never presented the *basileus’* agents in a positive way, the holy men strongly criticised them, and Calabria sometimes verged upon secession.⁴⁵ However, the political ideology remained Byzantine. Even if the local sources demonstrate that the Italo-Greeks did not feel “Roman” – probably because within Italy this word had become confused by the presence of the city of Rome and the papal claims on the Roman church⁴⁶ – the emperor’s authority was not questioned. Besides, the Italo-Greek *élite*, as well as the Lombard one, bore, with an obvious satisfaction, imperial dignities and functions⁴⁷ and appeared proud to benefit from the symbolic capital linked to these titles. Calabria, so often subject to the Arab raids from the 9th century onwards, suffered from being far from the Eastern Empire,⁴⁸ which was also busy facing far more dangerous enemies (Bulgarians, Arabs then Turks).⁴⁹ However, in the *basileus’* eyes Italy remained a key-region for Mediterranean domination and imperial prestige.

3 The Greeks in Norman Italy

What immediately changed following the Norman Conquest was that the Greek communities were no longer Byzantine. This evolution did not cause massive opposition, as these communities did not put up a fierce resistance to

43 Peters-Custot, “Convivencia between Christians”.

44 Peters-Custot, “Les communautés grecques”.

45 This question of the Calabrian “Byzantinity” is the subject of Ghislaine Noyé’s numerous studies, for example: “Byzance et l’Italie méridionale”, pp. 229–244; ead., “Anéantisement et renaissance”, pp. 167–205.

46 Peters-Custot, “L’identité des Grecs”, pp. 189–206 and id. “Gli Italo-Greci” pp. 229–240.

47 Peters-Custot, “Titulatures byzantines”, pp. 643–658.

48 McCormick, “The Imperial Edge”, pp. 17–52.

49 Shepard, “Aspects of Byzantine Attitudes”, pp. 67–118.

the Norman invasion, except at rare moments, such as at Squillace in southern Calabria around 1059–1060 for example.⁵⁰ Afterwards, the Italo-Greek populations were never considered to be a potential danger by the Normans. This Italo-Greek attitude was in contrast to the frequent revolts which emerged from the Muslim community of Norman Sicily.⁵¹

That said, the story of the Greek communities of Norman Italy remains affected by permanency of stereotypes. For example, a constraint and conscious “Latinization” of these communities has been attributed to either Norman policy or to the papacy involved in the Gregorian Reform.⁵² This interpretation remains deeply-rooted, though incompatible with the well-known blossoming of the Italo-Greek culture and monasticism in the 12th century. Other commonplace practices included the use of the word “Basilian” to refer to the Italo-Greek monasteries; and the western stereotyped vision of the Byzantine monk as a wandering, bearded hermit.

The link between the situation experienced by a minority and the regime or system of government that frames this minority is of great importance and has been underlined in the most recent historiography. Consequently, the Norman state’s modalities of birth and character necessarily determined the evolution of Italo-Greek communities. The Norman conquest of southern Italy experienced very different rhythms and modalities:⁵³ the mostly Latin northern regions were subject to quite an anarchical conquest led by numerous lords, while in the southern zones and, in particular, in the predominantly Hellenised Calabria, the Conquest was led under the aegis of one family, the Hauteville. The Hauteville founded a county with roots in Mileto (in Calabria), then Palermo (in Sicily), eventually unifying the entire island under a kingdom in 1130. These modalities may explain many important elements for the Italo-Greeks communities’ story: why the Norman conquest of Calabria was so quick and easy; how one family managed to concentrate and monopolize the public authority against the lords’ demands; why, in particular, the introduction of a feudal system in Calabria and Sicily was firmly controlled by the count, and why the concession of public rights to the landlords was very limited, if not totally lacking. On the other hand, the expansion of land lordship

50 Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii* 1.37 (p. 24) and Malaterra, *Histoire du Grand Comte Roger* 1.37 (pp. 230–231). Noyé/Bougard, “Squillace”, pp. 1195–1212; Noyé/Bougard, “Squillace au Moyen Âge”, pp. 215–230; Peters-Custot, *Bruno en Calabre*.

51 Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner la Sicile*, pp. 586–625.

52 Décarreaux, *Normands, papes et moines*; Ménager, “La ‘byzantinisation’ religieuse”; De’ Giovanni-Centelles, “I vescovi del Gran Conte”, pp. 175–190.

53 Martin, *Italies normandes*. See also the bibliography in Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l’Italie méridionale*, p. 226, note 3.

heavily affected the great Byzantine land ownership, which was, in Calabria, merely ecclesiastical.⁵⁴

Last but not least, the sovereigns granted ideological grounds to their state in order to highlight the imperial and ecumenical nature of their authority:⁵⁵ let us mention, in particular, the predominant conception of the sovereign as head of his church (the well-known “Apostolic Legation” acknowledged by Pope Urban II in 1098⁵⁶). This royal ecclesiastical authority is clearly manifested in the foundation of the Sicilian episcopal sees,⁵⁷ in the modification of the Italian ones,⁵⁸ in the bishops’ nominations, in the concession of the tithes upon the public incomes (since there are no tithes upon the private incomes⁵⁹), and in the royal interventions within monastic affairs (particularly the royal control over the nomination of the highest monasteries’ abbots and *hēgumenoi*). Such a power has its iconographic transposition: the Norman king’s representation as *basileus*, crowned by Christ, and clearly inspired, if not copied, from Byzantine iconographic models.⁶⁰ The king’s ecclesiastical authority may have clashed with the treaty concluded between the pope and Robert Guiscard at the Council of Melfi (1059);⁶¹ yet this ecclesiastical authority was legally confirmed and enforced with the treaty of Benevento (signed in 1156 between Pope Adrian IV and King William I). The Concordat of Gravina, concluded between King Tancred and the pope in 1192, weakened royal authority within the ecclesiastical field, but this treaty was never recognized by the Swabian sovereigns who considered Tancred a usurper. This royal, yet deeply imperial design spans the entire Norman period.⁶²

The ideology framing the Norman royal power led to important consequences regarding the management of the Italo-Greek communities, resulting

54 Martin, “Centri fortificati, potere feudale e organizzazione”, pp. 487–522; Martin, “Les seigneuries monastiques”, pp. 177–206; Peters-Custot, “La politique royale normande”.

55 Nef, “Imaginaire impérial, empire et œcuménisme”, pp. 236–244.

56 Fodale, *Comes et Legatus Siciliae*.

57 Nef, “Géographie religieuse”, pp. 177–194.

58 Peters-Custot, “Les remaniements de la carte diocésaine”.

59 Toomaspoeg, *Decimae. Il sostegno economico*; for some minor corrections about the Norman period: http://www.perspectivia.net/content/publikationen/francia/francia-recensio/2011-1/MA/toomaspoeg_peters-custot.

60 Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of St Mary's*, p. 192 ff.; Vagnoni, “Problemi di legittimazione regia”, pp. 175–190. See also Dittelbach, *Rex Imago Christi*, and Dittelbach, “Tradizione e innovazione”, pp. 91–106.

61 Treaty published in L.-R. Ménager, *Actes des ducs normands d'Italie (1046–1127)*, vol. 1. *Les premiers ducs (1046–1087)* (Società di storia patria per la Puglia, Documenti e Monografie, 45), Bari 1981, no. 6, pp. 30–32.

62 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 243–246.

in the rejection of any religious “Latinization” process, that would have been in opposition to the imperial ideology of the Norman kingdom. Incidentally, such a process could not be led by the papacy, having no direct control of the southern part of the Kingdom of Sicily, the ecclesiastical authority being that of the king. Considering the fact that the Italo-Greek population remained a large majority in Calabria and in southern Apulia during the Norman period, such a policy seems also inappropriate. Above all, the “Latinization” interpretation faces the facts. The Normans did indeed introduce Benedictine monasticism and replaced some Greek bishops with western ones; however, these two actions were in response to a political demand that endangered neither the Greek monasteries nor the Byzantine clergy, but allowed control to be kept over the territory.⁶³ The Norman power actually supported the Italo-Greek monasteries: the latter developed as never before, becoming much wealthier than they had been during the Byzantine period.⁶⁴ The foundation of the two archimandrites, that of S. Salvatore di Messina (1131), and that of S. Elia di Carbone (1168) certainly enforced the control over the Greek monasteries of Sicily and Calabria, but also sustained their development. The Greek *typika* (monastic foundation documents) written in the Norman period for the Sicilian or Apulian monasteries, as well as the last wills and testaments written down for Italo-Greek *hēgumenoi* (abbots) bear witness to their fidelity to the Byzantine monastic models.⁶⁵ A few minor elements reflect the Western influence upon the Italo-Greek monasticism (the introduction of Confraternity books – called “*diptychoi*”). Yet these minor evolutions appeared mostly in the frontier regions of Italian Hellenism (southern Basilicata).⁶⁶

Certain interventions in the episcopal field may be more ambiguous: for example, the most-discussed deposition of Reggio di Calabria’s last metropolitan bishop, Basil. The reasons can certainly be found in the personal rigidity of this prelate, who was not supported by the patriarch of Constantinople (while Emperor Alexios Komnenos attempted to revive the union of churches).⁶⁷ Moreover, as Lucas, an Italo-Greek temporary administrator (*diakonētēs*) had been appointed by the Norman power to take care of Reggio’s episcopal see, we should assume that Basil’s deposition was not an “anti-Greek” measure.⁶⁸ On the whole, most of the few episcopal “Latinizations” and light modifications of

63 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 268–289.

64 Ibid., pp. 289–296.

65 *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, vol. 2, pp. 621–648.

66 Trinchera, *Syllabus Graecarum Membranarum*, nos. 40 (1053), 76 (1114), 112 (1132), 247 (1199); Robinson, *History and Cartulary*, nos. 55 (1183), 57 (1186).

67 Stiernon, “Basile de Reggio”, pp. 189–226.

68 Joannou, “La personalità storica di Luca di Bova”, pp. 222–237.

the episcopal map have political interpretations.⁶⁹ The Norman power is pragmatic: when, at Rossano (Calabria), in 1093, the people expressed their dissatisfaction with the appointment of a Latin archbishop, the count replaced him with a member of the most important family of the local aristocracy, Nicholas Maleinos.⁷⁰ Lastly, whether the Greek bishop remained or not, the local clergy was never affected by these modifications at the top of the hierarchy. When a Latin prelate was appointed in a see where the Greek clergy was a majority, a specific assistant, the “protopapas”, was in charge of this Byzantine clergy.⁷¹ Furthermore, the liturgical links with the Byzantine Empire remained very strong still at the end of the 12th century.⁷²

So it appears that the question of the religious “Latinization” of the Italo-Greek under Norman rule reflects the projection of historiographical anachronisms, which enforce a vision of the church’s division, which in reality was created much more by the Latin pillaging of Constantinople in 1204 than by the so-called “1054–schism”. On the contrary, the Italo-Greek population did not create a religious problem, for this population was, in Norman eyes, Christian like themselves. Even the papacy never thought to protest after the resolution of the dogmatic question (the *filioque* problem), thanks to a *status quo* fixed at the Bari Council of 1098.⁷³ Regarding the differences of liturgy, customs and ecclesiastical organization, they never constituted grounds or subject for royal intervention, nor for papal interference: the king considered the priests’ sons as people under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical *privilegium fori*.⁷⁴ Pope Innocent III assumed that, as long as it did not induce a scandal, an Italo-Greek member of the clergy could hold an episcopal see.⁷⁵ This flexibility attests to the Norman sovereignty’s attitude tendency towards “imperial” ecumenism.⁷⁶ This is not tolerance, an inappropriate notion: as they belonged to the universal Christianity, the Italo-Greek populations confirmed and supported the imperial nature of their Norman sovereign’s power, and the king reversely consider the church of the kingdom as a whole, and as his church: there is no Italo-Greek church actually, but the Hauteville sovereign’s church.

Similarly, in the juridical field, the Italo-Greek populations were free to use the Byzantine private law. No important modification was seen in the legal

69 Peters-Custot, “Les remaniements de la carte diocésaine”, pp. 57–77.

70 Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis* 4.22 (p. 100).

71 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 260–263.

72 Jacob, “La lettre patriarcale du typikon de Casole”, pp. 143–163.

73 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 237–239.

74 Ibid., p. 362, no. 19.

75 Ibid., pp. 538–539.

76 Nef, “Imaginaire impérial, empire et œcuménisme”.

practices enforced in the Italo-Greek notarial deeds between the Byzantine and Norman periods. The marriage contracts, women's rights, and all the legislative dispositions of private right remained Byzantine.⁷⁷ Women's rights, in particular, kept on distinguishing the Italo-Greek women from the Lombard ones: the former never had to be under the jurisdiction of a *munduold* (the male legal heir and guardian, automatically devolved upon the Lombard woman⁷⁸) until the second third of the 13th century. Hence private law, as an important element of the Byzantine culture and essential link between the members of the Italo-Greek communities, remained almost untouched during the whole of the Norman period.

This juridical continuity allowed the Italo-Greek notaries to maintain the Byzantine organization of their corporation and their linguistic practices,⁷⁹ especially as Greek was one of the languages used in the Hauteville's chancery until Roger II's reign, as well as by the Norman lords in Italy's Greek-speaking regions. Surprisingly, in southern Calabria, the quantitative and qualitative supremacy of Greek as a language of written public and private deeds survived up to the second third of the 12th century. Count Roger I had most of the acts he issued for Calabria written in Greek. His son Roger II was raised in southern Italy in a pro-Greek environment and signed most of his acts in Greek, including Latin documents. Language represents not only a system of communication, but also an ideology: by adopting the Greek language, the Hauteville and other lords adopted the Byzantine *sigillion* used by the *stratēgoi*, the *katepanoi* and the *basileis*. This borrowing has a political sense: the *sigillion* represented the most developed model of the administrative act as established by the public state authority. The language choice and the political dimension of this use are inseparable.⁸⁰ Furthermore, even the Latin-speaking populations had private deeds written in Greek irregardless of whether they lived in predominantly Greek-speaking regions, like Calabria or southern Basilicata, or not until the end of the 12th century. In these zones, the notarial "Latinization" began amongst the Latin-speaking people before it began influencing the Greek-speaking one in the 13th century.⁸¹ In the first decades of the 13th century, it was not easy to have document written in Latin in many Calabrian towns: since the notary who had the *manus publica* (the right, given by the public authority, to write valid documents) did not know how to write Latin,

77 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 395–398.

78 Cortese, "Per la storia del mundio", pp. 323–474; id., "La donna moglie e madre", pp. 157–169.

79 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 375–387.

80 Breccia, "Il *sigillion* nella prima età normanna", pp. 1–27, and Peters-Custot, "Greek-Latin Deeds", pp. 293–314.

81 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 389–395.

it was necessary to use the services provided by a non-professional writer.⁸² Bilingualism was not widespread among those who, within the Italo-Greek communities, had some writing skills.

The Italo-Greek *élite* were able to mix their Byzantine culture with their own integration within the Norman local administrative functions, in order to simultaneously maintain their economic and symbolic capital. Even if an anthroponomical acculturation was present among these families in the mid-12th century, it concerned only Norman names (Roger, William) and corresponded to political, opportunist choices.⁸³ In order to get a court position, as a notary or as an agent of the public administration, mastering the Greek language might have been an advantage, at least as long as the royal chancery had deeds written in Greek, which was until Roger II's reign. Nevertheless, the Italo-Greeks at the court did not constitute an active pressure group. Henceforth, from William II's reign onward the Greek-speaking notaries were less necessary at the court: the mastering of Latin received a *sine qua non* condition for serving the sovereign and his administration.⁸⁴ The Norman court *milieu* included some important Byzantine cultural figures, but not all of them originated from Sicily or Italy, some were recent emigrates (for example George from Antioch, Neilos Doxopater).

At a lower social level, that of the villages' notability, it is quite evident that the Norman agents needed the *kaloï anthrōpoi* and local *élites'* help with regard to village memory for the land and the community structures, as well as to assist in the settling of local conflicts.⁸⁵ Regarding the local clergy, documentation attests to the existence of Greek *prōtopapades* in Calabria and Salento in the 14th century.⁸⁶ At Bari, some churches devoted to the oriental liturgy are known to have existed at the end of the 12th century, and the Latin archbishop did not seek to put an end to this lasting distinctive feature.⁸⁷

82 In 1217, the Lord of Mesoraca in Calabria, Andrea of Pagliara, not having his own Latin notary, had to appeal to a monk living in the Cistercian abbey of S. Angelo de Frigilo. Andrea specified that he had received the agreement of the tabellio of Mesoraca, a Greek *prōtopapas* called *Peregrinos*. The latter did not affix his own subscription, probably because he did not know enough Latin to do so: Pratesi, *Carte latine*, no. 110, pp. 265–267. *Peregrinos'* subscription in Greek is to be read in a deed dated 1219, Pratesi, *Carte latine*, no. 117, pp. 279–282.

83 Peters-Custot, "L'anthroponymie italo-grecque".

84 Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner la Sicile*, pp. 74–94, 110–116 and 328–345; Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 445–447.

85 Peters-Custot, "L'anthroponymie italo-grecque"; and Peters-Custot, "Comportement social et comportement culturel", pp. 359–374.

86 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 262–263.

87 Ibid., pp. 436–438.

All these elements produced a context favourable to the blossoming of Greek culture during the Norman period, which has been called the Italo-Greek “cultural renaissance” of the 12th century. This “renaissance” expressed itself in the renewal of the copying of Greek manuscripts in the monastic *scriptoria* of Sicily and southern Italy,⁸⁸ and in the intellectual pursuits of famous personalities such as George of Antioch⁸⁹ or Philagathos of Cerami. However, this intellectual and cultural renewal was, for the most part linked to the monastic *milieu*; in spite of the intervention of some members of the Norman court, it was not the product of a cultural policy led by sovereigns, lords or other members of the social or cultural *élite*, but the consequence of Greek monasticism which blossomed under Norman protection. Some of these monasteries, founded by Norman sovereigns (S. Salvatore di Messina) were the most important centres for the promotion of Greek manuscripts and culture.⁹⁰

We can therefore assume that the Norman kingdom did not particularly promote Greek or Byzantine culture, but it was used by the sovereigns as an instrument to enrich the imperial dimension of the royal ideology. However, the Italo-Greek population itself did not benefit from a particular policy, since its relative particularism was quite indifferent to whom held power: the notion of acculturation is not appropriate, since all the most important practices born from the Byzantine inheritance remained unaffected during the Norman period. The Italo-Greek populations most definitively constituted communities until the middle of the 13th century.

4 The Italo-Greeks from the Beginning of the 13th Century Onwards

In the 13th century a new context appeared which led to a deeper integration of the Italo-Greek population in the western framework. On the one hand, in 1231 Frederick II established a great reform for his Kingdom of Sicily. One of the main levers was the standardization of juridical and notarial practices. On the other hand, the papacy found opportunities for intervening in the Kingdom of Sicily from the second half of the century onward, particularly in the bishops' nomination. Even if these two evolutions were not specifically against the Greeks, they were affected indirectly through their cultural customs.

88 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 421–429; Lucà, “I Normanni e la ‘Rinascita’”.

89 See Re/Rognoni (eds.), *Giorgio di Antiochia*.

90 See Ronconi, “De Stoudios à la Théotokos Evérgètès”, pp. 1293–1366.

The *Liber Augustalis* (1231) promulgated by Frederick II is part of the contemporaneous movement of juridical codification in the western Mediterranean world. By weakening the personality of law, it deeply modified the conditions thanks to which, its specific juridical practices remained in use in the Kingdom of Sicily until the 13th century. Byzantine law was threatened by the juridical standardization, which assumed the shape of Lombard law. However, it has been demonstrated that, by the use of Lombard terminology, the *Liber Augustalis* promoted Roman law. For example, the Frederician legislation's *mundoald* had nothing to do with the Lombard *mundoald*, but is equivalent to the *procurator* of the Roman law.⁹¹ Consequently, the relative freedom and autonomy Italo-Greek women enjoyed under the Byzantine rule's protection disappeared, while this Roman-like *mundoald* expanded in the Italo-Greek deeds: after 1240, this word was systematically present when a woman was the author of a juridical action.⁹²

At the same time, the *Liber Augustalis* affected another pillar of Byzantine culture: the Italo-Greek notary. While the law did not mention the Italo-Greek notaries (unlike the notaries of Naples, Amalfi, and Sorrento), it established royal control over the concession of the *manus publica*; the professionalization of the functions of both judge and notary; the introduction of the contract judge, modelled on that of the Lombard institution; not least, the banning of the cleric's access to these two functions, while the Italo-Greek notaries gave great importance to the priest-notary. All these measures hastened the professional Latinization of the Italo-Greek notaries.⁹³ Consequently, the second half of the 13th century witnessed a massive decline in the production of Greek deeds. Thus, the knowledge of Greek diminished throughout the 13th century:⁹⁴ we see an important translation movement of documents written down in Greek from the end of the 12th century onward, Greek no longer being a language as largely mastered as before in the Hauteville chancery. So, paradoxically, the Frederician state, under the banner of the Roman imperial tradition and thanks to an antiquity-like rhetoric, forced the Italo-Greek populations to abandon Roman (Byzantine) law, in order to align themselves to a law that, although named Lombard, was deeply Roman. From this time on, the Italo-Greek populations did not constitute communities anymore, since they no longer had their own juridical specificities and traditions, but groups characterized by some peculiarities in their liturgical, linguistic, anthroponomical

91 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 483–492.

92 Peters-Custot, “Qu'est-ce qu'être « grec »”, pp. 215–233.

93 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 492–499.

94 *Ibid.*, pp. 499–503.

traditions, and customs. Some remnants originating from these juridical Byzantine peculiarities were partially transferred into territorial customs (in Sicily, or at Bari).

Thus, the knowledge of the Greek language became less and less useful for the sovereign's service. If being a Greek may have been, at the Norman court, an advantage, it was no longer the case under Frederick II's reign. Not a single Greek document dating from his chancery has been preserved; his court was not a major centre for the translation of literature between Greek and Latin languages; and the Byzantine culture's influence was much weaker than that of the French culture.⁹⁵ The use of the Italo-Greeks' linguistic abilities and of the sovereign's Byzantine ideology was out of fashion by this time. All these new facts accelerated the spontaneous process of acculturation, all the more so as the local *élite* played a driving force in this process, choosing integration out of fear of social downgrading. However, the Italo-Greek culture demonstrated some resistance within the isolated and transient phenomenon of Salento's Greek poetry school: the poetic production of a limited group of highly-educated Italo-Greeks from this Apulian region proves the temporary association between the religious culture, which was always predominant, and the profane and philosophic literature. This *mélange* could be called "Byzantine", even if the whole contemporaneous poetic production attests to a similar one. Its originality lies in the influence of authors such as Homer, Aristotle, Aristophanes, and Euripides. This poetry is also marked by a political engagement in favour of the Swabians and against the papal interference, according to the Byzantine tradition, which was imperial tradition from Constantine the Great onward.⁹⁶

Regarding the papacy, here again, the attitude seems ambiguous. The seizure of Constantinople by the crusaders in 1204, the (temporary) fall of the Byzantine Empire, and the integration, thanks to these events, of the empire's Byzantine clerics into the Roman jurisdiction may have represented decisive factors for the papal vision of the Italo-Greek church. Innocent III's pontificate had been, indeed, a key factor in this evolution on more than one account. Firstly, the pope was finally able at this time to influence the Kingdom of Sicily during Frederick II's minority (1198–1208), as his juridical guardian, while the kingdom was plunged into anarchy. Secondly, the administration of the Italo-Greek church, under the papal jurisdiction for more than a century, helped to prove Rome's abilities to manage a Byzantine church. The papacy thus had a positive example to show in the context of the continuous

95 Delle Donne, *La porta del sapere*.

96 Gigante, "La poesia in lingua greca", pp. 425–440; Martin, "O felix Asia!".

negotiations for the Union of Churches. Finally, the 13th century was also a century devoted to the classification of the diversity, according to western criteria. This is the very framework in which the papal court developed the use of a new expression when mentioning Italo-Greek monasteries in an official document: that of their alleged respect of the *S. Basilii regula* ("Saint Basil's rule"), as well as their belonging to the *S. Basilii Ordo* ("Saint Basil's order"). This expression remained a simple nomenclature, without any content, until the creation of a real monastic Saint Basil's order, in the middle of the 15th century.⁹⁷ It is probably this spirit of order which revived the ecclesiological and theological debates about the Italo-Greeks (although the discussion had been closed in 1098). It found its expression in the new suspicion around the Italo-Greeks' liturgical customs (the baptismal ritual for example) and in the demand that the believers should be separated according to their liturgy. The pope no longer tolerated the *mélange* of the believers during the services (this demand went unheeded).⁹⁸ Let us explain, nevertheless, that there never had been a general opposition to the Byzantine liturgy in itself. The papacy always stood by the idea according to which each peculiarity should be tolerated in the Roman church as long as it did not go against the Roman church's canonical law. So, while the papacy continued advocating the clerics' reform and the ecclesiastical celibacy, it approved the Calabrian half-Greek, half-Latin cathedral chapters, while the royal power admitted the Italo-Greek priests' sons to the ecclesiastical *privilegium fori*.⁹⁹

Later, after Frederick II's death (1250) and before the victory of the papal champion, Charles of Anjou, over Frederick's bastard son, Manfred (1266), the papacy could directly act in the ecclesiastical affairs of the Sicilian kingdom: it gained the opportunity to appoint bishops, sometimes by replacing an Italo-Greek prelate with a western cleric (Santa Severina, 1254). This does not mean that it was episcopal Latinization. On the contrary, the Roman attitude was largely aimed at continuing the Italo-Greek rite, in spite of recruiting difficulties linked to the ever increasing ignorance of the Greek language among the population: the pope was sometimes forced to choose a bishop among the Italo-Greek monastic *milieu* as a first choice, then outside of Italy (Nicholas of Durazzo for example¹⁰⁰). At the same time, similar recruitment difficulties

97 Enzensberger, "Der 'Ordo Sancti Basilii'" and Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 458–472. For Bessarione's action toward Italo-Greek monasticism, see Peters-Custot, "Bessarion et le monachisme italo-grec". and ead., "Le monachisme italo-grec et basilien d'Italie".

98 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 505–510 and 532–538.

99 Ibid., pp. 538–541.

100 Kamp, *Kirche und Monarchie*, pp. 958–963.

were to be seen in placing abbots (*hēgumenoi*) at the head of the kingdom's greatest Greek monasteries.¹⁰¹

All these elements constituted the first signs of a decline that not only affected the ecclesiastical and monastic circles. The knowledge of Greek declined rapidly among the population: after the Byzantine law began to be abandoned (from 1231 on), the language followed suit, although slowly and never totally, since the use of a Greek dialect still remained deep-rooted in some villages of southern Calabria and Salento. Hence, this slow cultural dilution of the Italo-Greek people (more and more difficult to identify in the documentation) was not complete. Some institutions and regions continued to maintain a vivid cultural, intellectual, and literary activity such as the monastery of S. Salvatore di Messina (Sicily),¹⁰² as well as important Calabrian centres for copying Greek manuscripts (Gerace, Rossano, Reggio Calabria). Above all, an important Salentine production emerged (Otranto, Soleto, Corigliano Salentino).

In this zone, the Greek culture was not, as in Calabria, a monastic monopoly (even if important monasteries, such as S. Nicola di Casole, played a big part in this production). Greek culture was transmitted to the heart of the secular priests' families: there, the cultural dynamics were indifferent to the decline of the Greek monasteries.¹⁰³ In Calabria, the opportunist Italo-Greek *élites* accelerated the cultural process of the region. On the contrary, the Greek culture in the Salento was subject to a proud claim that could not be separated from the population's commitment in favour of Frederick II's policy as well as at the negotiations for the union of churches.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, the educative quality of the Salentine clergy, through a net of secular schools linked to the parishes, put the area first among the regions of southern Italy for the copying of Greek manuscripts from the 13th to the 16th century. The Salento is where the Roman scholars and humanists went looking for Greek manuscripts, copyists, and teachers. At the end of the 15th century, the humanism movement offered the erudite *élites* of the Greek-speaking Salento career opportunities much greater than just the status of local notables: the Salentine *élites'* departure to Rome (or elsewhere) would eventually be the main reason for the regional decline of Hellenism. Around 1530, there was no longer any local Greek copyist there.¹⁰⁵

Italo-Greek monasticism, for its part, experienced the same general decline which also affected traditional western monasticism from the 13th century

101 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 470–472.

102 Jacob, "Nicolas d'Oria", pp. 133–158.

103 Jacob, "Culture grecque et manuscrits", pp. 53–77; Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 557–563.

104 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 563–566.

105 Jacob, "Un nouveau manuscrit", pp. 246–254.

onward, as well as the problems generated by the years-long conflict between the Hohenstaufen and Anjou and the resulting instability in southern Italy. Yet the ensuing economic decline was not the general case across the board, and there were still some powerful, dynamic monasteries. The effects of the Greek language's decline added to this economically difficult situation and weakened those liturgical practices still remaining. As early as the 13th century, the papacy reacted, demanding regular visits of the Italo-Greek monasteries: the repetition of which indicates inefficiency despite their good intentions.

The reform process of Italo-Greek monasticism, as decided by Rome, had to follow the Roman customs and its different stages: a visit and the ensuing visit report; standardization of practices through the imposition of a single monastic rule; and eventually, submission of all the monasteries to an "order" whose institutional definition was composed of the aforesaid rule, the general and provincial chapters, and a cardinal-custodian. Although as early as in 1373, Pope Gregory X tried to circulate throughout the Kingdom of Sicily a manuscript of the "Saint Basil's rule" from the monastery of S. Maria di Grottaferrata, it was not until the middle of the 15th century that the reform process was in place according to the above methodology: Bessarione, appointed cardinal-custodian of the very new "Saint Basil's order", organized two chapters; he himself wrote a rule (a sort of compilation taken from the Greek manuscripts Bessarione had of Saint Basil's *Asketikon*). Finally, he appointed Athanasios Chalkeopulos to carry out a general visit of the "Basilian" monasteries of southern Italy. The report of this visit offers a very sad and alarming picture of what had become of the Italo-Greek monasticism, apart from a few shining exceptions.¹⁰⁶

The lay authorities did not remain indifferent to this dramatic situation during the 15th century: King Alfonse V, in particular, took measures to force the monks to learn Greek, since nobody at this time could imagine the liturgical restoration without that language. Nothing resulting from this policy, King Philip II decided to suppress the Order of Saint Basil in Italy. Thanks to Cardinal Giulio Santoro's intervention, this decision was discarded.¹⁰⁷

The Byzantine liturgy in Greek underwent a similar decline for similar reasons, principally linked to the linguistic problem: once again, it was not conceivable to practice the Oriental rite in a language other than Greek so the liturgy's salvation was bound to that of the language, the knowledge of which

106 A. Guillou/M.-H. Laurent, *Le "Liber Visitationis" d'Athanase Chalkéopoulos (1457-1458). Contribution à l'histoire du monachisme grec en Italie méridionale* (Studi e Testi, 206), Vatican City 1960, and particularly the very rich introduction. See also Peters-Custot, "Bessarion et le monachisme italo-grec" and ead., "Le monachisme italo-grec et basilien d'Italie".

107 Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, p. 575.

had to be encouraged. In 1585, the Latin priests educated in Greek obtained the right to replace the Greek priests who had passed away: this decision, made in Rome, seems to show that the difference between “Latin people” and “Greek people” was still valid in Italy at the end of the 16th century. In spite of these measures, the Greek rite totally disappeared in southern Italy at the end of the 17th century. This pitiful end was not the result of a general decision coming from Rome, but of the local extinction of the liturgical customs, due to the lack of educated priests. The language resisted through local dialects (the “Greco-calabro” in southern Calabria, the “Greco salentino” to the south of Otranto) which lasted until the 20th century, in spite of the attempts of the fascist regime to promote linguistic unification.

The developments at the end of the Middle Ages reflect the fact that the Italo-Greek population no longer existed from the 16th century on: it completely merged into the Italian one (but can be clearly distinguished from the new oriental Christians – Albanians and Greeks Levantines – who, under Turkish pressure, emigrated in masse). The many splinters and fragments of a culture which, until the 13th century, still constituted an entirety (law, language, rite and liturgy, customs, anthroponomy) were afterwards limited to uses, traditions, and lexical peculiarities integrated into the local, territorial customs, and the vernacular languages.¹⁰⁸ It constituted a proudly claimed, common and regional heritage. Ultimately, the Greek culture was no longer a community identity when it integrated, little by little, into the “Mezzogiorno's” culture. Thus, through this process, the Greek and Byzantine inheritance was eventually embraced by that of the southern Italy.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typica and Testaments*, eds. J. Thomas/ A. Constantinides Hero, 5 vols. (Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection), Washington D.C. 2000.
- Galfredus Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis fratris eius auctore Gaufrido Malaterra monacho benedictino*, ed. E. Pontieri, in *RIS*, vol. 5/1, Bologna 1927.
- Geoffroi Malaterra, *Histoire du Grand Comte Roger et de son frère Robert Guiscard*, vol. 1, *Livres I.–II*, ed. M.-A. Lucas-Avenel, Caen 2016.

108 Rodotà, *Dell'origine, progresso e stato presente del rito greco*.

- Pratesi, A., *Carte latine di abbazie calabresi provenienti dall'Archivio Aldobrandini* (Studi e Testi, 197), Vatican City 1958.
- Robinson, G., *History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of S. Anastasius and S. Elias of Carbone*, vol. 1, *History* (Orientalia Christiana 9/44), Roma 1928; vol. 2, 1–2 *Cartulary* (Orientalia Christiana 15/53 and 19/62) Rome 1930.
- Trinchera, F., *Syllabus graecarum membranarum*. Naples 1865.

Secondary Literature

- Brandileone, F., “Le così dette clausole al portatore e il mundio sulle vedove nei documenti cavensi”, *Rivista di diritto commerciale, industriale e marittimo* 4 (1906), 525–545; 5 (1907), 18–42.
- Breccia, G., “Il *sigillion* nella prima età normanna. Documento pubblico e semipubblico nel Mezzogiorno ellenofono (1070–1127)”, *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 79 (1999), 1–27.
- Burgarella, F. (ed.), *San Nilo di Rossano e l'Abbazia greca di Grottaferrata. Storia e immagini*, Rome 2009.
- Cortese, E., “La donna moglie e madre nella famiglia romano-bizantina: tendenze consuetudinarie tra tardo Impero e Medioevo”, in Martin/ Peters-Custot/ Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie*, vol. 2, pp. 157–169.
- Cortese, E., “Per la storia del mundio in Italia”, *Rivista italiana per le Scienze Giuridiche*, 3rd s., 9–10 (1955–1956), 323–474.
- Décarreaux, J., *Normands, papes et moines en Italie méridionale et en Sicile, XI^e–XII^e siècle*, Paris 1974.
- De' Giovanni-Centelles, G., “I vescovi del Gran Conte e il modello della Normandia”, in E. D'Angelo/ C. Leonardi (eds.), *Il papato e i Normanni. Temporale e spirituale in età normanna* (Millennio Medievale, 91), Florence 2011, pp. 175–190.
- Delle Donne, F., *La porta del sapere. Cultura alla corte di Federico II di Svevia*, Rome 2019.
- Di Lorenzo, A./ Martin, J.-M./ Peters-Custot, A., “Le monastère de S. Elia di Carbone, ses archives et l'histoire de la Basilicate médiévale”, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 128–2 (2016), <http://mefrm.revues.org/3318>.
- Dittelbach, T., *Rex Imago Christi. Der Dom von Monreale. Bildsprachen und Zeremoniell in Mosaikkunst und Architekturen*, Wiesbaden 2003.
- Dittelbach, T., “Tradizione e innovazione. Il concetto di eredità bizantina in Sicilia”, in Martin/ Brodbeck/ Peters-Custot/ Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie*, vol. 3, pp. 91–106.
- Enzensberger, H., “Der ‘Ordo Sancti Basilii’, eine monastische Gliederung der römischen Kirche (12.–16. Jahrhundert)”, in *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo*, vol. 3, (Italia Sacra. Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica, 22) Padua 1973, pp. 1139–1151.

- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Greek monasticism in Campania and Latium from the tenth to the fifteenth century", in B. Crostini/I. Angeli Murzaku (eds.), *Greek monasticism in Southern Italy. The Life of Neilos in Context*, London-New York 2018, pp. 78–95.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Il monachesimo greco nel Lazio medievale", in G. Bordi/I. Carlettini/ M.L. Fobelli/ M.R. Menna/ P. Pogliani (eds.), *L'officina dello sguardo. Scritti in onore di Maria Andaloro. I luoghi dell'arte. Immagine, memoria, materia*, vol. 1., Rome 2014, pp. 305–314.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo*, Bari 1978. (originally published as *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Südtalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1967).
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Taranto in epoca bizantina", *Studi medievali*, 3rd s. 9/1 (1968), pp. 133–166.
- Ferrari Dalle Spade, G., *I documenti greci medioevali di diritto privato nell'Italia meridionale e la loro attinenze con quelli bizantini d'Oriente e coi papiri greco-egizii* (Byzantinisches Archiv, 4), Leipzig 1910.
- Fodale, S., *Comes et Legatus Siciliae. Sul privilegio di Urbano II e la pretesa apostolica legazia dei Normanni di Sicilia*, Palermo 1970 (reprinted as id., *L'Apostolica Legazia e altri studi su Stato e Chiesa*, Messina 1991).
- Gay, J., *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile I^{er} jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867–1071)*, Paris 1904.
- Gigante, M., "La poesia in lingua greca in Sicilia e in Puglia nell'età normanno-sveva", in F. D'Oria (ed.), *Civiltà del Mezzogiorno d'Italia. Libro, scrittura e documento in età normanno-sveva*, Salerno 1994, pp. 425–440.
- Granier, T., "Les moines 'grecs' de Saints-Serge-et-Bacchus et Saints-Théodore-et-Sébastien dans la société napolitaine des VII^e–XII^e siècles", in C. Carozzi/ D. Le Blévec/ H. Taviani-Carozzi (eds.), *Vivre en société au Moyen Âge, Occident chrétien, VI^e–XV^e siècle*, Aix-en-Provence 2008, pp. 197–218.
- Jacob, A., "Culture grecque et manuscrits en Terre d'Otrante", in P.F. Palumbo (ed.), *Atti del III^o Congresso internazionale di Studi Salentini e del I^o Congresso storico di Terra d'Otranto*, Lecce 1980, pp. 53–77.
- Jacob, A., "Fragments liturgiques byzantins de Terre d'Otrante", *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 43 (1973), 345–376.
- Jacob, A., "La lettre patriarcale du typikon de Casole et l'évêque Paul de Gallipoli", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 24 (1987), 143–163.
- Jacob, A., "Les euchologes du fonds Barberini grec de la Bibliothèque vaticane", *Didaskalia* 4 (1974), 131–22.
- Jacob, A., "L'euchologe de S. Maria du Patir et ses sources", in *Atti del Congresso internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano*, Rossano 1989, pp. 75–118.
- Jacob, A., "Nicolas d'Oria. Un copiste de Pouille au Saint-Sauveur de Messine", *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 65 (1985), 133–158.

- Jacob, A., "Un nouveau manuscrit des Hymnes Orphiques et son copiste, François Cavoti de Soletto", *L'Antiquité classique* 53 (1983), 246–254.
- Joannou, P., "La personalità storica di Luca di Bova", *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 29 (1960), 222–237.
- Kamp, N., *Kirche und Monarchie im Staufischen Königreich Sizilien I: Prosopographische Grundlegung: Bistümer und Bischöfe des Königreichs 1194–1266*, 4 vols (Münsterische Mittelalter-Schriften, 10) Munich 1973–1982.
- Kitzinger, E., *The Mosaics of St. Mary's of the Admiral in Palermo* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 27), Washington DC 1990.
- Korolevskij, C., "Basiliens italo-grecs et espagnols", in *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique*, vol. 6, Paris 1932, cols. 1180–1236.
- Lucà, S., "I Normanni e la 'rinascita' del secolo XIII", *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 60 (1993), 7–91.
- Lucà, S., "Il libro bizantino e postbizantino nell'Italia meridionale", *Territori della cultura* 10 (2012), 25–76.
- Martin, J.-M., "Centri fortificati, potere feudale e organizzazione dello spazio", in A. Placanica (ed.), *La Calabria medievale. I quadri generali*, Rome 2001, pp. 487–522.
- Martin, J.-M., "Hellénisme politique, hellénisme religieux et pseudo-hellénisme à Naples (VII^e–XII^e siècle)", *Nέα Πώμη. Rivista di Ricerche bizantinistiche* 2 (2005), 59–77.
- Martin, J.-M., *Italies normandes, X^e–XII^e siècles* (La vie quotidienne. Civilisation et société), Paris 1994.
- Martin, J.-M., *La Pouille du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 179), Rome 1993.
- Martin, J.-M., "Les seigneuries monastiques", in R. Licinio/ F. Violante (eds.), *Nascita di un regno. Poteri signorili, istituzioni feudali e strutture sociali nel Mezzogiorno normanno* (1130–1194), Bari 2008, pp. 177–206.
- Martin, J.-M., "O felix Asia! Frédéric II, l'Empire de Nicée et le 'césaropapisme'", in *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron, Travaux et Mémoires* 14 (2002), 473–483.
- Martin, J.-M., "Une origine calabraise pour la Grèce salentine?", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 22–23 (1985–1986), 51–63.
- Martin, J.-M./Peters-Custot, A./ Prigent, V. (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 1. *La fabrique documentaire* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 449), Rome 2011; vol., 2, *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 461), Rome 2012; vol. 3 (with S. Brodbeck), *Décor monumental, objets, tradition textuelle* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 510), Rome 2015; vol. 4, *Habitat et structure agraire* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 531), Rome 2017.
- McCormick, M., "The Imperial Edge: Italo-Byzantine Identity, Movement and Integration, A.D. 650–950", in H. Ahrweiler/ A.E. Laiou (eds.), *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, Washington DC 1998, pp. 17–52.

- Ménager, L.-R., "La 'byzantinisation' religieuse de l'Italie méridionale et la politique monastique des Normands d'Italie (XI^e–XII^e s.)", *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* 53 (1958), 747–774; 54 (1959), 5–40 (reprinted in id., *Hommes et institutions de l'Italie normande*, London 1981, 1).
- Ménager, L.-R., "Notes sur les codifications byzantines et l'Occident", in id., *Varia. Études de droit romain*, vol. 3 (Publications de l'Institut de droit romain de l'Université de Paris, 16). Paris 1958.
- Nef, A., *Conquérir et gouverner la Sicile islamique aux XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 346), Rome 2011.
- Nef, A., "Géographie religieuse et continuité temporelle dans la Sicile normande (XI^e–XII^e siècles): le cas des évêchés", in P. Henriot (ed.), *À la recherche de légitimités chrétiennes. Représentations de l'espace et du temps dans l'Espagne médiévale (IX^e–XIII^e siècle)*, Lyon 2003, pp. 177–194.
- Nef, A., "Imaginaire impérial, empire et œcuménisme religieux: quelques réflexions depuis la Sicile des Hauteville", *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes* 24 (2012), 227–249.
- Nef, A., "Les groupes religieux minoritaires et la question de leur structuration en communautés dans les sociétés médiévales chrétiennes et islamiques", in J. Dakhli/W. Kaiser (eds.), *Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe*, vol. 2. *Passages et contacts en Méditerranée*, Paris 2013, pp. 413–440.
- Noyé, Gh., "Anéantissement et renaissance des élites dans le sud de l'Italie, V^e–VII^e siècle", in F. Bougard/ L. Feller/ R. Le Jan (eds.), *Les élites au haut Moyen Âge: Crises et renouvellement*, Turnhout 2006, pp. 167–205.
- Noyé, Gh., "Byzance et Italie méridionale", in L. Brubaker (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* Aldershot 1998, pp. 229–244.
- Noyé, Gh./Bougard, F., "Squillace au Moyen Âge", in R. Spadea (ed.), *Da Skylletion a Scolacium. Il parco archeologico della Roccelletta*, Rome 1988, pp. 215–230.
- Noyé, Gh./Bougard, F., "Squillace (prov. de Catanzaro)", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 98–2 (1986), 1195–1212.
- Parenti, S., *Il monastero di Grottaferrata nel Medioevo (1004–1462): segni e percorsi di una identità* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 274), Rome 2005.
- Peters-Custot, A., "Bessarion et le monachisme italo-grec: l'Orient en Italie du Sud?", *Cahiers d'études italiennes* 25 (2017), <http://cei.revues.org/3616>.
- Peters-Custot, A., *Bruno en Calabre. Histoire d'une fondation monastique dans l'Italie normande: S. Maria de Turri et S. Stefano del Bosco* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 489), Rome 2014.
- Peters-Custot, A., "Comportement social et comportement culturel des élites rurales grecques de la Calabre médiévale d'après les actes de la pratique (XI^e–XIII^e siècles)", in L. Feller/ M. Kaplan/ C. Picard (eds.), "Élites rurales méditerranéennes, V^e–XV^e siècles", special issue, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 124–2 (2012), 359–374.

- Peters-Custot, A., "Construction de la norme monastique dans l'Italie méridionale, entre moines italo-grecs et moines latins aux IX^e–XI^e siècles", in O. Delouis/ M. Mossakowska-Gaubert (eds.), *La vie quotidienne des moines en Orient et en Occident, IV^e–X^e siècles*. vol. 2. *Questions transversales* (Bibliothèque d'étude, 170), Le Caire 2018, pp. 445–467.
- Peters-Custot, A., "Convivencia between Christians: The Greek and Latin Communities of Byzantine South Italy (9th–11th centuries)", in B. Crostini/ S. La Porta (eds.), *Negotiating Co-Existence: Communities, Cultures and 'Convivencia' in Byzantine Society*, Trier 2013, pp. 205–222.
- Peters-Custot, A., "Gli Italo-Greci e la duplicità degli imperi e della *romanitas*", in K. Herbers/ K. Wolf (eds.), *Southern Italy as Contact Area and Border Region during the Early Middle Ages. Religious-Cultural Heterogeneity and Competing Powers in Local, Transregional and Universal Dimensions*, Cologne 2018, pp. 229–240.
- Peters-Custot, A., "Grecs et Byzantins dans les sources latines de l'Italie (IX^e–XI^e siècles)", in *Nation et nations au Moyen Âge. Actes du 44^e Congrès de la SHMESP, Prague, 23–26 mai 2013*, Paris 2014, pp. 181–191.
- Peters-Custot, A., "Greek-Latin Deeds in the Norman Calabria and the Question of the Reality of Multilingualism", in G. Mandalà/ I. Pérez Martín (eds.), *Multilingual and Multigraphic Documents and Manuscripts of East and West*, Piscataway NJ 2018, pp. 293–314.
- Peters-Custot, A., "La mention du sénatus-consulte velléen dans les actes grecs de l'Italie du Sud et de Sicile", in Martin/ Peters-Custot/ Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie*, vol. 2, pp. 51–72.
- Peters-Custot, A., "L'anthroponymie italo-grecque: Calabre, Basilicate méridionale et Tarente (975–1200)", in Martin/ Peters-Custot/ Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie*, vol. 2, pp. 187–206.
- Peters-Custot, A., "La politique royale normande et les comtés calabrais dans la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle : l'apport du fonds de S. Stefano del Bosco", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 124–1 (2012). <http://mefrm.revues.org/165>.
- Peters-Custot, A., "Le monachisme byzantin de l'Italie méridionale. Réalité et perception, du IX^e au XI^e siècle", in *Monachesimo d'Oriente, monachesimo d'Occidente* (Settimane CISAM, 64), Spoleto 2017, pp. 359–396.
- Peters-Custot, A., "Le monachisme italo-grec et basilien d'Italie, de la visite d'Athanase Chalkéopoulos (1457) au Concile de Trente : un héritage d'André Guillou à exploiter. Bilan et perspectives (1960–2016)", in M. Re/ C. Rognoni/ F.P. Vuturo (eds.), *Ritrovare Bisanzio. Atti delle Giornate di Studio sulla civiltà bizantina in Italia meridionale e nei Balcani dedicate alla memoria di André Guillou*, (Istituto Siciliano I Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici "Bruno Lavagnini", Quaderni, 20. Byzantino-Sicula, 7), Palermo 2019, pp. 231–247.
- Peters-Custot, A., "Le Monastère de Carbone au début du XIV^e siècle", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge* 114/2 (2002), 1045–1066.

- Peters-Custot, A., "Les communautés grecques de Basilicate à l'époque byzantine", in A. Jacob/ Gh. Noyé/ J.-M. Martin (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine. Acquis et nouvelles recherches*, (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 363), Rome 2006, pp. 559–587.
- Peters-Custot, A., *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale post-byzantine. Une acculturation en douceur (IX^e–XIV^e siècles)* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 420), Rome 2009.
- Peters-Custot, A., "Les remaniements de la carte diocésaine de l'Italie grecque lors de la conquête normande: une politique de latinisation forcée de l'espace (1059–1130) ?", in Ph. Rodriguez (ed.), *Pouvoir et territoire* (Travaux du CERHI, 6), Saint-Étienne 2007, pp. 57–77.
- Peters-Custot, A., "L'identité des Grecs de l'Italie méridionale byzantine", *Nέα 'Ρώμη. Rivista di Ricerche bizantinistiche* 3 (2006), 189–206.
- Peters-Custot, A., "L'identité d'une communauté minoritaire au Moyen Âge. La population grecque de la principauté lombarde de Salerne, IX^e–XII^e siècles", *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Âge* 121/1 (2009), 83–97.
- Peters-Custot, A., "Qu'est-ce qu'être « grec » dans l'Italie méridionale médiévale ? À propos d'une « identité » polysémique et en perpétuel mouvement", in F. Brizay (ed.), *Identité religieuse et minorités de l'Antiquité au XVIII^e siècle*. Rennes 2018, pp. 215–233.
- Peters-Custot, A., "Titulatures byzantines en Pouille et Calabre", in Martin/ Peters-Custot/ Prigent (eds.) *L'héritage byzantin en Italie*, vol. 2, pp. 643–658.
- Re, M./Rognoni, C. (eds.), *Byzantino-Sicula V. Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e Islam* (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici "Bruno Lavagnini", Quaderni, 17), Palermo 2009.
- Rodotà, P.P., *Dell'origine, progresso e stato presente del rito greco in Italia, osservato dai Greci, monaci basiliani e albanesi*, 3 vols., Rome 1758–1763.
- Ronconi, F., "De Stoudios à la Théotokos Evérgètès. Textes et livres du monachisme méso-byzantin, entre innovations et continuité", in *Monachesimo d'Oriente, monachesimo d'Occidente* (Settimane CISAM, 64), Spoleto 2017, pp. 1293–1366.
- Shepard, J., "Aspects of Byzantine Attitudes and Policy towards the West in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 13 (1988), 67–118.
- Stiernon, D., "Basile de Reggio, le dernier métropole grec de Calabre", *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 18 (1964), 189–226.
- Toomaspoeg, K., Decimae. *Il sostegno economico dei sovrani alla Chiesa del Mezzogiorno nel XIII secolo. Dai lasciti di Eduard Sthamer e Norbert Kamp* (Ricerche dell'Istituto Storico Germanico di Roma 4), Rome 2009.
- Vagnoni, M., "Problemi di legittimazione regia: 'Imitatio Byzantii'", in E. D'Angelo/ C. Leonardi (eds.), *Il papato e i Normanni. Temporale e spirituale in età normanna* (Millennio Medievale, 91), Florence 2011, pp. 175–190.

PART 2

Communications, Economy and Landscape



The Network of Interregional Roads and Harbours

Denis Sami

1 Introduction (General Overview, Sources, Problems)

At the time of Emperor Justinian the Byzantine Empire extended its political and economic control from the Southern coast of Spain and the Balearic Islands to Italy, the Balkans, North Africa, Egypt and the Middle East and reached the regions of the Black Sea. The ideological and the economic unity of such vast territory was guaranteed by the remaining network of interregional land communications, the *cursus publicus* and the system of major harbours developed during the Roman period and inherited by Constantinople.

Investigating the fate of such an articulated organization of roads and ports means tackling the geographical fluctuation of Byzantine provincial control, the people's perception of space and time, as well as the Empire's source of wealth and the politic performed by Constantinople in order to master its space.

Recent years have seen important contributions in the study of the Roman system of interregional communications in Italy. Roads have been the focus of research aimed at exploring the origin and the economic, as well as the social, influence of such a network. A cartographic approach has predominated among Italian scholars who have attempted to correlate roads and lodging stations mentioned in *itineraria* with modern place-names.¹ Other theoretical approaches to the economic or the social impacts have also been explored. A major argument of these last studies has been that land transport was privileged over sea and river transport, and that the organisation of the *cursus publicus* was the cartographic expression of the Romanisation of Italy and the connection between the Imperial authority and the control of territory.²

1 About Italy: Basso/Zanini, *Statio Amoena*; Corsi, *Le strutture di servizio*; Baietti, *Le strade dell'Italia romana*; Calzolari, *Introduzione allo studio*; Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana*; Levi/Levi, *Itineraria picta*. On the late antique network of land communications from a cartographic and textual perspectives see Talbert, *Rome's World*; Belke, "Communications: Roads and bridges"; Staccioli, *The Roads of the Romans*; Avramea, "Land and sea communications"; Adam/Laurence, *Travel and Geography*; Kolb, "Transport and communication"; Kaplan, "Quelques remarques sur les routes"; Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, pp. 830–34.

2 On the Romanisation and the predominance of trade using land communications: Laurence, *The Roads of Roman Italy*. About the social impact of road traffic and transport in Roman time: Tilburg, *Traffic and Congestion*; Kolb, "Transport and communication".



MAP 8.1 The network of roads and harbours
© DENIS SAMI

The system of roads that allowed Roman society to move through the Empire for economic, military, religious or recreational reasons was seriously declining by the late 6th century. The military instability caused by the Lombard invasion of 569 accelerated the decline of the *cursus publicus* in northern and central Italy forcing the Byzantine Empire to focus on sea communications.

Despite the innovative study in 1978 by Giulio Schmiedt who compiled a survey of the major harbours of Late Roman and medieval Italy, by combining ancient *itineraria* and portolan charts supplemented by air photography,

the study of Italian harbours did not fully develop until the last two decades.³ A series of excavations in main ports such as Portus, Ostia, Naples, Ravenna, Comacchio and Venice inaugurated a new season of research and stimulated the debate on the topic.⁴ The theoretical approach of such research has so far been predominately economic-centric, much like approaches to the *cursus publicus*.⁵ But if archaeologists have investigated Byzantine ports from an economic perspective, historians have explored a wider variety of topics including military and aristocratic involvement in the development of maritime powers, as well as the role of harbours in maintaining the ideological sense of unity and facilitating the exchange of new ideas.⁶

The debate about harbours inevitably mirrors the wider discussion concerning urbanism. Ports were in fact an essential part of the infrastructure of Byzantine coastal cities and their development or decline reflects the fate of these same cities. We shall see how the main urban centres of Byzantine Italy were also major ports and how the presence of harbours was pivotal to the economic investments of local elites.⁷

The network of cities, towns and rural centres needed connections to function as part of a system, so what strategy did Constantinople follow to keep provinces connected and functioning? What was the fate of classical roads and harbours?

A study of the Byzantine interregional network of communications inevitably needs to start from the 4th and the early 5th centuries; this period is in fact rich in literary, cartographic, epigraphic as well as archaeological information. The eighth book of the *Codex Theodosianus* is almost entirely dedicated to the administration of the *cursus publicus*. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* offers us a view of the Late Roman road system, as well as the main harbours and smaller docks along the coast and rivers. Our understanding of Byzantine connections is further enriched by details in textual sources such as angiographies and historical accounts, as for example the history of the Gothic War by Procopius or

3 Schmiedt, "I porti italiani".

4 De Maria/Turchetti, *Rotte e porti del Mediterraneo* Portus: Keay, *Rome, Portus and the Mediterranean*; Paroli, "Il porto di Roma"; Naples: Giampaola, *Napoli. La città e il mare* and Giampaola et alii, "La scoperta del porto di Neapolis"; Ravenna: Augenti/Cirelli, "From suburb to port"; Cirelli, *Ravenna*; Comacchio: Gelichi et alii, "Castrum igne combussit"; Venice: Gelichi in this volume.

5 See for instance the papers in Keay, *Rome, Portus and the Mediterranean*.

6 For a general view on the Byzantine navy and society: Carile/Cosentino, *Storia della marineria*.

7 Ahrweiler, "Les ports byzantines".

the letters of Pope Gregory I. Finally, inscriptions commemorating restorations or mentioning infrastructures related to spatial connectivity will be analysed to expand our understanding of the system of land and sea transports.

2 The Fate of the *Cursus Publicus*

The state system of land communication created by Augustus for connecting the provinces of the Empire, stimulating trade and the rapid exchange of information, as well as facilitating the movement of troops, was known in late antiquity as *cursus publicus*.⁸ Paved roads with stone slabs (*Via strata*) or covered with cobbles (*Via glareata strata*) formed a network of *Viae* spaced by post stations (*mansiones* or *stationes*) and smaller lodges (*mutationes*) built at regular distances to permit the changing of horses, asses or mules, and to allow travellers to recover.⁹

To facilitate and regulate the road system the *cursus publicus* was divided into *cursus velox* and *cursus clabularis*. By buying a ticket (*tractoria*) or under imperial warrant (*evectio*) couriers, Bishops, aristocrats and traders were allowed the use of the *cursus velox*.¹⁰ This fast modality employed horses, mules and asses to deliver goods of high priority such as messages, collected taxes, and gold and silver from the mines. The *cursus clabularis* was designated to facilitate the less urgent carriage of high weight and high volume goods such as army equipment and supplies, grain and building materials. In this case, oxen attached to a wagon (*carrus* or *angariae*) were employed.¹¹

Very strict regulation was applied to the nature, size and weight of goods transported via the *cursus publicus*. The *Codex Theodosianus* clearly specifies that in the peninsula carriages were not to convey more than 1000 pounds of weight, couriers upon a post-horse 30 pounds, but post-wagons could transport a maximum of 1500 pounds.¹² Controls were organised along the *Viae* to check carriages and the punishments that were doled out for those who exceeded the maximum weight of transport were particularly harsh, spanning from exile for a free man to forced labour in the mines for slave.¹³ Special permission had to be granted for the transport of the gold and silver of the *sacrae largitiones*. The dispatch of 500 pounds of gold and 1000 pounds of silver per carriage to the

8 Laurence, *The Roads of Roman Italy*, p. 39.

9 Corsi, *Le strutture di servizio*.

10 Tilburg, *Traffic and Congestion*, pp. 45, 58; Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfert*, pp. 52–53.

11 Tilburg, *Traffic and Congestion*, pp. 52–59.

12 *CTh* 8.5.17.

13 *CTh* 8.17.30.

court was permitted, while in the case of *res privatae* the maximum limit was 300 pounds of gold and 500 pounds of silver and carriage was required to be guarded by two palatines and three slaves.¹⁴

The Christianisation of the Empire brought new travellers to the road system; pilgrims, bishops, and monks moved through the Empire using the *cursus publicus*.¹⁵ Syracusan Bishop Crestus was granted by Constantine the permission to use the state transports to attend the council of Arles in 314.¹⁶ Aristocrats such as Melania on the way to Jerusalem visited her estate in Sicily and she may have travelled with a large retinue of servants and friends. We have an idea of the size and organisation of a small convoy from a Greek papyrus.¹⁷ Imperial official Theophanes travelled for 18 days between 317–23 from Egypt to Antioch together with a clerk and some slaves. They brought with them good bread and wine, as well as cheap bread and cheap barrels of wine for slaves, vegetables, fish sauce, honey, firewood, and cooking utensils.

In the 5th century the main road system became increasingly difficult to access. A law of 382 attempted to limit the use of the *cursus publicus* ordering that no more than six post-horses and a single carriage should be dispatched at any one day.¹⁸ Such severity was on the one hand motivated by keeping the expenses of the *cursus publicus* under control and, on the other hand, concerned with the prevention of abuses that could compromise the efficiency of the roads and create damage that needed reparations.

The maintenance of this network was in fact highly expensive. The repair of 15 miles (circa 23 km) of *Via Appia* in 123/4 AD cost 2,039,100 *sestertii* (1,470,000 from the Emperor and 569,100 from the landowners).¹⁹ From the 4th century cuts occurred where possible leading to a general decline of the road system. Under Emperor Julian the *cursus velox* in Sardinia was abandoned because it was thought to be unnecessary.²⁰ Cuts, however, did not help to stop the decline. The late 4th century author Ammianus Marcellinus describes the *Via Julia* in Liguria as a dangerous path in the winter and Claudian defines the *Via Flaminia* as '*pulverulenta Via*', a dusty road.²¹ Rutilius Namatianus travelling from Rome to Gaul around 417, described a landscape of neglected and

14 CTh 8.5.48. Also CTh 8.5.18 about guards.

15 Corsi, "La cristianizzazione del viaggio"; Macrides, *Travel in the Byzantine World*; Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*; Galatariotou, "Travel and Perception"; Malamut, *Sur la route des saints byzantins*.

16 Rizzo, "Cristianesimo", p. 387.

17 Tilburg, *Traffic and Congestion*, p. 48.

18 CTh 8.5.40.

19 CIL IX, 6075; Tilburg, *Traffic and Congestion*, p. 37.

20 CTh 8.5.16.

21 Ammianus, *Historia*, 15.10, 2–7 ed. J.C. Rolfe, Cambridge Mass. 1950; Claudianus, *Carmina minora*, 40.7–8, ed. M. Platnauer, London 1922.

ruined roads and bridges.²² In the 6th century, Procopius lamented the drastic reduction of *mansiones* and *mutationes* under Justinian, but at the same time he praised the well maintained *Via Appia* near Rome.²³

Even in rich Sicily the land system of communication does not seem to have been particularly easy to use. The debated 7th century Life of Bishop Gregory of Agrigento describes how in the late 6th century Gregory and some monks travelled through Sicily using sea transport instead of the shorter land routes.²⁴

Archaeology points us towards a more articulated and differentiated context. Cristina Corsi suggests that the majority of *mansiones* and *mutationes* continued to be in use, although with alterations, until the early middle ages implying help from the state or the Church although this is not clearly documented.²⁵ Unfortunately, very little is known about the material preservation and practicality of post-4th century roads. Restorations and renovations documented in *Tabellaria* (Tarquinia) on the *Via Aurelia* and *mutatio Valentia* on the *Via Traiana* seem to indicate a certain attention and continuity in the care of the lodging structures that may reflect the maintenance of the roads as well.²⁶ In Campania, King Theodoric patronised maintenance works of the *Via Appia* and the *mansio* of *Decemnovium* near Terracina and these works were celebrated by an inscription.²⁷

Other case studies, however, offer a different picture. In *Ad Novas* (Cesena-tico) between the cities of Ravenna and Rimini the lodging and the settlement organised along the *Via Popilia-Annia* significantly declined in the second half of the 5th century. Evidence of restorations and transformation of the lodge and thermal bath are documented during the 4th and early 5th centuries followed by a dramatic decline from around circa 460s. It was in this period that the thermal bath and the other buildings were almost entirely robbed and poor houses were built. Lack of post-5th century coins and the limited ceramic assemblage suggest that the site did not function as a lodge (fig. 8.1). Nonetheless, despite the abandonment of the buildings the settlement continued to

22 Rutilius Namatianus, *De reditu*, 1.39–41.

23 Procopius, *Bella*, 5.14.6.

24 Leontius, *Vita Gregorii*, 85. Regarding the chronology of the text see Martin, *Leontius Abbot*, who suggests a 7th century date, while A. Berger, *Leontios Presbyteros von Rome. Das Leben des heiligen Gregorios von Agrigent* (Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten, 60), Berlin 1995, proposes a 9th century chronology of the text. Cosentino, "Quando e perché fu scritta" argues for a date between the late 7th to the early 8th century. Sea travel is a recurrent topic in Sicilian hagiography, Caliri, "Movimenti di uomini e cose".

25 Corsi, *Le strutture di servizio*, pp. 183–184.

26 Corsi, *Le strutture di servizio*, pp. 124, 143, 183.

27 *CIL* X, 6850.

be scantily occupied until the late 6th or the early 7th centuries.²⁸ The *mansio* investigated by Zanini in Vignale, South Etruria seems to have had a similar, although later, fate of decline between the 6th and the early 7th centuries. More data from the excavations are needed to understand if the decline of this part of *Via Aurelia* occurred before the Gothic War or was perhaps due to the Lombard invasion.²⁹

The causes of the general neglect of the road system need to be seen in the wider context of the rise of military expenditure to face Barbarian invasions, as well as a generalized military instability, in particular in the region of central and north Italy. The network of roads inherited by Constantinople was a system already in difficulty, and the Gothic War and the Lombard invasion dealt the final blow. The fate of the *cursus publicus* was therefore one of a general decline motivated by economic and military transformation, occurring between the late 5th and 6th centuries. In particular, as we shall analyse below, the Lombard invasion represented a crucial event that caused a profound setback in the use and perception of the roads system.



FIGURE 8.1 Road excavation in *Ad Novas*

28 Sami/Christie, "The Roman Road and the *Mansio*".

29 Zanini, "Il Vignale in età romana".

3 The Interregional Roads of Byzantine Italy

The *cursus publicus* formed the basis of the Byzantine network of land communications, but its access was directly related to the military instability of post-5th century Italy. The insecurity caused by the Gothic War and by the later Lombard invasion deeply impacted the use of roads.

In the North of the peninsula the *Via Postumia* connected Genoa to Piacenza and linked Byzantine strongholds such as Cremona, Mantua and Treviso to Aquileia. Thanks to its capacity for linking these *castra*, the *Via Postumia* played a determinant role in the planning and strategy of the Byzantine *limes* in the northern part of the Po Valley.³⁰ During the Gothic War, Belisarius intended to move his army stationed in Pola (Istria) through this road to reach Genoa and rescue the besieged garrison commanded by Bonus.³¹ The strategic connotation of the *Via Postumia* in the movement of the armies served for the preparation of the Ostrogoths' long and ultimately successful siege of Piacenza, followed by the attacks on Mantua and Verona.³² The control of this *via* was, however, lost by the Byzantines during the first years of the Lombard invasion. The sequence of cities' fall between the 6th and the 7th century give us an idea of the progressive erosion of Byzantine control of the space in the north Po Valley: Aquileia, Verona, and Piacenza fell soon after the invasion of 569. With the loss of the *Via Postumia* the Byzantines also lost the northern connection between the Adriatic and the Tyrrhenian coasts forcing them to increase their use of the *Via Flaminia* to communicate with the east coast of the peninsula.³³

In the last decade of the 6th century the Lombards from the Po Valley moved to Tuscia causing the isolation of Liguria from the other Byzantine territories.³⁴ From this time Liguria could receive supplies only through the sea and the *Via Julia* acted as a vital bond between the *limes* set up in the hills and the network of harbours on the coast.³⁵

On the North East of the peninsula the *Via Popilia-Annia* ran along the Adriatic littoral linking Aquileia to Ravenna and Rimini. This road, together with a network of canals and rivers allowed fast movement for troops and supply, contributing to the force of resistance on the north eastern *limes*.³⁶

³⁰ Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine*, p. 224.

³¹ Procopius, *Bella*, 7.10.14.

³² Procopius, *Bella*, 7.10.4.

³³ Menestò, *Il corridoio bizantino*.

³⁴ Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine*, p. 226.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 234–244.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 226–234. The network of canals and *fossae* is discussed below.

The protection of the Po Valley was completed with the north western *limes* that corresponded with the *Via Aemilia* linking Piacenza to Rimini. From the late 6th century to the first half of the 7th century the *Via Aemilia* witnessed the fluctuation of the boundaries imposed by the Lombard expansion and the progressive reduction of control by the Byzantines.³⁷

The *Via Aurelia* may not have been fully contemplated in the strategy of the fortification of Byzantine Italy. This road, apparently unsafe and ruined at the time of Rutilius Namatianus, was used in the course of the Gothic War, but in the reorganisation of the Byzantine territories the *Via Aurelia* did not receive particular attention.³⁸ The road in fact fell into the hands of Lombards when they invaded Tuscia contributing, as we shall see, to the final decline of important Late Roman coastal centres such as *Portus Pisanus*.

The land communication between the Exarchate, the Pentapolis and Rome was guaranteed by the *Via Flaminia* that crossed the Apennines and the Tiber Valley.³⁹ For its strategic relevance, this route was for the Byzantines a vital corridor wedged between the Lombard Kingdom and the Duchy of Spoleto and was heavily defended by a system of *castra*.⁴⁰

Connections between Rome and the south-east of Italy were maintained through the *Via Appia* linking the capital to Capua, Benevento, Taranto and *Brundisium* (Brindisi).⁴¹ The formation of the Duchy of Benevento from the late 6th century caused the progressive loss of control of this road too. The *Via Traiana* was an extension of the *Via Appia* and represented the faster land route from Rome to Constantinople via the harbours of Bari and Brindisi, but its accessibility followed the fluctuation of the boundaries between the Duchy of Benevento and the Byzantine territories. In 663 Emperor Constans II began his campaign in Italy landing in Taranto and from there he moved north using the *Via Traiana* clashing with the Lombards and then he reached Naples through the *Via Appia*.⁴²

Of the land connection between Rome and Calabria in the post classical period we do not have clear information. The *Via Popilia* was the Roman road linking Capua to *Regium* (Reggio), but the Lombard expansion in South Italy also seized this road from Byzantine control isolating Calabria from Rome.⁴³

37 Ibid., pp. 44–104.

38 Ibid., pp. 35–40.

39 Messineo/Carbonara, *Via Flaminia*.

40 Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine*, pp. 260–268.

41 Quilici, *La Via Appia*.

42 Corsi, *La spedizione di Costante II*, pp. 131–132, 139.

43 Crogiez, “Le stations du *cursus publicus*”; La Torre, “Per lo studio della viabilità”.

In Sicily the *Via Valeria* connected *Lilybaeum* (Marsala) to Palermo and ended in Messina, while the *Via Pompeia* on the Eastern coast linked Messina to Taormina, Catania and Syracuse.⁴⁴ A southern road, the *Via Selinuntina* completed the connection linking Syracuse to *Lilybaeum* (Marsala).⁴⁵

Following the cuts to the *cursus publicus* by Emperor Julian, connections in Sardinia were maintained through the road linking *Karalis* (Cagliari) to *Turris* (Porto Torres). Archaeological surveys documented an uninterrupted use of this route over a long period from Roman time to the middle ages, but we lack details about its maintenance and administration.⁴⁶

4 The Harbours of Byzantine Italy

A dense network of primary and secondary ports populated the coasts of Late Roman Italy. The network of interregional connection, however, appears to decline from the second half of the 5th century when important Roman city-ports were reduced to small docks or abandoned.

The rocky coast of Liguria was ideal for situating small and well protected ports equipped to receive ships from North Africa, as well as from Italy and the eastern regions. The 7th century *Ravenna Cosmographia* and the Late Roman *Itinerarium Maritimum* report the ports of *Albintimilium* (Ventimiglia), *portus Mauricii* (Porto Maurizio), *Albingaunum* (Albenga) restored and fortified by Costantius III in the early 5th century, *Varatelia* (Toirano), *Varicottis* (Varigotti), *Vada Sabatia* (Vado Ligure), *Savo* (Savona), *Genua* (Genoa), *Portus Delphini* (Portofino), *Segesta Tigullorum* (Sestri Levante), *Ad Monilia* (Moneglia), *Antinum* (Framura), *Portus Veneris* (Portovenere) and *Eryx* (Lerici) and Luni.⁴⁷ Moving south, the harbour of Luni was already declining in the 6th century when poor quality houses were built in the *forum*.⁴⁸ It was finally taken and reduced to ruin by the Lombard King Rothari in 640. This high number of harbours for a relatively small region is representative of the importance of the sea routes had in maintaining the Byzantine power in Liguria and supply the *castra* along the *limes*.

Portus Pisanus (Pisa) was one of the major Roman harbours of the northern coast. Rutilius Namatianus visited the city on his travel landing in the

44 Cacciaguerra, "Dinamiche insediative in Sicilia".

45 Uggeri, *La viabilità della Sicilia*.

46 Del Vais, "Note sulla viabilità"; Mastino, *Le strade romane*.

47 Schmiedt, "I porti italiani", pp. 132–133.

48 Ward-Perkins, "Luni".

harbour and from here he reached the city through a road.⁴⁹ In 603, however, the port still had a certain social and military organisation as Pope Gregory the Great writing to Exarch Smaragdus in Ravenna informed him about the presence in Pisa of a fleet of *dromons*.⁵⁰ The geological instability of the area, characterised by wetlands subject to frequent floods, forced *Portus Pisanus* to a constant renegotiation of its space with the surrounding marshlands.⁵¹ An idea of the range and volume of interregional connections and the structural transformations undertaken at *Portus Pisanus* in Roman and late antique times is offered by the excavation at San Rossore where circa 20 shipwrecks spanning from the second century BC to the 7th century AD were uncovered.⁵² Between *Portus Pisanus* and Rome there were anchorages such as *Portus Cosanus*, and *Centumcellae*, and despite their importance in Roman times it is unlikely that these centres had an interregional role in Byzantine times.⁵³

Of the two harbours of Rome, *Portus* still functioned in the mid-5th century but it seems the port declined soon after the 6th century and Ostia underwent forms of urban decline.⁵⁴ The foundation of *Portus* and Ostia highlight Rome's need for projected and organised infrastructures to receive the enormous amount of foodstuff necessary for the capital and the regional redistribution. The decline of these two harbours represents the material evidence of the economic and demographic transformation of Rome in Late Antiquity.

The coast of Campania was also particularly suitable for harbours. *Portus Miseni* hosted the *classis Misenensis*, the major Roman fleet in the Tyrrhenian Sea and according to the *Notitia Dignitatum Occidentis* the harbour was still an important military base in the 5th century.⁵⁵ Cuma, Pozzuoli and Naples formed the sea front line of the Byzantine defense of the Duchy supplying the *castra* of Capua, Suessola and Nola.⁵⁶

In the 6th century, the harbour of Naples saw its activity and population reducing to the extent that Savino questions the urban role of the city.⁵⁷ We know that shipyards and *navicularii* were active in the city and there were connections especially with Sicily: St. Willibald in the first half of the 8th century

49 Rutilius Namatianus, *De reditu* 559.

50 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum*, 13.34.

51 Camilli, "Le strutture portuali".

52 Camilli/Setari, *Ancient shipwrecks*.

53 Camilli/Gambogi, "Porti e approdi della costa toscana"; Ciampoltrini/Rendini, "Il sistema portuale"; Schmiedt, "I porti italiani". Procopius, *Bella* 2.7 and 3.37; Rutilius Namatianus, *De reditu*, 235.

54 Keay, *Rome, Portus and the Mediterranean*.

55 *Notitia dignitatum*, Oc. 42.11 ed. O. Seeck, Frankfurt am Main 1962 (first edition 1876).

56 Savino, *Campania tardoantica*, pp. 141–43.

57 *Ibid.*, pp. 148–51.

sailed from Gaeta to Naples where he found a ship arrived from Egypt and heading for Sicily.⁵⁸ Although the evidence does not offer further details about the structure, organisation and fate of the harbour in Byzantine times, it nonetheless informs us of a certain vitality in the port activity. Two anchorages are documented at Naples; the larger was the *Portus Vulpulum* in the area of modern Piazza Municipio and the smaller was the *Portus de Arcina* that, according to Arthur, was the military port connected with the ducal-palace today in the area of modern Molo Piccolo.⁵⁹ Excavations in Piazza Municipio uncovered at a depth of 13 m the remains of docks and three Roman imperial shipwrecks.⁶⁰ Data Evidence shows how, in the 5th century the port was in a poor condition and it did not receive the maintenance documented in early imperial times.⁶¹ The harbour slowly collected sediment until it was finally abandoned in the 6th century. The Byzantine port, however, was reorganised in an area not yet investigated.⁶² We know that in the 6th century the Byzantine fleet anchored at a safe distance from missiles launched from the city by the Ostrogoths.⁶³ In 668, Constantine V repressed the revolt of Mecetius in Sicily with the help of naval forces from Sardinia, the Exarchate and Campania, and most probably from Naples, corroborating the presence of a military fleet still operating in the city.⁶⁴

The trait of littoral area between Naples and Reggio did not have significant interregional sea communication in Byzantine times. In Calabria, the Lombard and Arab raids forced the population to abandon the coast moving to the fortified settlements on hilltops. At the time of Norman King Roger II (1095–1154) the only harbour mentioned on the south coast of Calabria between Taranto and Reggio was Crotona, while on the Tyrrhenian coast the

58 Bishop Pascasius indulged himself in sailing and boats construction (Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum*, 13.27). The letter of Pope Gregory the Great to General Maurentius implies interregional connection from the harbour of Naples. Also the son of Domitius may have been a *navicularius* (Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum*, 9.160). Connection from Naples to Sicily (Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum*, 9.10), see also Savino, *ibid.*, pp. 148–49 and notes. About St. Willibald see Talbot, *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries*, pp. 159–60.

59 Arthur, *Naples*, p. 34.

60 Boetto et al., “I relitti di Napoli”.

61 Boetto et al., “I relitti di Napoli”.

62 Arthur, *Naples*, p. 34; Boetto et al., “I relitti di Napoli”. Giampaola, *Napoli. La città e il mare*. A recent assessment of the archaeology and ceramics from the late antique and Byzantine harbours of Naples is in Carsana, “Anfore altomedievali”.

63 Procopius, *Bella*, 5.8.3.

64 Carile/Cosentino, *Storia della marineria*, p. 134. Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 5.12. Savino, *Campania tardoantica*, p. 148, suggests goods were mainly for local consumption.

harbours of Nicotera, Tropea, Amantea and Scalea were still functioning implying a certain continuity from the Byzantine period.⁶⁵

Until the 9th century the two main harbours of Byzantine Puglia were Brindisi and Taranto. Despite a slow decline during Late Antiquity, the port of Taranto never completely lost its interregional role, as the landing of Constans II demonstrated.⁶⁶ Brindisi and Taranto were occupied by Lombard Duke Romualdus in the mid-7th century and later gained back by the Byzantines between 870–880.⁶⁷ In the 9th century the harbour of Brindisi is mentioned in the life of St. Leucius as '*parvissimum oppidum*.'⁶⁸ The conquest by the Slavs of Durazzo – that represented the direct connection between Brindisi and the *Via Egnatia* – played a part in the diminishing importance of this city.⁶⁹ Brindisi, nonetheless remained vital and saw investments at the time of Basil II and Constantine VIII.⁷⁰

It was the Lombard occupation of Brindisi and Taranto that determined the rising importance of Otranto as main interregional harbour of Byzantine Puglia.⁷¹ The position of the city, at the entrance of the Adriatic Sea, and the distance from the Lombard territories had a determinant role in the choice of this centre and it highlights the Byzantine concerns toward the Lombard expansion in the region.⁷² On the Adriatic coast, *Egnatia* was already declining by the 6th and the 7th centuries and its influence was reduced to regional routes.⁷³ Despite the political and military importance of Bari we lack information concerning its harbour and only future archaeological investigation will add data to the topic.⁷⁴

Between Bari and Ancona there were only minor anchorages. The geological condition of the coast and on the other hand the Lombard invasion, prevented the development of maritime centres of certain relevance along this part of coast.⁷⁵

65 Von Falkenhausen, "Reseaux routiers et ports", p. 712.

66 Corsi, *La spedizione di Costante II*, p. 131.

67 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* 6.1.

68 About Nicephorus and St Leucius see von Falkenhausen, "Reseaux routiers et ports", p. 714.

69 Von Falkenhausen, "Reseaux routiers et ports", p. 718.

70 Schmiedt, "I porti italiani", p. 201.

71 Schmiedt, "I porti italiani", p. 201; von Falkenhausen, "Tra Occidente e Oriente"; ead., "Reseaux routiers et ports", p. 715. For an archaeological perspective of Otranto see: Michaelides/ Whitehouse, "Scavi di emergenza".

72 Von Falkenhausen, "Reseaux routiers et ports", p. 717.

73 Cassano, "Egnazia tardoantica".

74 Von Falkenhausen, "Bari bizantina"; and, "Reseaux routiers et ports".

75 Schmiedt, "I porti italiani", pp. 213–214.

The Emperor Trajan began the campaign in *Dacia* sailing from Ancona and the city became a Byzantine stronghold during the Gothic War thanks to its capacity as a coastal supply base.⁷⁶ Connections with the Byzantine Empire were never lost and at the time of Manuel I Komnenos Ancona had strong economic and political bonds with Constantinople.⁷⁷

The maritime centres of Ancona, Senigallia, Fano, Pesaro and Rimini formed the Pentapolis that had close similarities to those of Liguria and the Duchy of Naples. These centres acted as support for an inland *limes* protecting the *Viae Flaminia* and *Amerina*.⁷⁸ Rimini, in particular was the linking point between the Adriatic routes and the north and central Italian road system. This centrality is materially documented through the high consumption in towns of ceramics produced in central and north Italy, as well as products of North Africa and the East.⁷⁹

Since the time of Augustus, the political capital of Byzantine Italy was also a main maritime centre. Ravenna hosted the *Classis Ravennatis* – the main Roman fleet in the East. The exact location and organisation of the harbours of Ravenna still remains uncertain; however excavation in the nearby town of Classe offers us the opportunity for evaluating the range, the consistency and the dynamic of the interregional connections with the capital of the Exarchate.⁸⁰ Thanks to its port, the city rapidly developed in the 5th and 6th century, with residential spaces, storage buildings and areas of production organised along a paved road and the port-yard. The harbour underwent changes in the late 6th century when residential and commercial spaces were reorganised, showing elements of urban decline, but nonetheless an impressive amount of goods continued to arrive.⁸¹

The coast of Venetia and Istria were settled by a dense number of small docks and harbours hosting refugees from the Lombards: Torcello, Caorle, Heracliana, Aquileia and Grado were the main coastal centres of this system

76 Salvini/Palermo, "Le attività nel porto romano di Ancona". See also Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine*, pp. 151–153.

77 Carile/ Cosentino, *Storia della marineria*, pp. 150–155.

78 On late antique Fano see Spallaci, "Alla ricerca del porto di Fano" and also "Il porto di Fano". In addition, Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine*, pp. 254–256. The role of the *Via Amerina* in Late Antiquity is explored by Cavallo, *Via Amerina*.

79 Negrelli, *Rimini capitale*; also see an assessment of the pottery in id., "Vasellame e contenitori".

80 Cirelli, *Ravenna*, pp. 27–29. Also Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, regarding the Byzantine navy in Italy. Augenti/Cirelli, "From suburb to port".

81 Augenti/Cirelli/ Marino, "Case e magazzini".

and were at the base of the formation of Venice.⁸² Aquileia had an important harbour in Roman times but it slowly declined, and despite Ausonius' 4th century description of Aquileia as: '*celeberrima moenibus et portu*,' the harbour was reduced to a small dock with limited activity by the time of King Theodoric.⁸³ Grado had a similar fate, affected by the Huns, Ostrogoths and particularly by the Lombards, and despite maintaining an important political position its significance as interregional port declined.⁸⁴

After the fall of Ravenna in 751, Venice rose as the main political and military power in the Adriatic to the extent that Emperor Constantine VII (913–959) describes the city as *emporion mega*, great market.⁸⁵ There is scant evidence for the original harbour of the city as Venice underwent deep urban modification through the centuries, but we can evaluate the importance of its interregional contacts through its rising importance as a maritime power.⁸⁶

Because of their geographical position Sardinia and Sicily played a determinant role maintaining Byzantine connectivity in the West Mediterranean. Cagliari and Porto Torres were the two main harbours of Sardinia and *navicularii* are reported in the island.⁸⁷ An archon of Sardinia – probably in service in Cagliari – is mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies* written by Constantine VII (913–959), and the 6th century funerary dedication to Gaudiosus *draconarius* informs us about a fleet of *dromons* in the island.⁸⁸ Despite the general lack of data about Byzantine Sardinia, this information pinpoints the boundary between the regional city-ports and the economic and military activity.

The main harbours of Sicily were: Palermo, Lilybaeum, Syracuse and Catania. Linens and fabrics were traded by Alexandrine(?) Petrus *linatarius* who died in Palermo in 602.⁸⁹ The Church of Palermo had its own fleet and in some cases requested the help of private transport.⁹⁰ The life of Bishop Gregory of Agrigento mentions monks sailing from Tripoli to Palermo and in the same text it is reported that Bishop Gregory on his way from Rome to Agrigento

82 Schmiedt, "I porti italiani"; Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine*, pp. 226–227.

83 Ausonius, *Ordo urbium nobilium*, 9, ed. H.G. Evelyn-White, London 1919; Schmiedt, "I porti italiani", p. 241. A discussion about the archaeology of the port of Aquileia is in Buora "Water (and harbours) around Roman Aquileia".

84 Carile/Cosentino, *Storia della marineria*, pp. 104–112.

85 Carile/Cosentino, *Storia della marineria*, p. 96.

86 On the elites Carile/Cosentino, *Storia della marineria*, pp. 173–76. Archaeology recently added new data to the discussion, see Gelichi in this volume.

87 De Salvo, "I *navicularii* di Sardegna".

88 Carile/Cosentino, *Storia della marineria*, pp. 185–207.

89 Pace, *Arte e civiltà*, p. 240.

90 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum*, 1.70; 9.40.

landed in Palermo together with some monks.⁹¹ From the 5th century Marsala was a Vandal dominion and therefore a strong bond was made with the Vandal Kingdom in North Africa.⁹² Syracuse had two harbours: Porto Piccolo and the Porto Grande taken by the Arabs during the dramatic siege of 878.⁹³ We know from Procopius that the harbours of Syracuse were protected by walls when in the 6th century the Byzantine fleet entered the city.⁹⁴ The same walls still protected the harbours in 878 and were known as Brachiolia in the account of the siege written by monk Theodosius to Archdeacon Leo⁹⁵ Syracuse and Catania maintained interregional connections especially with the eastern provinces; St. Willibald sailed from Syracuse to Monemvasia, and the wizard Heliodorus, after being arrested in Catania, sailed to Constantinople passing the ports of Reggio, Crotona and Otranto on board a magic vessel drawn on the water.⁹⁶

Research has mainly been focused on the land and sea routes, but we need also to include the interregional system of communication waterways. The Po river, as well as natural and artificial canals, provided links between the centres of north of Italy.⁹⁷ The Porto Tiberino, Rome's port on the Tiber, had a great importance in the supply of the city and in the regional redistribution.⁹⁸ Sailing through waterways was also easy and a safer mode of transport. Cassiodorus offers us a colourful description of the route connecting the Province of Istria to Ravenna through Comacchio and Venice that represents the paradigmatic example of centres of interregional contacts developed around river communications.⁹⁹

5 Conclusions

Some general characteristics of the network of land communications and harbours of Byzantine Italy can be pinpointed. These are: first, the strict relationship between roads and harbours and the organisation of the *limites*; second,

91 Tripoli-Palermo: Leontius, *Vita Gregorii*, 19, Rome-Palermo Leontius, *Vita Gregorii*, 47; Palermo-Agrigento: Leontius, *Vita Gregorii*, 48; Rome-Palermo: Leontius, *Vita Gregorii*, 85.

92 Procopius, *Bella* 5.3. 15–8.

93 Theodosius monk, *The epistle*. On the letter see Rognoni, "Au pied de la letter?"

94 Procopius, *Bella*, 7. 40.12.

95 Theodosius monk, *The epistle*.

96 On the pilgrimage of St. Willibald see Talbot, *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries*, p. 160. On wizard Heliodorus see Acconcia Longo, "La Vita di Zosimo".

97 The southern part of the Po Valley was rich in canals; *fossae* are documented in Ravenna, Fasoli, "Navigazione fluviale".

98 Keay, *Rome, Portus and the Mediterranean*.

99 Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 12.24 ed. Th. Mommsen, in *MGH, AA*, vol. 12, Berlin 1894, pp. 3–385. Also Carile/Cosentino, *Storia della marineria*, pp. 97–101.

harbours represented, through their capacity to supply the *castra* from interregional routes, the backbone of the defensive system; third, the road accessibility depended on the effective control of the territory.

The *cursus publicus* was primarily created for the use of the army (movements of troops, supply of goods and equipment, fast dispatch of messages), but in Italy until the late 4th century the network of *viae* served as transit to reach the *limites* in the north and in the east regions of the Roman Empire. Following the barbarian invasions, Italy became a province to be defended and *limites* were organised first in northern Italy and, after the Lombard invasion, also in central Italy and south of the peninsula. Roads, therefore, became vital for the defensive strategy at a time of high movement of troops and the capacity of the Italian *limites* to resist the Lombard expansion was directly related to the ability of receiving supply from the harbours. The state of the post-5th century road system, despite its declining status, may have been considered enough for the military operation and it may reflect the transformation in the size and modality of movement of the Byzantine army in Italy.

There are two other aspects of the relationship between the network of roads and the defence of Italy that need to be considered, namely, logistics and function. The system of roads became for Constantinople an essential space in the organisation of the movement, supply and logistics of the army. The transit of troops through a province was regulated by law. The army was asked to move through a defined network of roads facilitating in this way the organisation of the collection of foodstuffs by the local governor.¹⁰⁰ The network of interregional roads was most probably a space organised and equipped to support such movements without a dramatic impact on the regional economy.

The roads of the *cursus publicus* always had a military implication, but this connotation was from the 1st to the 4th centuries also associated with civil activities since the *mansiones*, *stationes* and *mutationes* along the road acted as market centres and points of social aggregation.¹⁰¹ This quality disappeared in the 6th century in favour of a marked "militarisation" of the road-space and consequently a transformation in the perception of such spatial dimension. Harbours too defined more indirect, dynamic and intangible *limites*. The counteroffensive planned by Constans II from Syracuse in fact contemplated the use of Sicilian harbours to set up a south western sea-*limes*.¹⁰²

In this regard, city-ports were economic empowered centres organised to receive and redistribute goods.¹⁰³ The vitality of such centres was maintained

100 Cosentino, "Sul transito dei soldati".

101 Corsi, *Le strutture di servizio*, pp. 169–86.

102 Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*.

103 Augenti/ Cirelli, "From suburb to port".

through an articulated society formed by specialised craftsmen, traders, military officers, clerics and bankers. An important role in these city-ports was played by the imperial mints: Ravenna, Syracuse, Catania, Cagliari, Naples and Rome provided monetary input and circulation on local and regional level.¹⁰⁴ City-ports were therefore ideal spaces of economic investments. The presence of four bankers in Rome and fourteen in Ravenna confirms the involvement of local elites in the trade generated by the ports' activity. Salvatore Cosentino analysing the involvement of the church of Ravenna in the economic activities related to the arrival and redistribution of goods, demonstrated how the Church was one of the major engines in such activity.¹⁰⁵ We have a similar examples of economic investment in Naples, where in 603, Bishop Pascasius neglected his pastoral duty to supervise the construction of a ship he had patronised for 400 *solidi*.¹⁰⁶ Monk Theodosius informs us that when the Arabs took Syracuse, they found 5000 pounds of gold (circa 360,000 *solidi*) in the cathedral.¹⁰⁷ This sum is considerable; in 610 the church of Alexandria had a capital of 576,000 *solidi* and the church of Ravenna between the 6th and the 7th century had an annual income of circa 60,000/70,000.¹⁰⁸ I suspect that the greater part of these 5000 pounds of gold came from investments of the Church in economic activity related to the harbour. In fact, from the 850s the land properties of the church of Syracuse were probably reduced to small and impoverished estates under the continuous threat of the Arab expansion.

Finally, the social and administrative cohesive force of the fiscal system has been examined in terms of urban, military, numismatic and socioeconomic effects.¹⁰⁹ This decline had spatial consequences too, but with opposing effects on land and the maritime communications. The lack of investments in the land communication caused by the rising military expenditures resulted in the alteration of the perception of space. Moving from place to place became increasingly difficult, uncomfortable and unsafe and, as a consequence centres became progressively isolated. City-ports, on the contrary, were centres of high economic investment and an increasing reduction in mobility through land routes corresponded with an increase in the capacity and volume of sea routes.

In conclusion, cartographic and economic oriented theoretical approaches have traditionally dominated the study of the late antique network of roads

104 Hendy, *Studies in Byzantine Monetary Economy*, pp. 421–424.

105 Cosentino, "Ricchezza e investimento".

106 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum*, 13.27.

107 Theodosius monk, *The epistle*. Also Rognoni, "Au pied de la letter?" for a comment on the letter.

108 Cosentino, *Ricchezza e investimento*.

109 Cosentino, "Fine della fiscalità", p. 19, with bibliography in note 6.

and harbours in Italy. The challenge for the future of the research in the topic is in the exploration of different methodological approaches such as Phenomenology, Post-Structuralism and Actor Network Theory to develop alternative and multi-layered narratives.¹¹⁰ Roads and harbours certainly allowed movement of people and goods around the Empire, but most importantly they influenced the way people lived in the space, they were key elements in the propagation of ideas, power and religion. In addition, the role played by the material construction and maintenance of this network in the celebration of social memory and the formation and cohesion of the contemporary identity still needs to be fully understood.¹¹¹

Harbours in particular need to be seen as part of a maritime cultural landscape formed by the space of the port and its docks, storage houses, workshops, as well as its surrounding landscape made of canals, the littoral and the sea as well. This broad perspective is essential to understand the dynamic of the Mediterranean connectivity that crossed Byzantine Italy.¹¹²

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, ed. J.C. Rolfe, Cambridge, Mass. 1950.
- Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum*, ed. P. Ewald/ L.M. Hartmann, in *MGH, Epp.*, 2 vols., Berlin 1887–1899 (see also the English translation by J.R.C. Martyn, *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, Toronto 2004).
- Leontius, *Vita Gregorii, Leontios Presbyteros von Rome. Das Leben des heiligen Gregorios von Agrigent*, ed. A. Berger (Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten, 60), Berlin 1995 (see also the English translation by J.R.C. Martyn, *Leontius Abbot, Life of Saint Gregory Bishop of Agrigento*, Lewiston 2004).
- Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. L. Bethmann/ G. Waitz, in *MGH, ss. Lang. et Ital.*, Hannover 1879 (and its English translation by W. Dudley Foulke, Paul the Deacon, *History of the Langobards*, Philadelphia 1907).
- Procopius, *Bella*, ed. H.B. Dewing, *History of the Wars*, 5 and 6 vols., New York 1919–28.
- Rutilius Namatianus, *De reditu suo*, ed. J.W. Duff/A.M. Duff, London 1934.
- Theodosius monk, *The epistle of the monk Theodosius to the Archdeacon Leo concerning the capture of Syracuse*, ed. F.M. Crawford, *The Rulers of the South*, London 1901, pp. 79–98.

110 Hodder, *Entangled*.

111 Sami, "Road, canal and post-station".

112 Westerdahl, "The Maritime Cultural Landscape".

Secondary Sources

- Acconcia Longo, A., "La Vita di Zosimo vescovo di Siracusa: un esempio di 'agiografia storica'", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici* 36, (1989), 5–17.
- Adam, C., Laurence, R. (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, London 2001.
- Ahrweiler, H., "Les ports byzantines (VII^e–IX^e siècles)", in *La navigazione mediterranea nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, 25), Spoleto 1978, 259–283.
- Arthur, P., *Naples: From Roman Town to City-State* (Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome, 12), Rome 2002.
- Augenti, A./Cirelli, E., "From suburb to port: the rise (and fall) of Classe as a centre of trade and redistribution", in S. Keay (ed.), *Rome, Portus and the Mediterranean* (Archaeological Monographs of The British School at Rome 21), Rome 2012, pp. 205–221.
- Augenti, A./Cirelli, E./Marino, D., "Case e magazzini a Classe tra VII e VIII secolo: nuovi dati dal quartiere portuale (scavi 2002–2005)", in P. Favia/ G. Volpe (eds.), *Atti del V Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, Florence 2009, pp. 138–144.
- Avramea, A., "Land and sea communications, fourth to fifteenth centuries", in A.E. Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 39), Washington D.C. 2002, pp. 57–90.
- Baietti, S., *Le strade dell'Italia romana. La rete delle comunicazioni di terra. Dalle vie consolari agli itinerari dell'impero*, Milan 2004.
- Basso, P./Zanini, E. (eds.), *Statio amoena. Sostare e vivere lungo le strade romane*, Oxford 2016.
- Belke, K., "Communications: Roads and Bridges", in E. Jeffreys/ J. Haldon/ R. Cormack (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, Oxford 2008, pp. 295–308.
- Boetto, G./Carsana, V./ Giampaola, D., "I relitti di Napoli e il loro contesto portuale", in S. Medas/ M. D'Agostino/ G. Caniato (eds.), *Archeologia, storia, etnologia navale*, Bari 2010, pp. 115–122.
- Bosio, L., *La Tabula Peutingeriana: una descrizione pittorica del mondo antico*, Rimini 1983.
- Buora, M., "Water (and harbors) around Roman Aquileia", in E. Gamo Pazos/ J. Fernández Ortea/ D. Álvarez Jiménez (eds.), *En ningún lugar ... Caraca y la romanización de la Hispania interior*, Guadalajara 2019, pp. 563–578.
- Cacciaguerra, G., "Dinamiche insediative in Sicilia tra V e X secolo: tre contesti a confronto nell'area megarese", in G. Volpe/ P. Favia (eds.), *V Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, Florence 2009, pp. 296–301.
- Caliri E., "Movimenti di uomini e cose nella letteratura agiografica siciliana: note preliminari", in A. Akerraz/ P. Ruggeri/ A. Siraj/ C. Vismara (eds.), *L'Africa Romana, XVI. Mobilità delle persone e dei popoli, dinamiche migratorie, emigrazioni ed immigrazioni nelle province occidentali dell'Impero romano*, Roma 2006, pp. 1167–1184.

- Calzolari, M., *Introduzione allo studio della rete stradale dell'Italia romana: l'Itinerarium Antonini* (Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie IX, 7), Rome 1996.
- Camilli, A., "Le strutture 'portuali' dello scavo di Pisa-San Rossore", in A. Gallina Zevi/ R. Turchetti (eds.), *Le strutture dei porti e degli approdi antichi. II Seminario ANSER*, Rubettino 2004, pp. 67–86.
- Camilli, A., Gambogi, P., "Porti e approdi della costa toscana", in M.M. Urteaga Artigas/M.J. Noain Maura (eds.), *Mar Exterior: el Occidente atlántico en época romana. Congreso Internacional*, Rome 2005, pp. 123–145.
- Camilli, A., Setari, E., *Ancient Shipwrecks of Pisa (Le navi antiche di Pisa)*, Milan 2006.
- Carile, A./Cosentino, S., *Storia della marineria bizantina*, Bologna 2004.
- Carsana, V., "Anfore altomedievali dall'area portuale di Napoli", *Archeologia Medievale*, 45 (2018), 193–203.
- Cassano, R., "Egnazia tardoantica: nuove indagini e prospettive di ricerca", in G. Volpe/ R. Giuliani (eds.), *Paesaggi e insediamenti urbani in Italia meridionale fra Tardoantico e Altomedioevo*, Bari 2010, pp. 91–106.
- Casson, L., *Travel in the Ancient World*, 2nd ed., Baltimore 1994.
- Cavallo, D., *Via Amerina*, Rome 2004.
- Ciampoltrini, G./Rendini, P., "Il sistema portuale dell'ager Cosanus e delle isole del Giglio e di Giannutri", in A. Gallina Zevi/ R. Turchetti (eds.), *Le strutture dei porti e degli approdi antichi. II Seminario ANSER*, Soveria Mannelli 2004, pp. 127–150.
- Cirelli, E., *Ravenna: archeologia di una città*, Florence 2008.
- Corsi, C., "La cristianizzazione del viaggio: fonti letterarie ed archeologiche sui luoghi di sosta tra tarda antichità e alto medioevo", *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 81 (2005), 195–234.
- Corsi, C., *Le strutture di servizio del "cursus publicus" in Italia. Ricerche topografiche ed evidenze archeologiche* (BAR International Series, 875), Oxford 2000.
- Corsi, P., *La spedizione italiana di Costante II*, Bologna 1983.
- Cosentino S., "Fine della fiscalità, fine dello stato romano?", in P. Delogu/S. Gasparri (eds.), *Le trasformazioni del V secolo. L'Italia, i barbari e l'Occidente romano*, Turnhout 2010, pp. 17–135.
- Cosentino, S., "Quando e perché fu scritta la Vita di Gregorio di Agrigento?", *Quaderni di Archeologia Postclassica* 10 (2018) (= R.M. Carra Bonacasa, E. Vitale (eds.), *Studi in memoria di Fabiola Ardizzone*, 1, *Epigrafia e Storia*), pp. 17–36.
- Cosentino, S., "Ricchezza e investimento della chiesa di Ravenna tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo", in S. Gelichi/ R. Hodges (eds.) *From One Sea to Another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages.*, Turnhout 2012, pp. 417–440.
- Cosentino, S., *Storia dell'Italia bizantina (VI–XI secolo). Da Giustiniano ai Normanni*, Bologna 2008.

- Cosentino, S., "Sul transito dei soldati (in merito a Iust. Nov. CXXX)", *Bulgaria Mediaevalis* 2 (2011), 25–38.
- Crogiez, S., "Les stations du *cursus publicus* en Calabre: un état de la recherche", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité*, 102/1 (1990), 389–431.
- De Maria, L./Turchetti, R., (eds.), *Rotte e porti del Mediterraneo dopo la caduta dell'Impero Romano d'occidente. Continuità e innovazioni tecnologiche e funzionali*, Soveria Mannelli 2004.
- De Salvo, L., "I 'Navicularii' di Sardegna e d'Africa nel tardo impero", in *L'Africa Romana*, vol. 6/2, Rome 1989, pp. 743–754.
- Del Vais, C., "Note sulla viabilità a nord di Usellus (Oristano)", in L. Quilici/ S. Quilici (eds.), *Opere di assetto territoriale ed urbano*, Rome 1995, pp. 107–118.
- Falkenhausen, von V., "Bari bizantina: profilo di un capoluogo di provincia (secoli IX–XI)", in G. Rossetti (ed.), *Spazio, società, potere nell'Italia dei Comuni*, Naples 1986, pp. 195–227.
- Falkenhausen, von V., "Réseaux routiers et ports dans l'Italie meridionale byzantine (VI^e–XI^e s.)", in C. Angelidi (ed.), *Η καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*, Athens 1989, pp. 711–731.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Tra Occidente e Oriente: Otranto in epoca bizantina", in H. Houben (ed.), *Otranto nel Medioevo tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, Galatina 2007, pp. 13–60.
- Fasoli, G., "Navigazione fluviale. Porti e navi sul Po", in *La navigazione mediterranea nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, 25), Spoleto 1978, pp. 565–607.
- Galatariotou, C., "Travel and Perception in Byzantium", *Dumbarton Oaks Paper* 47 (1993), 221–241.
- Gelichi, S./Calaon, D./Grandi, E./Negrelli, C., "... *Castrum igne combussit* ...: Comacchio tra tarda antichità ed alto medioevo", *Archeologia Medievale* 33 (2006), 75–105.
- Giampaola, D. (ed.), *Napoli. La città e il mare. Piazza Bovio tra Romani e Bizantini*, Milan 2010.
- Giampaola, D./ Capretti, C./Galotta, G./ Giachi, G./Macchioni, N./ Pizzo, B., "La scoperta del porto di *Neapolis*: dalla ricostruzione topografica allo scavo e al recupero dei relitti", *Archaeologia Maritima Mediterranea, An International Journal on Underwater Archaeology* 2 (2005), 48–91.
- Hendy, M.F., *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300–1450*, Cambridge 1985.
- Hodder, I., *Entangled. An Archaeology of the Relationship between Humans and Things*, Hoboken, New Jersey 2012.
- Jones, A.H.M., *The Later Roman Empire 284–602. A Social Economic and Administrative Survey*, 3 vols., Oxford 1964.
- Kaplan, M., "Quelques remarques sur les routes à grande circulation dans l'Empire byzantin du VI^e au XI^e siècle", in A. Dierkens/ J.L. Kupper/ J.M. Sansterre (eds.) *Voyages et voyageurs à Byzance et en Occident du VI^e au XI^e siècle* (Bibliothèque

- de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 278), Genève 2000, pp. 83–100.
- Keay, S., (ed.), *Rome, Portus and the Mediterranean*, Rome 2012.
- Kolb, A., "Transport and communication in the Roman state: The *cursus publicus*", in C. Adams/ R. Laurence (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, London 2001, pp. 95–105.
- Kolb, A., *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im römischen Reich*, Berlin 2000.
- La Torre, G.F., "Per lo studio della viabilità romana in Calabria: considerazioni sul tracciato della Via cosiddetta Annia o Popilia dalla Conca di Castelvechio a Vibo", *Klearchos* 32 (1990), 149–86.
- Laurence, R., *The Roads of Roman Italy. Mobility and Cultural Change*, London 1999.
- Levi, A./Levi, M., *Itineraria picta. Contributo allo studio della Tabula Peutingeriana*, Rome 1967.
- Macrides, R. (ed.), *Travel in the Byzantine World*, Aldershot 2002.
- Malamut, E., *Sur la route des saints byzantins*, Paris 1993.
- Mastino, A., "Le strade romane in Sardegna", in R.A. Mastino (ed.), *Storia della Sardegna antica. La Sardegna e la sua storia*, vol. 2, Nuoro 2005, pp. 333–392.
- Menestò, E. (ed.), *Il Corridoio Bizantino e la Via Amerina in Umbria nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto, 1999.
- Messineo, G./Carbonara, A., *Via Flaminia*, Rome 1993.
- Michaelides/ D, Whitehouse, D., "Scavi di emergenza a Otranto. Nota preliminare", *Archeologia medievale* 6 (1979), 269–270.
- Negrelli, C., *Rimini capitale. Strutture insediative, sociali ed economiche tra V e VII secolo*, Florence 2008.
- Negrelli, C., "Vasellame e contenitori da trasporto tra tarda antichità ed altomedioevo: l'Emilia Romagna e l'area medio-adriatica", in S. Gelichi/C. Negrelli (eds.), *La circolazione delle ceramiche nell'Adriatico tra tarda antichità ed altomedioevo (3° Incontro di Studio Cer.am.Is sulle ceramiche tardoantiche ed altomedievali)*, Mantua 2007, pp: 297–330.
- Pace, B., *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica*, 4 vols., Milan 1949.
- Paroli, L., "Il porto di Roma nella tarda antichità", in A. Gallina Zevi/ R. Turchetti (eds.), *Le strutture dei porti e degli approdi antichi (II Seminario ANSER)*, Soveria Mannelli 2004, pp. 247–66.
- Quilici, L., *La Via Appia: un percorso nella storia*, Rome 2004.
- Rizzo, F.P., "Cristianesimo", *Kokalos*, XXVI–XXVII, (1980–1), 383–396.
- Rognoni, C., "Au pied de la lettre? Réflexions à propos du témoignage de Théodos, moine et *grammatikos*, sur la prise de Syracuse en 878", in A. Nef/ V. Prigent (eds.), *La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam*, Paris 2010, pp. 205–227.

- Salvini, M./Palermo, L., "Le attività nel porto romano di Ancona tra V e VIII secolo d.C.", in S. Gelichi/C. Negrelli (eds.), *Adriatico altomedievale (VI–XI secolo)*. *Scambi, porti, produzioni*, Venice, pp. 159–187.
- Sami, D., "Road, canal and post-station. The relational capacity of a *mansio* in Roman and late antique Ad Novas-Cesenatico", in E. Gamo Pazos/J. Fernández Ortea/D. Álvarez Jiménez (eds.), *En ningún lugar ... Caraca y la romanización de la Hispania interior*, Guadalajara 2019, pp. 551–62.
- Sami, D./Christie, N., "The Roman Road and the *Mansio* of Ad Novas at Cà Bufalini (Cesenatico, FC)", in E. Cirelli/ E. Giorgi/ G. Lepore (eds.), *Economia e territorio. L'Adriatico centrale tra Tarda Antichità e Alto Medioevo, IV–VII secolo* (BAR International Series, 2926), Oxford 2019, pp. 172–180.
- Savino, E., *Campania tardoantica (284–604 d.C.)*, Bari 2005.
- Schmiedt, G., "I porti italiani nell'alto medioevo", in *La navigazione mediterranea nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, 25), Spoleto 1978, pp. 129–254.
- Spallacci, G., "Alla ricerca del porto di Fano: ipotesi di identificazione delle strutture portuali di epoca tardoantica e altomedievale sulla base delle fonti storico-archeologiche", in E. Cirelli/ E. Giorgi/ G. Lepore (eds.), *Economia e territorio. L'Adriatico centrale tra Tarda Antichità e Alto Medioevo, IV–VII secolo* (BAR International Series, 2926), Oxford 2019, pp. 266–268.
- Spallacci, G., "Il Porto di Fano (PU) tra Tarda Antichità e Medioevo: analisi storico-archeologica per una possibile ricostruzione topografica", *Bizantinistica. Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 12 (2010), pp. 149–184.
- Staccioli, R.A., *The Roads of the Romans*, Los Angeles 2003.
- Stark, R., *The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History*, Princeton 1996.
- Talbert, R.J.A., *Rome's World. The Peutinger Map Reconsidered*, Cambridge 2010.
- Talbot, C.H., *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany. Being the Lives of SS. Willibrod, Boniface, Sturm, Leoda and Lebuin, together with the Hodoeporicon of St. Willibald and selection from the correspondence of St. Boniface*, London 1954.
- Tilburg van, C., *Traffic and Congestion in the Roman Empire*, London 2007.
- Uggeri, G., *La viabilità della Sicilia in età romana*, Galatina 2004.
- Ward-Perkins, B., "Luni: the decline and abandonment of a Roman town", in H. McK. Blake/ T.W. Potter/ D.B. Whitehouse (eds.), *Papers in Italian Archaeology I: the Lancaster Seminar. Recent research in prehistoric, classical and medieval archaeology* (BAR Supplementary Series, 41), Oxford 1978, pp. 313–321.
- Westerdahl, C., "The Maritime Cultural Landscape", in A. Catsambis/ B. Ford/ D.L. Hamilton (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Maritime Archaeology*, Oxford 2011, pp. 733–762.
- Zanini, E., "Il Vignale in età romana e tardoantica: avvio di un progetto di ricerca", *Scienze dell'Antichità. Storia, archeologia, antropologia* 12 (2004–05), 171–183.
- Zanini, E., *Le Italie bizantine. Territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia (VI–VIII secolo)*, Bari 1998.

Rural Economy: Organization, Exploitation and Resources

Jean-Marie Martin

The territory of Byzantine Italy was not the same in the 6th and in the 11th centuries, and therefore it cannot be treated in the same way.* In addition, the long period taken into consideration does not present a picture of unity, particularly in the economic field. For these reasons this paper will be in two parts: on the one hand, consideration will be given to the scattered territories submitted to the Exarchate of Ravenna from the 6th to the 8th century, together with Sicily up to the 9th–10th century; on the other hand, Apulia and Calabria from the 9th to the 11th century will be examined.

During the first period, the Italian territories which remained under Imperial rule were scattered from Venetia to Sicily. They had neither the same agricultural capacity nor the same traditions. They were marginal, except for Sicily which was one of the most dynamic provinces in the Empire until the Arab conquest. The other territories – the Venetian lagoons, the Exarchate and Pentapolis, the Roman region, the Duchy of Naples which also controlled Amalfi and Gaeta, and the extremity of the two southern peninsulas – tended to keep their autonomy, which became complete after the fall of the Exarchate. Nevertheless, they did preserve public structures and many other features of antique origin, in particular in the field which we are considering, and did so to a greater extent than did the territories conquered by the Lombards after 569; so, their evolution started on the same bases, which were different to those of the surrounding Lombard regions. But in all places, the 6th–8th centuries – with chronological differences – were marked by the deep and general demographic and economic crisis which put an end to the antique order; more precocious and more brutal in the Lombard territories, it finally affected more insidiously the regions which remained inside the Empire.

From the end of the 9th to the second half of the 11th century only the southern part of the peninsula (the present regions of Apulia, Basilicata, and Calabria) were under Byzantine government. Such a territory, clearly limited

* I am indebted to Gérard Héry for the English version of this paper.

but rather large, and apparently homogeneous, was actually divided into two rather different regions; the imperial authorities (such as, later on, the Norman conquerors) had to take into account such a difference. Moreover, at that time the conjuncture had changed: it was the beginning of the great medieval stage of demographic and economic expansion, which led in particular to the concentration of the population. In the Italian themes, that movement was directed and organized by the imperial authorities.

A final preliminary consideration must be presented. The rural economy, throughout the period, constituted the main economic sector, but its place inside the economy as a whole was variable. In the middle of the 6th century indeed the main part of the late antique economic organization was still alive, even if it began to show signs of weakness a little later: large landed estates (public, ecclesiastical, aristocratic) on the scale of the whole Empire were not dead. The most important cities (Rome) were still supplied with food, by the State and by private trade, through long distance carriage from Sicily, Northern Africa, and the Middle East. The end of this complex system, based on important and continuous exchange, now dated to the end of the 7th century (even if some elements subsisted up to the 8th), had a more or less direct impact on agricultural production: in the 8th century, Rome (which had lost more than 90 % of its population since the 4th century) consumed local products. At the end of the period – in the second half of the 11th century – long distance trade, now wholly private, began to become dense (for example in Amalfi); that trade was based on agricultural products, but exchange had not yet recovered the regularity and level it had reached in late Antiquity. Because of such an evolution we cannot separate the rural sector from the economy as a whole: the specialization of the production and even the size of the estates are linked to the intensity of exchange.

To establish a true historical picture, the sources are very unequal depending on times and places. The archive documents – which are the most useful written sources in that regard – are particularly rare for the 6th–8th centuries. In Byzantine Italy they are a little less rare, thanks to the *Register* of Gregory the Great's letters, the papyri of Ravenna, the cartulary of the cathedral of Ravenna, the "Codice Bavaro" compiled in the 10th century, which also includes documents of the 7th century. Besides that, the *Liber pontificalis* of the Roman church contains important information in the economic field. While Gregory the Great's Register is more interested in Sicily and a little in Campania, the other documents essentially concern the regions of Rome and Ravenna. But the true medieval documentation only begins after the end of the Byzantine domination, in the 9th century in Ravenna and Gaeta, and in the 10th in the other regions. In some fields it is possible to make careful use of a regressive

method. In the last few decades archaeology has shed new light on those dark ages, as regards rural settlement and the carriage of part of the production. In the same way, monetary fluctuations, well documented in the last years, had a direct relationship with agricultural production which was the basis of the trade. The antique economic structure, which really vanished around 700 in the Byzantine territories is the central point of the documentation: in Rome and Ravenna before the 10th century (as in Sicily), it is only possible to study the economic action of the State and of the local Church, which however goes far beyond the regional frame. Documentation itself depends on long distance transport: for a long time, Byzantine Italy went on writing on papyrus, a material which does not survive well in the Italian climate.¹

Southern Italy in the 9th to 11th centuries – which also benefited from the recent progresses of archaeology – clearly has a more important written documentation,² but it is still uneven: Calabria has kept few documents from the Byzantine period,³ and again the regressive method is necessary. But it is possible, in Apulia and even in Calabria, to begin to perceive the smaller land-tenure. We shall not speak of the Tyrrhenian duchies (Naples, Amalfi, Gaeta), the archives of which become important in the 10th century: even if they never left the “Byzantine commonwealth” (the Neapolitan documents are dated according to the years of the *basileis* up to the Norman conquest in the 12th century), they no longer really belonged to the Empire.

1 The Exarchate and Sicily, 6th–8th/9th Centuries

At that time, and particularly after the last Lombard conquests in the middle of the 7th century, the territories which constituted Byzantine Italy were very dissimilar. The largest were on the one hand the region of Rome (Duchy of Rome), and on the other the continuous block of the Exarchate of Ravenna and Pentapolis. Both were relatively large and were covered with a true urban network, and each of them were polarized on a great city (even if the scale was very different from that of late Antiquity) which was its political, religious,

1 Carbonetti Vendittelli, “I supporti scrittorii”.

2 For Apulia: *CDB*, vols. 1, 3, 4; De Leo, *Codice diplomatico Brindisino*, vol. 1; *Le carte che si conservano nell'Archivio del Capitolo metropolitano della città di Trani (dal IX secolo fino all'anno 1266)*, ed. A. Prologo, Barletta 1877.

3 *CAG*, vols. 1–4; F. Trinchera, *Syllabus Graecarum membranarum*, Naples 1865; for Basilicata, see G. Robinson, *The history and cartulary of St. Elias and St. Anastasius of Carbone*, vol. 2, 1–2. *Cartulary (Orientalia Christiana. Analecta*, xv, 53, xix, 62) Rome 1929–1930, respectively, pp. 121–276, 7–199.

and also economic centre. Similar characters can be found, albeit on a smaller scale and with the nuance that the local Church was less important, in the Duchy of Naples, which covered the southern part of the Campanian plain, the Amalfitan coast and, in the north, the enclave of Gaeta which bordered the Duchy of Rome (the duchies of Amalfi and Gaeta became independent after the end of the imperial domination, in the 9th century). The information on the southern extremities of the two peninsulas is very rare. In Calabria (southern Apulia) and Bruttium (which at that time took the name of Calabria), there was no important city, but the latter shared some features with Sicily. Finally, at the north-eastern extremity of Italy, the small place of refuge in the Venetian lagoons housed a scattered population and had no economic significance.

But all these regions shared common features: they had remained in the Empire, preserved an imperial administration (deeply transformed by the exarchal regime) and, in the field we are studying, sometimes kept very important fiscal and ecclesiastical estates. Indeed, since the 4th century the Christian emperors (and also private persons) had constituted important ecclesiastical patrimonies, which were organized on the same pattern as those of the senatorial aristocracy. The most important, and also the best known thanks to the *Liber pontificalis*, was that of the Roman church which, since the 8th century, was the territorial base of the future pontifical State (*patrimonium sancti Petri*); at the beginning it extended on the territory of the Duchy of Rome, but also, up to the 8th century, in the imperial part of southern Italy (in particular in Campania) and in Sicily, where it was exceptionally large. Other churches, such as that of Ravenna, also had extended patrimonies in Sicily. Such a geographical dispersion made it possible for certain territories to specialize in a specific production.

However, the survival of antique structures did not mean immobility, and moreover the vocabulary often lasts longer than the structures it designates. The difficulty consists in finding and describing an original and not purely conservative evolution. Let us begin with some elements of continuity. It has already been noticed⁴ – although the written documents are almost completely lacking before the 10th century – that in the Duchy of Naples, whose city network changed but was not suppressed in the 6th century, the landscape seems to have kept many antique features. In Liburia, north of Naples, the centuriation does not seem to have been abandoned;⁵ up to the 10th–12th centuries the description of cultivated fields follows its pattern, with the distinction between *latera* and *capita*, and as with the Roman *agrimensores*, specialists are

4 Martin, "L'Italie méridionale", pp. 738–740.

5 Arthur, *Naples*, p. 110.

able to calculate the surface of a field from the length of the sides.⁶ In Liburia, where the non-marshy areas were well cultivated in the 10th century and probably earlier, the rural population, at least up to the 13th century, went on living in small open settlements (“casali di Napoli”). Finally, western Campania, including the region of Salerno, conquered by the Lombards around the middle of the 7th century, is perhaps the only Italian region to have kept the use of the “coltura promiscua”, where cereals, trees, and vines tied to the trees are grown in the same field: clearly attested as early as the 9th century, it was most probably an inheritance of Antiquity. In the 8th and 9th centuries the region still exported wine to Rome.⁷

More open to ambiguity is the survival of an antique vocabulary.⁸ In Naples, at least up to the 12th century, *fundus* is still used for a farm, and *casale* for a field recently brought into cultivation, but the word *massa*, which reappeared in the 10th and 11th centuries to designate some places, had lost the meaning it had in late Antiquity.⁹ However there were no longer very large estates in the Duchy of Naples, even if important Neapolitan monasteries were great land-owners; as to the Roman church, at the beginning of the 8th century it granted, in particular to the duke of Naples, what remained of its patrimony in the region.¹⁰ For example, in 873–875 it granted to the *hypati* of Gaeta its patrimony of Traetto (Minturno).¹¹

Indeed in Byzantine Italy the main land-owners were the State and the Churches of Rome and Ravenna. As they went on ruling, their estates maintained an organization of antique pattern. But it had to adapt itself to two types of deep structural changes: the end of the economy of exchange on a Mediterranean scale, and the political upheavals, which we shall see later.

Let us first start with the description of the dissimilar territories which constituted Byzantine Italy in the 6th–8th centuries. There seems to be nothing to say about what remained of Venetia, reduced to the lagoons after the conquest of Oderzo by the Lombards in 639; the only productions attested then are salt and fish.

In the more extensive territorial block, which included the Exarchate and Pentapolis, the main feature was the ascendancy of the city of Ravenna, the

6 Martin, “Perception et description”, p. 122.

7 Arthur, *Naples*, p. 12.

8 Martin, “Peuplement, occupation du sol”.

9 Martin, “*Guerre, accords et frontières*” pp. 105–107; cf. Vera, “*Massa fundorum*”.

10 Martin et al., *Regesti dei documenti*, nos. 244, 245, 247–249. However, as late as 763, a document quotes in Naples possessions of the church of Rome and of the church of Ravenna; *ibid.*, no. 340.

11 *Ibid.*, no. 896.

see of the exarch and of the archbishop, proclaimed autocephalous in 666. After the fall of the Exarchate in 751 the archbishop took the first place, and archbishop Sergius gave himself the title of exarch. The church of Ravenna was already very rich in the 7th century: after Agnellus,¹² in the time of archbishop Maurus (c.642–671), the rector of the Sicilian patrimonies of the church of Ravenna sent 50,000 *modii* of wheat and 31,000 gold *solidi* to the capital of the Exarchate every year – 16,000 of income for the Church and 15,000 of taxes due to the State – as well as leguminous plants and precious articles. If the quantity of wheat was not insignificant enough, the amount of gold was considerably higher, and tells us a great deal about the management of the great estates of the church of Rome, which is better documented than that of Ravenna. Moreover, as early as this period, the archbishop extended the estates of his Church in the territory of Pentapolis; he increased this policy at the end of the 8th century, after the fall of the Exarchate, and so became the biggest landowner and therefore the first leader of the territory.¹³

On this matter the main source is a sort of cartulary, the *Breviarium*, compiled in the 10th century, concerning the possessions of the church of Ravenna in the territories of Rimini, Senigallia, Osimo, Iesi, Gubbio, Perugia, Fossombrone, Urbino and Montefeltro.¹⁴ This collection of documents evidences the original features of that territory, which had long remained under Imperial rule, in comparison with the bordering Lombard regions. The estates of the archbishop were still constituted of *fundi*, reassembled into *massae*.¹⁵ Naturally the whole territory was not cultivated, but, from the 7th to the 10th century, we can perceive some progress in the agricultural development. However the evolution of the rural landscape is much less clear here than in the Lombard territory; there is no concentration of the population into villages, and institutional stability leads to material stability.¹⁶ The territory was still ruled by the cities, which were the centres for collecting and depositing Church income. The archbishop did not reserve parts of his estates for direct farming,¹⁷ which distinguishes them from the two-parts Lombard of Frankish *curtis* system. He granted by “livello”, for 29 years (with possible renewal), portions of a *fundus* to

12 Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, in *MGH, SS. Lang. et Ital.*, Hannover 1878, pp. 265–391; p. 350; cf. Cosentino, “Ricchezza e investimento”, p. 419. According to Cosentino (*ibid.*, p. 424), the church of Ravenna kept its Sicilian estates after 750.

13 Vasina, “Il ‘Breviarium’ nella storia della Chiesa ravennate”, in Vasina et al., *Ricerche e studi*, pp. 9–32: 17–18.

14 *Breviarium Ecclesiae Ravennatis*; Vasina et al., *Ricerche e studi*.

15 Fumagalli, “‘Langobardia’ e ‘Romania’”, pp. 95–107; cf. Vera, “*Massa fundorum*”.

16 Fumagalli, “‘Langobardia’ e ‘Romania’”.

17 Andreolli, “Le enfiteusi e i livelli del ‘Breviarium’”, pp. 163–177.

farmers, who most often had to contribute a part of the products, a rather lower percentage than in the Lombard lands (from 1/10 to 1/7 for the cereals, from 1/4 to 1/3 for the wine); forced labour was rare. Besides this, some great estates, divided into small tenures, were granted in long leases (*emphyteusis*) to important persons, officials or churchmen, who therefore became clients of the Church. Such concessions, generally granted for three generations, regarded extent lands, but were spread across several *fundi* to prevent the emergence of autonomous powers, and the tenant paid a purely nominal rent, independent of the actual value of the concession. That is how his estates allowed the archbishop of Ravenna to really take the place of the Imperial administration after the middle of the 8th century; moreover, precisely at that time he extended his estates in Pentapolis, where he took possession, in particular, of public land,¹⁸ while obviously he lost his Sicilian estates. Such a progression in Pentapolis, a region whose churches depended on Rome, not on Ravenna, follows patterns inherited from late Antiquity; the evolution does not modify the social relations nor the landscape.

As to the agricultural production,¹⁹ it included wheat (called *triticum*, as in Naples), other cereals ("faro", barley, rye, Indian club, sorghum), and flax; the vineyards were separated from the cereal fields as they were enclosed, and near them willows and fruit trees were grown. In general, vineyards were not very important, and olive plantations were rarer still.

The Roman documentation – almost reduced to the *Liber pontificalis* – is more distant from rural realities. But the vision it gives is not fundamentally different. The foundations of the patrimony of the Roman church are due to Constantine,²⁰ who in particular granted to the Church *massae* and *fundi* situated in central and southern Italy, in Sicily and in Africa, and encouraged legacies in favour of the Church. The organization of these estates was complicated, because some of them depended on a specific church. But at the end of the 5th century Pope Gelasius centralized their management and distributed them into *patrimonia* on a geographic basis; in the 6th century Pope Pelagius and Pope Gregory the Great improved this centralized organization. After the Lombard invasion, the patrimonies of southern Italy were limited to the territories of the Duchy of Naples, *Bruttium* and Salento; those of Sicily and Latium survived: the last rector of the Sicilian patrimony is attested at the end of the 7th century. As we have seen, in the 8th and 9th centuries those of Naples and Traetto were alienated, but the Roman church recovered some other estates

18 Carile, "Terre militari, funzioni e titoli bizantini", pp. 81–94.

19 Montanari, "Il paesaggio rurale della Pentapoli", pp. 145–162.

20 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, pp. 170–187.

in the territories of the Exarchate and Pentapolis; its Sicilian patrimonies were confiscated in 741/743, and after that only those of the Duchy of Rome remained, which constituted the frame of the *patrimonium sancti Petri*, that is to say of the Duchy of Rome ruled by the pope. From the 7th to the middle of the 8th century some of them had been granted in *emphyteusis*. The Duchy of Rome also included imperial patrimonies, some of which seem to have been assigned to military units; in the years 740²¹ Constantine V offered Pope Zacharias the two *massae* of *Ninfa* and *Norma*, north of the Pontine Marshes. But from that moment, for reasons we shall see later, the Popes Zacharias and Hadrian I adopted a new status of farming, the *domuscultae*, in former pontifical patrimonies or in former public estates acquired by the Church. Managed for direct farming, they produced foodstuff (wheat, wine, pigs) assigned in particular to feed the poor of Rome, in the time of the growth of the *diaconiae*.

The agrarian organization of the region of Rome was particularly dependent upon external factors: the presence of estates of the Roman church in other regions, the relations between the pope and the emperor, the tradition of the annona to feed the city (in spite of the considerable decrease in its population) and the possibility of long distance transport.

Before describing such factors, we have to consider the last region, i.e. Sicily. It is well documented thanks to the Register of Gregory the Great because it included the most important patrimonies of the Roman church. The island was not submitted to the authority of the exarch of Ravenna, but directly depended on the *comes sacri patrimonii*; moreover it was seen as a granary and fed Rome, and then Constantinople after the Arab conquest of Egypt. The economic place of the great estates and their organization have recently been studied by Vivien Prigent:²² he believes that globally, the great estates might cover a quarter of the cultivated lands of the island, and he values the surface of the patrimonies of the Roman church at 80,000 ha and those of the church of Ravenna two thirds of this amount. He also notes that such areas are clearly lower than those of the estates of the senatorial aristocracy in the 4th century.

The patrimonies of the Roman church were organized into *massae*. A *massa* is a group of *fundi* which have the same owner and are situated in the territory of the same city,²³ so that it may constitute a fiscal unit. If the global organization of the imperial estates appeared to be simple, the management of the *massae* of the Roman church was not; they included family tenures, some of them granted to irremovable *coloni*, others rented to *rustici*, who paid a rent

²¹ *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 433.

²² Prigent, "Le grand domaine sicilien".

²³ Vera, "*Massa fundorum*".

the amount of which was variable; but a part was managed in direct farming, thanks to wage earners who were gathered in the *conduma*, depending on the *massa* itself, so that they may be assigned to one *fundus* or another. Thus the management tended to make profits. On the contrary, Gregory the Great was suspicious of *emphyteusis*.

In the second half of the 7th century, the tax – paid in the framework of the *massa* – was collected by the Church, which repaid it to the State; the rent due by the tenants was distinguished from the State tax, as we saw in Ravenna. The *massa* was managed by a *conductor*, who was a simple intendant, not a businessman. The whole of the Sicilian patrimonies of the Roman church was supervised by one, and later two, rectors sent from Rome. Like those of the church of Ravenna, they brought in foodstuff and gold.

That the Sicilian patrimonies of the Roman church were used to feed Rome is beyond doubt; but the relations between public annona and the distributions made by the Church are not clear. According to Jean Durliat, the public annona moved to the hands of the Church in the second half of the 6th century, even if a great part of the wheat which was assigned was of fiscal origin;²⁴ but Paolo Delogu has established²⁵ on the one hand that the activity of the State had been more lasting, while the pope only fed the clergy and the poor, and on the other hand that local production and private trade also had a place. However the place of the State went on diminishing while that of the Church was growing before it took charge of the administration in the middle of the 8th century and founded the *domuscultae* in order to balance the production of his Sicilian patrimonies, then confiscated.

One can see that in Byzantine Italy – at least in its more important regions – the economic system of the late Roman Empire did not cease abruptly; it warped and then broke as the result of events of various nature that occurred between the end of the 7th and the middle of the 8th century. The first one, not precisely dated, was the end of large exchanges on the Mediterranean scale, attested by archaeology about the end of the 7th century. Previously Rome imported wheat from Sicily, wine from Sicily and Calabria, but still a little oil from Africa and even from Palestine; such imports decreased all throughout the 7th century. For a while Rome went on receiving wheat, wine, and gold from Sicily, and also wine from Campania and wood from Calabria, but it ceased to do so at the beginning of the 8th century. Likewise, Naples imported a little oil (less and less) during the best part of the 7th century.²⁶ Sicily stopped importing

24 Durliat, *De la ville antique*, pp. 147–151.

25 Delogu, "Introduzione al seminario", pp. 9–11.

26 Arthur, *Naples*, pp. 109–143.

oil from Palestine, and then also from Africa. From that time on each region of Byzantine Italy had to live on its own production: there was no greater economic unit. It must be noted that this deep crisis, aggravated by the plague during the time of Justinian but which kept reappearing in the following centuries, affected the Lombard regions, cut off from the Mediterranean world, one century earlier.

So in about 700, the agrarian structures of late Antiquity survived in a more sparsely populated world, in which the exchange, supporting specialized productions, had ceased; only Sicily maintained links with Constantinople up to the 9th century. The survival of those structures had additional economic causes: they became the support of new political structures in the hands of the pope, of the Archbishop of Ravenna and of the Duke of Naples. Indeed, such economic structures were closely bound with politics: two points are to be noted on the subject. The first, which is difficult to date and even to measure, was the transfer of a part of the public land to the use of the local *militia*. In Rome, the lands of the *banda* seem to have been inalienable, just like ecclesiastical property,²⁷ but in the Duchy of Naples, and especially in Liburia, as early as the 7th century we can detect lands of the *militia*, which, near the border, were often shared with the Lombard *exercitus*,²⁸ and it is possible to suppose that the permanence of public land was a cause of the survival of the duchy. The other important point was the policy of the Emperors Leo III and Constantine V concerning the Roman church. Vivien Prigent, who recently renewed study of this subject, distinguishes three stages.²⁹ The first is the transfer of Sicily and Calabria, with eastern Illyricum, within the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople, which has no direct concern with our matter. Secondly, in 732/733 the emperor again took direct charge of the levy of taxes on the estates of the Church. Finally, in 741/743, the Sicilian patrimonies of the Roman church were confiscated, probably in order to help the State to strengthen the Sicilian fleet; the pope was compelled to limit himself to his estates of the Duchy of Rome, where he then founded the first *domuscultae*. At the moment of the fall of the Exarchate, the political links between the pope and the emperor, just like the economic links between the various regions of Byzantine Italy, were already broken; it was through landed property that the pope, the Archbishop of Ravenna and the Duke of Naples took the place of the emperor.

27 Marazzi, *I "patrimonia sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae"*, pp. 219–220; Patlagean, "Les armes et la cité", pp. 59–60.

28 Martin, *Guerre, accords et frontières*, pp. 114–138.

29 Prigent, "Les empereurs isauriens".

One last region has to be considered: the southern extremity of the peninsula, the antique *Bruttium*, now called Calabria. It was invaded by the Lombards about 600, and again at the end of the 7th century; in the 8th century it was divided, but the southern part, which was still Byzantine, was occupied by the Arabs until the Byzantine reconquest at the end of the 9th century. Archaeology has shown evidence of the emergence of a first generation of villages and of great hill-top precincts, such as Tiriole, north-west of Catanzaro, which were aimed at protecting them, at the end of the 6th century; from the 8th century onwards the authorities began to found well-protected small cities. The exportation of wine, wood and meat, as well as the importation of oil, ceased at the end of the 7th century.³⁰

Finally, in spite of significant local disparities, the rural economy of the various territories submitted to the exarch of Ravenna followed a similar course, which resulted in a major differentiation: the end of the economy of exchange, supported by the great estates organized on the standard of the *massa*, in the 7th–8th centuries, limited the production to the satisfaction of local consumption. Indeed the only exporting regions were Sicily, Calabria and the Duchy of Naples; on the contrary Ravenna and, above all, Rome were importers, but the Isaurian emperors contributed to set Rome aside. The political explosion of Byzantine Italy went hand in hand with the dispersion of an economic unity which became more and more difficult to maintain after the Lombard invasion.

Such an evolution was most probably favourable to polyculture, but one component of the Mediterranean polyculture, olive growing, seems to have virtually disappeared.³¹ Certainly there were some elements of continuity, such as the “coltura promiscua” in Campania, or the great estates of antique pattern in Sicily and around Ravenna and Rome, where it formed the material basis of the new political powers; but the creation of the Roman *domuscultae* constituted a necessary adjustment to the new economic realities. After 751, and during more than a century, only Sicily remained a part of the Empire as to its economy and policy.

30 Noyé, “Economia e società”.

31 However it seems to have been protected in Rome, as the 13th canon of the Roman council of 721 quotes the *praecepta ... apostolicae Ecclesiae de olivis et locis diversis: Concilium Romanum*, in *Concilium Romanum 721*, in Mansi, vol. 12., cols. 261–268: col. 264. I am indebted to Vivien Prigent for the information. Two recent studies about olive growing in the region of Rome (probably almost for lighting) in the 8th century: those of P. Fouracre and of J. Story in Balzaretto/Barrow/Skinner (eds.), *Italy and Early Medieval Europe*.

2 The Italian Themes in the 9th–11th Centuries

The agrarian history of the themes of Langobardia (later called catepanate of Italy) and Calabria can be traced in a more concrete way, but inversely the role of the State is less apparent. Besides, the written documentation is much more abundant in Apulia than in Calabria.

The two themes, created at the beginning of the 10th century, at least on the map appear to constitute a block, but were actually very different from each other. First, geographically: Apulia is a region of limestone plateaux with a large plain in the north which was abandoned in the 6th or 7th century and remained unoccupied till the Norman period. Calabria is a mountainous region: the Sila reaches more than 1700 m, the Aspromonte near 1200 m; the plains, lower Crati, Gioia Tauro, are narrow. Besides, at that time in both themes only a few portions of the territory were occupied: the densely populated areas were limited to the middle coast of Apulia, around Bari and southern Calabria around Reggio; Langobardia is closer to the Balkans than it is to Calabria. From the end of the 9th to the beginning of the 11th century the imperial administration made efforts to enlarge the populated territory.

The history of the two regions is different. We have already mentioned that of Calabria, marked by the Lombard and Muslim invasions, but a part of which always remained in the Empire: obviously the enormous wealth of the cathedral of Reggio in the middle of the 11th century was the result of a long accumulation. Besides, especially during the 9th century, Calabria had been hellenised by Greeks coming from Sicily.³² On the contrary, Apulia, except for the extreme south, had been a part of the Lombard Duchy of Benevento and then of the principalities which followed; the population, which was Latin-speaking, followed the Lombard law. Separated from the rest of the *Langobardia minor* by the Byzantine conquest, it had no aristocracy nor great estates: churches were rare and not rich.

In spite of such deep differences, their common submission to the Empire gave both regions parallel evolutions. The period during which they stayed within the Empire, at least on the whole northern shore of the Mediterranean, was that of the beginning of a new demographic and economic rise: it was precisely that rise that the authorities modelled on their own principles, with rather different results from those one can observe in the other parts of Italy. The intention to occupy and valorise the whole territory first appears in the administrative field: we have documented³³ three campaigns of new city

32 Martin, "Une origine calabraise".

33 Martin, "Les thèmes italiens", pp. 525–528.

founding, in order to govern, and so to valorise new territories. Those were the end of the 9th, the second half of the 10th, and the beginning of the 11th century. Thus were added to the populated territories, beside the Sila, already colonized during the 8th century, some areas of Basilicata, and then the hills of the Preapennine of Capitanata. They all are hill or mountain areas; the marshy plains were not yet re-occupied.

The State was not the only promoter of rural settlement; but one notes a general tendency to the concentration of the rural population in villages (*χωρία*, *loci*). In southern Calabria³⁴ and in Salento³⁵ (as also in central Apulia, then under Lombard rule), this concentration began as early as the 8th and 9th centuries, but it became general in the 10th.³⁶ That concentration did not concern the whole population: in central Apulia, besides very large villages, one finds small, sometimes private settlements which often had a short life. Some villages constituted fiscal communities: the receipt of the *συνήθεια* paid by the *καστέλλιον* of Palagianò, near Taranto, a rural settlement, although it was fortified, in 1016, has been preserved.³⁷ In the south of the limestone plateau of Apulia cave villages appeared.³⁸

The food crops for local consumption were the most important in a not yet well organized landscape, where clearing was going on. Everywhere the cereals, in particular wheat and barley, and vines prevailed, and leguminous plants are documented in Calabria. The homogeneous blocks of cultivated land were rare, except the irrigated gardens. However some productions seem to have been developed to reach a larger market. The limestone Apulia, because of its soil and climate, is one of the rare Italian regions where olive-trees grow,³⁹ and they are also attested in some parts of Calabria.⁴⁰ But olive growing only became relevant in the 12th century, when olive trees were occasionally planted in the cereal fields; however the exportation of oil to Constantinople is documented in the middle of the 11th century,⁴¹ when a church in Barletta was stated to be the owner of one hundred olive trees.⁴²

Chestnut only grows in Calabria, particularly in southern Calabria, and we may suppose that, as in the best-documented western Campania at the

34 Martin/ Noyé, "Les campagnes de l'Italie méridionale", p. 567.

35 Arthur, "Economic expansion", p. 392.

36 Martin/ Noyé, "Les villages de l'Italie méridionale".

37 Martin, *La Pouille*, p. 712.

38 Martin, "Il popolamento e la civiltà rupestre".

39 Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 362–366.

40 Martin/Noyé, "Les campagnes de l'Italie méridionale", p. 578.

41 Martin, *La Pouille*, p. 436 note 234.

42 Martin/Noyé, "Les campagnes de l'Italie méridionale", p. 578.

beginning of the 11th century it started to be grafted in order to obtain edible varieties. Probably because it was a province of the Empire, Calabria was planted with mulberry trees, and its ecological requirements are similar to those of the chestnut. The *brebion* of the metropolis cathedral of Reggio (about 1050) makes it possible to count 8000 mulberry trees on the estates of the monasteries dependent on the cathedral, which is comparatively important. In some areas of the region flax was also cultivated.

There is practically nothing to say about stock farming. The Calabrian mountains as well as the desert plain of Tavoliere in Apulia certainly were areas of stock farming, but there is not the smallest trace of a great transhumance between the 6th and the 14th century and, most often, stock farming was bound with agriculture. Lastly, the wood of the Calabrian mountains, in particular that of the Sila, which supplied timber for the framework of the Roman basilicas at the end of the 6th century, was then used for shipbuilding, in particular for the military flotillas in charge of the defence of the coasts: in 995/996 the demands of the *strategos*, who intended to build a fleet, resulted in a riot in the city of Rossano.⁴³ Yet during the Norman, Swabian and Angevine periods, the galley service and the *ius lignaminum* (public statute labour of wood carriage for shipbuilding) are well documented in Calabria.

The progress of agriculture involved the use of heavy implements in the country, such as oil presses (sometimes set up in caves in Apulia); watermills in Calabria; and underground water containers in the limestone plateau of Apulia, especially in the area of Conversano.⁴⁴

The evolution of agricultural valorisation, which was channelled by the public authorities, was therefore very similar in the two themes. But in the two regions, as we have already stated, there were rather different societies, not only as to law, language and the religious rites, but also as to their structure.

Apulia was a marginal area of the Lombard principalities, from which it was separated by the Byzantine conquest before it formed a real local aristocracy. Moreover, the proper evolution of the western world incited the great Lombard abbeys of the principalities (Montecassino, S. Vincenzo al Volturno, S. Sofia of Benevento) into leaving their peripheral possessions, in particular in Apulia, in the 10th century, in spite of the confirmations given them by the imperial administration.⁴⁵ The local monasteries were not important, and the cathedrals, generally Latin, very rare after the crisis of the Dark Ages, even if they started to increase in number they were all the weaker as most of the

43 Martin, "Les thèmes italiens", pp. 542–543.

44 Martin/Noyé, "Les campagnes de l'Italie méridionale", pp. 585–586.

45 Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 293–301.

local churches were private and almost independent of the bishop.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the imperial authorities seem to have distributed offices and dignities to local leading persons⁴⁷ in order to create a ruling class, but they did not create a true aristocracy; among the governors of the province, only the duke Argyros in the 11th century and perhaps the *strategos* Oursoleon in the 10th were of local origin, although there was also reference to a judge of Bari of the 11th century who was in possession of two small villages, one of those granted to him by the authorities.⁴⁸ Among the churches, only the cathedral of Oria seems to have had *paroikoi*,⁴⁹ but this area is not far from Calabria. In Byzantine and Norman Apulia the small and medium-sized property prevailed: after the conquest, the Norman lords had to be content with public taxes.⁵⁰

On the contrary, in Calabria great – or very great – property was important. The most important document on the subject is the *brebion* (inventory of the incomings) of the metropolis cathedral of Reggio, drawn up about 1050. Directly or mainly through monasteries submitted to it, it owned 281 estates (προάστεια) and controlled seven exempt communities, which normally paid their taxes to the cathedral. The cartulary of the recently-founded cathedral of Oppido shows that at the same moment some persons were landowners in several χωρία. There was also small and medium property, which appears in particular on the occasion of gifts and legacies to the churches, as well as small family monasteries.

But it is above all the much more abundant documentation of the Norman period which makes it possible to appraise the importance of large property. It changed hands at the moment of the conquest, but it is sometimes possible to follow its destiny;⁵¹ in Calabria, the Norman lords drew the main part of their income from their lands and their dependents, while the public power remained in the hands of the count. Indeed, we are struck by the frequent mentions of dependent peasants, whose precise status varies, in the Norman period and even in the 13th century; often they are designated as *villani*,⁵² but sometimes also as *παρόικοι*. In spite of the structural changes due to the Norman conquest (seignior, feudalism), it is possible to compare these *villani* with the *paroikoi* who lived on the great estates of the Empire, so we may

46 Ibid., pp. 630–638.

47 Peters-Custot, “Titulatures byzantines”.

48 Lefort/Martin, “Le sigillion”.

49 Martin, *La Pouille*, p. 707.

50 Ibid., pp. 293–317.

51 Peters-Custot, “*Brébion, kodèx et plateae*”.

52 Peters-Custot, “Gli elenchi di uomini”.

suppose that many such *paroikoi* lived on the great ecclesiastical or lay estates of Byzantine Calabria.⁵³

It should also be noted that the two themes used different coinage. In Apulia, the use of imperial gold, copper and even silver coins seem to have been adapted to the local situation.⁵⁴ They were certainly introduced by trade, and there is evidence for the oil trade, but were probably used by all trades thanks to the wages and rents paid by the State: they therefore disappeared quickly after the Norman conquest. In Calabria, beside some imperial copper coins, the currency was the *tari*, a small gold coin worth a quarter of a *dīnār*, minted in Muslim Sicily, which certainly resulted from a surplus in the trade with the island. In fact, in the 10th and 11th centuries, the *tari* was the main currency along the whole Tyrrhenian coast of southern Italy, from Naples to Reggio: it appears in Amalfi in 907, in Naples in 935 and was current until the middle of the 11th century.⁵⁵ We may suppose that the trade of the Tyrrhenian duchies was its main vector; those duchies, which succeeded the Byzantine Duchy of Naples, never broke with the Empire, although they were actually independent. It seems indeed that, from the 9th to the 11th century, the main function of the Amalfitan trade was to export to Sicily and North Africa the products of the local agriculture (chestnuts, leguminous plants) and probably of the Neapolitan craftsmen's industry. The highly humanized character of the Amalfitan country, in spite of the relief, has already been noted.⁵⁶ Globally, in the 11th century, the whole south-western part of Italy traded with Sicily and North Africa, providing them with agricultural products, even if they did not belong to the same political and religious area.

At the precise time when the Empire was expelled from Italy – Reggio was conquered by the Normans in 1057, Bari in 1071 – the “great clearings” and the recovery of an economy based on exchange were just beginning. Only in the 12th century did some regions again begin to be specialized in productions largely aimed at exportation, such as oil on the Apulian plateau, then cereals in the Tavoliere.

53 Peters-Custot, “*Plateae et anthrôpoi*”.

54 Martin, “Economia naturale”, pp. 191–197. id., *La Pouille*, pp. 444–453. Callegher/Morrisson, “*Miliareni de follibus*”.

55 Martin, “Economia naturale”, pp. 198–202.

56 Martin, “Les caractères originaux”.

3 Conclusion

The rural economy in Byzantine Italy, as in the whole of Italy and even Europe, followed a descending curve until the 8th century, and then began to recover from the 9th, but its main components were not the same during those two periods. It first preserved, then acquired original characters: i.e. mainly the importance of the role of the State, which was to start with a great landowner, and until the end, the main promoter of the occupation of the land. In Rome and Ravenna, the role of the State as landowner and administrator was assumed by the pope and the archbishop in the 8th century; even in the new and definitely western political frame, antique types of managing continued. In Sicily and even in Naples after the independence, the State preserved its whole power: the Neapolitan *militia*, of exarchal origin, began to assume a western character only at the end of the 10th century,⁵⁷ and the duchy continued to consider itself as a part of the "Byzantine commonwealth". Everywhere, the place of the state or of the church as landowners constitutes the basis of public power.

In Calabria during the 9th–11th centuries, the role of large property – generally ecclesiastical – was similar to the central part of the Empire, but the precise methods of managing are unknown: the place of the *paroikoi* was probably important. On the contrary in Apulia, it was the total lack of aristocracy and large property which strengthened the public power of the State.

In such a constantly moving frame, the evolution of agricultural production does not seem to be different to that of the bordering Lombard regions. A production largely aimed at exportation (Sicily, Calabria) became a polyculture aimed at local consumption; on the contrary, in Latium, the patrimonies of the Church had to be reorganized in order to answer the local necessities. The least perturbed region was probably that of Ravenna. Finally, and especially since the 10th century, the south-western part of the peninsula, from Naples and Amalfi to Calabria, again began to export a part of its production towards Muslim Sicily and Africa.

The direct eastern contributions were rare: silk in Calabria being one. But the relations of the regions of Byzantine Italy between themselves and with the East were necessary to maintain them within the Empire during a certain time. Then, the impossibility of maintaining such links with the peninsula reduced Byzantine Italy to Sicily, wholly integrated in the Empire until the Muslim conquest, which was long and difficult, especially in the eastern part of the island. Finally the reconquest of the 9th century gave the south of the peninsula an original type of development.

57 Martin, *Guerre, accords et frontières*, pp. 37–43.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Breviarium Ecclesiae Ravennatis (Codice Bavaro)*, ed. G. Rabotti (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, 110), Rome 1985.
- CAG, vol. 1: *Saint-Nicolas de Donnoso (1031–1060/1061)*, ed. A. Guillou, Vatican City, 1967; vol. 2: *Saint-Nicodème de Kellarana (1023/1024–1232)*, ed. A. Guillou, Vatican City 1968; vol. 3: *La Théotokos de Hagia-Agathè (Oppido) (1050–1064/1065)*, ed. A. Guillou, Vatican City 1972; vol. 4: *Le brébion de la métropole byzantine de Région (vers 1050)*, ed. A. Guillou, Vatican City 1974; vol. 5: *Saint-Jean Théristsès (1054–1264)*, ed. S.G. Mercati/ C. Giannelli/ A. Guillou, Vatican City 1980.
- CDB, vol. 1: *Le pergamene del duomo di Bari (952–1264)*, ed. G.B. Nitto de Rossi/F. Nitti, Bari 1897, reprint Trani 1964; vol. 3: *Le pergamene della cattedrale di Terlizzi (971–1300)*, ed. F. Carabellese, Bari 1899, reprint Bari 1960; vol. 4: *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari. Periodo greco (939–1071)*, ed. F. Nitti, Bari 1900, reprint Bari 1964.
- Le "Liber Pontificalis". Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols., Paris 1886–1892.

Secondary Literature

- Andreolli, B., "Le enfiteusi e i livelli nel 'Breviarium'", in Vasina et al., *Ricerche e studi*, pp. 163–177.
- Arthur, P., "Economic expansion in Byzantine Apulia", in A. Jacob/ J.-M. Martin/ G. Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine. Acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 363), Rome 2006, pp. 389–405.
- Arthur, P., *Naples. From Roman town to City-State* (Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome, 12), London 2002.
- Balzaretti, R./Barrow, J./Skinner, P. (eds.), *Italy and Early Medieval Europe. Papers for Chris Wickham*, Oxford 2018.
- Callegher, B./Morrisson, C., "Miliareni de follibus: la trouvaille de folles byzantins de Cannes (milieu du X^e siècle)", in E. Cuozzo/V. Déroche/A. Peters-Custot/V. Prigent (eds.), *Puer Apuliae. Mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin* (Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. Monographies, 30), 2 vols., Paris 2008, 1, pp. 105–122.
- Carbonetti Vendittelli, C., "I supporti scrittorii della documentazione: l'uso del papiro", in J.-M. Martin/A. Peters-Custot/V. Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 1. *La fabrique documentaire*, (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 449), Rome 2011, pp. 33–48.
- Carile, A., "Terre militari, funzioni e titoli bizantini nel 'Breviarium'", in Vasina et al., *Ricerche e studi*, pp. 81–94.

- Cosentino, S., "Ricchezza e investimento della Chiesa di Ravenna tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo", in S. Gelichi/R. Hodges (eds.), *From One Sea to Another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2012, pp. 417–439.
- Delogu, P., "Introduzione al seminario", in L. Paroli/P. Delogu (eds.), *La storia economica di Roma nell'alto Medioevo alla luce dei recenti scavi archeologici*, Florence 1993, pp. 11–29.
- Durliat, J., *De la ville antique à la ville byzantine. Le problème des subsistances* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 136), Rome 1990.
- Fumagalli, V., "'Langobardia' e 'Romania': l'occupazione del suolo nella Pentapoli", in Vasina et al., *Ricerche e studi*, pp. 95–107.
- Lefort, J./Martin, J.-M., "Le sigillion du catépan d'Italie Eustathe Palatinos pour le juge Byzantios (décembre 1045)", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, 98 (1986), 525–542.
- Marazzi, F., *I «Patrimonia sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae» nel Lazio (secoli IV–X). Struttura amministrativa e prassi gestionali* (Nuovi studi storici, 37), Rome 1998.
- Martin, J.-M., "Economia naturale ed economia monetaria nell'Italia meridionale longobarda e bizantina", in *Storia d'Italia Einaudi, Annali 6: Economia naturale, economia monetaria*, Torino 1983, pp. 179–219 (reprinted in id., *Martin, Byzance et l'Italie méridionale*, Paris, 2014 [Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Bilans de recherche, 9], pp. 5–37).
- Martin, J.-M., *Guerre, accords et frontières en Italie méridionale pendant le haut Moyen Âge*. *Pacta de Liburia, Divisio principatus Beneventani et autres actes* (Sources et documents d'histoire du Moyen Âge publiés par l'École Française de Rome, 7), Rome 2005.
- Martin, J.-M., "Il popolamento e la civiltà rupestre in Puglia nell'alto Medioevo", in *Bizantini, Longobardi e Arabi in Puglia nell'alto Medioevo*, Spoleto 2012, pp. 147–162.
- Martin, J.-M., *La Pouille du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 179), Rome 1993.
- Martin, J.-M., "Les caractères originaux de l'agriculture amalfitaine (X^e–XIII^e siècles)", in *Documenti e realtà nel Mezzogiorno italiano in età medievale e moderna*, Amalfi 1995, pp. 305–324.
- Martin, J.-M., "Les thèmes italiens: territoire, population, administration", in A. Jacob/J.-M. Martin/G. Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine. Acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 363), Rome 2006, pp. 517–558 (reprinted in J.-M. Martin, *Byzance et l'Italie méridionale*, [Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. Bilans de recherche, 9], Paris 2014, pp. 197–229).
- Martin, J.-M., "L'Italie méridionale", in *Città e campagna nei secoli altomedievali* (Settimane CISAM, 56), 2 vols., Spoleto 2009, II, pp. 733–774.

- Martin, J.-M., "Perception et description du paysage rural dans les actes notariés sud-italiens (IX^e–XII^e siècles)", in A. Bazzana (ed.), *Castrum 5. Archéologie des espaces agraires méditerranéens au Moyen Âge* (Collection de la Casa de Velázquez, 55 – Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 105), Madrid 1999, pp. 113–127 (reprinted in J.-M. Martin, *Byzance et l'Italie méridionale* [Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. Bilans de recherche, 9], Paris, 2014, pp. 301–318).
- Martin, J.-M., "Peuplement, occupation du sol et rapports sociaux dans les duchés tyrrhéniens", in J.-M. Martin/A. Peters-Custot/V. Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 4. *Habitat et structure agraire*, (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 531), Rome 2017, pp. 73–89.
- Martin, J.-M., "Une origine calabraise pour la Grecia salentine?", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. 22–23 (1985–1986), pp. 51–63 (reprinted in id., *Byzance et l'Italie méridionale*, [Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. Bilans de recherche, 9] Paris 2014, pp. 39–479).
- Martin, J.-M./Cuozzo, E./Gasparri, S./Villani, S., *Regesti dei documenti dell'Italia meridionale (570–899)* (Sources et documents d'Histoire du Moyen Âge publiés par l'École Française de Rome, 5), Rome 2002.
- Martin, J.-M./Noyé, G., "Les campagnes de l'Italie méridionale byzantine (X^e–XI^e siècles)", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, 101 (1989), 559–596.
- Martin, J.-M./Noyé, G., "Les villages de l'Italie méridionale byzantine", in J. Lefort/C. Morrisson/J.-P. Sodini (eds.), *Les Villages dans l'Empire byzantin, IV^e–XV^e siècle*, Paris 2005, pp. 149–164.
- Montanari, M., "Il paesaggio rurale della Pentapoli nell'alto medioevo. Osservazioni suggerite dal 'Breviarium' e dalla documentazione coeva", in Vasina et al., *Ricerche e studi*, pp. 145–162.
- Noyé, G., "Economia e società nella Calabria bizantina (IV–XI secolo)", in A. Placanica (ed.), *Storia della Calabria medievale. I quadri generali*, Rome 2001, pp. 579–655.
- Paroli, L./Delogu, P. (eds.), *La storia economica di Roma nell'alto Medioevo alla luce dei recenti scavi archeologici*, Florence 1993.
- Patlagean, É., "Les armes et la cité à Rome du VII^e au IX^e siècle, et le modèle européen des trois fonctions sociales", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge-Temps modernes*, 86/1 (1974), 25–62.
- Peters-Custot, A., "*Brébion, kodèx et plateae*: petite enquête sur les instruments de la propriété monastique dans la Calabre méridionale aux époques byzantine et normande", in E. Cuozzo/V. Déroche/A. Peters-Custot/V. Prigent (eds.), *Puer Apuliae. Mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin*, (Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. Monographies, 30), 2 vols., Paris 2008, II, pp. 537–552.
- Peters-Custot, A., "Gli elenchi di uomini", in E. Cuozzo/J.-M. Martin (eds.), *Studi in margine all'edizione della Platea di Luca arcivescovo di Cosenza (1203–1227)*, Avellino 2009, pp. 141–158.

- Peters-Custot, A., “*Plateae et anthrôpoi*, peut-on trouver des origines byzantines à l’organisation normande de la paysannerie de la Calabre méridionale?”, in J.-M. Martin/A. Peters-Custot/V. Prigent (eds.), *L’héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 4. *Habitat et structure agraire* (Collection de l’École Française de Rome, 531), Rome 2017, pp. 293–318.
- Peters-Custot, A., “Titulatures byzantines en Pouille et Calabre”, in J.-M. Martin/A. Peters-Custot/V. Prigent (eds.), *L’héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 2. *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques* (Collection de l’École Française de Rome, 461), Rome 2012, pp. 643–658.
- Prigent, V., “Le grand domaine sicilien à l’aube du Moyen Âge”, in J.-M. Martin/A. Peters-Custot/V. Prigent (eds.), *L’héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 4. *Habitat et structure agraire* (Collection de l’École Française de Rome, 531) Rome, 2017, pp. 207–236.
- Prigent, V., “Les empereurs isauriens et la confiscation des patrimoines pontificaux d’Italie du Sud”, *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, 116/2 (2004), 557–594.
- Vasina, A./Lazard, S./Gorini, G./Carile, A./Fumagalli, V./Galetti P./ Pasquali, G./ Montanari, M./Andreolli, B./ Bucchi, T., *Ricerche e studi sul «Breviarium Ecclesiae Ravennatis» (Codice Bavaro)* (Studi storici, 148–149), Rome 1985.
- Vera, D., “*Massa fundorum*. Forme della grande proprietà e potere delle città in Italia fra Costantino e Gregorio Magno”, *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome. Antiquité*, 111/2 (1999), pp. 991–1025.

Non-Agricultural Items: Local Production, Importation and Redistribution

Enrico Zanini

1 The Framework

Some preliminary considerations are required in approaching the subject, since a number of complex variables need to be considered.¹ The first concern is related to the very definition of “Byzantine Italy”. This notion is connected to a political and administrative entity which had been superimposed onto a pre-existing social and economic fabric.

These two levels interacted with each other with different intensities in the different Italian regions.² Whether this interaction could be seen as an element of economic transformation is matter of discussion, and a major scholarly debate has arisen regarding the hypothesis of seeing this interaction as a relevant variable in differentiating between the two Italies of the 6th–8th century: one which was Byzantine, while the other Lombard.³ Furthermore, the way this possible economic differential could be viewed in the archaeological record was also a subject of debate; particularly regarding the production, circulation and use of everyday artefacts connected with food transport, household organization and personal ornament.⁴ In general, it should be remembered that these archaeological materials cannot be directly assumed to be specific markers of the economic structure of a single region and/or as markers of economic transformation over time, as it is impossible to attach specific significance to any single change in the presence/absence of a single type of artefact. They must instead be assumed to be “proxy” indicators:⁵ marks to be interpreted into the very complex broad transformation of the Mediterranean economy between the 3rd–4th centuries and the 7th–8th centuries AD.

1 Haldon, “Production, distribution and demand”; Wickham, “Italy at the end of the Mediterranean world”; id., *Framing the Early Middle Ages*.

2 Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*; Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine*.

3 Marazzi, “The destinies of the late antique Italies”; Zanini, “Ricontando la terra sigillata africana”; Zanini, “Economia dell’Italia bizantina”.

4 Arthur, “Pots and boundaries”.

5 Green “Roman pottery”.

The second concern regarding the role held by a “Byzantine variant” on the economic transformation of 6th–8th-century Italy is related to the state of the art of our knowledge about the starting situation, that is, the economic landscape in Ostrogothic Italy. This period of late antique Italian economic history has traditionally been neglected, and even less studied today are their possible trace on the archaeological record.⁶

Broadly speaking, recent scholarly debate mainly focused upon literary and juridical sources⁷ has argued for a continuity in land ownership, at least for the large aristocratic estates.⁸ In the archaeological record, this would have been paralleled, at least in theory, by a substantial continuity in production of transport amphorae, as they were normally manufactured in close topographic connection with the goods they had to contain. The same continuity could be presumed for coarse ware, very often produced at the same amphorae kiln-sites.

This continuity could also be presumed for the period immediately following the Justinianic conquest, which was mainly intended as a way to ensure Imperial control of the richest regions of the Italian peninsula. Yet this theoretical image of continuity was clearly contradicted by certain factors: the Italian economy in the 7th and 8th centuries was obviously very different to that of the 6th century, and this is the starting point for discussing the role that the different variables may have had in this change.

The third concern is related to the fact that the start of the Byzantine age in Italy was marked by the twenty years of the Gothic War. This war was surely a devastating event for the Italian peninsula on the whole, but beyond any generalizations, its real nature – how much warring took place, where and when – has evaded scholars. Moreover, the real economic impact of the war is also dark to us, both at the scale of the microeconomy of single settlements and regions afflicted by war, as well as at the macroeconomic scale of the whole of Italy and the Mediterranean.⁹

However, this event, so potentially damaging for the Italian economy, was a fundamental step in the evolution of the same economy. After the war, a large part of Italy once again became an organic part of the Mediterranean economic system, and this positively affected, for instance, the flux of imports, while at the same time creating a new market for goods produced in Italy.¹⁰

6 But see now Cirelli et al., *Le forme della crisi*.

7 Porena, *L'insediamento degli Ostrogoti*.

8 Cracco Ruggini, *Economia e società*.

9 Petersen, *Siege, Warfare and Military Organization*.

10 Zanini, “Economia dell'Italia bizantina”.

Moreover, the Gothic War also played a fundamental role on a global Mediterranean scale. Bringing Italy back into the economic and commercial context of the early Byzantine Mediterranean, the war moved the axis of the Mediterranean economy towards the west. In turn this created new conditions for the presence and archaeological visibility of eastern goods in the western Mediterranean basin.

A fourth element of complexity is represented by a sort of “asymmetry” between the beginning and the end of Byzantine rule in Italy: the first being an articulated but continuous process (the Gothic War) involving the whole peninsula more or less at the same time; the second marked by strong differences in space and time. On the whole, starting with the Lombard migration in 568/9, the two centuries of Byzantine domination in Italy were characterised by an enduring process of land reduction, with the progressive loss of regions which were very different to each another in terms of productive vocations, economic structure and commercial relationships with other regions of the Mediterranean basin.

The fifth and final factor of complexity is related to the idea of a multiplicity of Byzantine Italies. If late antique and Ostrogothic Italy¹¹ is hardly to be a homogeneous reality, Byzantine Italy is multiple by definition. Mainland Italy was composed of a variety of economic areas: for instance, the Po region was vastly different to the regions grouped around the so-called “Flaminia’s corridor”, or to those of southern Italy; for this reason they were controlled by different types of local authorities. Moreover, the regions of the Italian mainland surely differed from Sicily, which in turn was very different to Sardinia, despite the fact that both of the large islands belonged to the Mediterranean insular system.¹² A rather different history can be seen for the *provincia Maritima Italorum* (more or less coinciding with modern Liguria), which for several decades remained quite separate from the rest of the Byzantines in Italy, nevertheless maintaining its connections with the sea routes that carried amphorae and fine pottery from the eastern to the western basins of the Mediterranean Sea.¹³ In addition, the Adriatic macro-region had its own special history – much of it still to be written – as a point of intersection of peoples and goods along two main axes: the north-south one and several others directed to the east-west, with a complex system of coastal navigation. This was a typical specimen of an economic subsystem, with specific relationships with the Greek world and with the sea routes of the northern Aegean and the Ionic Gulf.¹⁴

11 Giardina, “Le due Italie”; Porena, *L’insediamento degli Ostrogoti*.

12 Michaelides et al., *The Insular System*.

13 De Vingo, “Liguria in Late Antiquity”.

14 Vidrih Perko, “Seaborne Trade Routes”; Arthur, “Riflessioni intorno alla produzione”.

2 The Knowledge Basis

At least in theory, the whole system of producing, distributing and consuming goods in Byzantine Italy would therefore have been the result of this institutional and economic complexity, and of its variability in time and space. If so, then the archaeological finds could represent a reliable marker to study and understand that subject.

Yet the passage from a theoretical informative potential to concrete historical information is a very difficult one, as the system of available archaeological sources on the subject looks very problematic from several points of view.

Firstly, the archaeological evidence which is readily available is decidedly unequal and could hardly be assumed as a reliable statistical sample. The finds distribution maps mainly reflect the different state of archaeological research in the late antique period and early Middle Ages in different Italian regions.

Moreover, they also reflect the different methodological approaches used by researchers working in different areas. Only a relatively small part of the finished excavations has been extensively published; not all of the excavation reports provided for an analytical study of finds, and only a small part of studied and published contexts produced numerical data which is really useful for further analysis.¹⁵

Furthermore, the length of time required for preparing analytical publications (especially of pottery assemblages) has gone hand in hand with a specific time frame in the history of late antique and early medieval archaeology in Italy and the Mediterranean area, which was signalled by a very rapid evolution of the knowledge bases and was characterized by a quick evolution in methodological reflection.¹⁶

The substantial number of studies from the 1980s and 1990s were based – at least in discussing chronologies – upon the single fundamental marker of African Red Slip Ware (ARSW), relying on its widespread diffusion and the relative ease in approaching its analysis on the basis of the seminal book published by John Hayes in the early 1970s. This inevitably led to underestimate the value of other markers, including, for instance, tableware produced in Asia Minor (Late Roman C Ware), or the several local productions from many different regions of the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁷

Thus, research conducted upon ceramics has primarily concentrated on tableware in a more general manner, which has been seen as a more useful tool

15 Zanini, "La ceramica bizantina in Italia".

16 Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*.

17 Martin, "La sigillata focese".

for dating archaeological assemblages, due to its tendency to undergo a rapid change in pottery shapes. Less studied were either transport amphorae (whose chronotypology in the Mediterranean basin is largely still under construction) or the locally produced coarse ware, with its dating value limited by a tendency to maintain consistent shapes in the medium- to long-term period.

Finally, a strong research tradition in Italian archaeology until recently has given precedence to the investigation of African materials, paying less attention to ceramic imports from the central and eastern Mediterranean. This has culminated today with a limited understanding of some complex phenomena related to the continuity of some of the commercial sea routes across the Mediterranean in the *longue durée*.¹⁸

The seminal book by Michel Bonifay on late antique and early Byzantine African pottery¹⁹ has *de facto* rewritten our knowledge basis on that subject, for the first time relating tableware production with coarse ware and amphorae production. Some different regional and sub-regional production areas are clearly noticed, together with their related distribution axes, and many chronologies that previously appeared to be well-established are being rediscussed.²⁰ Parallel to this, the experience gained by several decades of data collection has created the basis for a critical rethinking of the prevailing typological-quantitative approach used until recently in studies of late antique Mediterranean pottery. Some important questions were recently addressed: the difficulty in obtaining statistically reliable samples; and the weak usability of the data obtained in answering historical questions have become increasingly articulated.²¹

Moreover, these general themes can be seen in the context of the history of late antique and early medieval Italian archaeology over the last forty years or so. During the 1980s and 1990s, research was primarily concentrated on urban areas, that follow specific patterns in the formation of the original archaeological deposits. As the cities are essentially centres of consumption, they tend in fact to attract more imported goods than the minor centres or small urban settlements.

Urban archaeology thus has specific characters, be they in the strategy of excavation or in the recording of the excavated finds. As a consequence, it is hard to sustain plainly the image offered by urban archaeology is intrinsically

18 Lund, "Writing long-term history"; Bonifay, "Observations sur la diffusion".

19 Bonifay, *Etudes sur la céramique romaine*.

20 Humphrey, *Studies on Roman pottery*.

21 Bes/Poblome, "(Not) see the wood for the trees?".

reliable enough in order to be able to construct a more general view of pottery distribution in Italy.

Only in recent years has the research focus also moved towards minor settlements, in turn opening the way to a critical reflection on the distribution models of goods on a local scale. For instance, some new ideas were produced about the way in which different goods penetrated in different geographical contexts, depending on the proximity to the coast, the presence of navigable rivers or the obstacles posed by orography to the development of a small scale commerce.²²

As a whole, these factors tend to produce archaeological evidence with a high ratio of complexity that is very close to a chaotic one. Such evidence has revealed itself to be substantially useless in answering historical questions that today appear outdated, such as those based on the dichotomy between continuity and discontinuity in the transformation of the economic fabric of Italy between 6th and 8th centuries.

By contrast, the same evidence can also be potentially promising when it comes to enabling a more articulated reflection centred on the use of a highly complex network of archaeological finds in order to answer more detailed questions.

3 The Productions

We are in general poorly informed about the manufacturing of pottery, glass, and metalwork in the various regions of Byzantine Italy.

3.1 *Amphorae*

The manufacture of transport amphorae is usually topographically related to the production of supplies being transported. This could partly explain the patchy image we have of Italian amphorae kiln-sites, connected with the relatively small areas devoted to intensive oil and/or wine production.

The manufacture of only one type of amphora appears, at least in the evidence to date, to have been solidly established. The Keay LII amphorae²³ were medium/small amphorae mainly produced in the area of the Strait of Messina. They were strictly connected to the long-lasting commercial track directed towards Tyrrhenian Italy and, to a lesser extent, towards some other areas of the Mediterranean basin.

²² Zanini, "Economia dell'Italia bizantina".

²³ Pacetti, "La questione delle Keay LII".

This production marks a strong continuity between late antiquity and the early Byzantine age. Many kiln-sites date their origins already into the 4th century, while the main activity period is dated within the 6th century, with some activity continuing until the first decades of the 7th century.

Smaller size production, clearly related to regional markets, are now attested in the areas of Otranto²⁴ and Miseno.²⁵ Both of these kiln-sites produced amphorae which belong to the broad family of the “globular” container and are hence related to the general change in amphoric production throughout the Mediterranean. This may have been a consequence of a progressive change in the way amphorae were distributed by sea and/or land transportation.²⁶

3.2 *Coarse Ware*

Our knowledge about the manufacture of coarse ware in Byzantine Italy is even more patchy: very few kiln-sites have been identified and the intrinsic conservatism of shapes and decoration makes it quite difficult to outline their chronological and typological evolution.²⁷

This kind of pottery normally had just a local diffusion, with the exception of the so-called Pantellerian Ware that has shown a large dispersion throughout the Mediterranean, although admittedly there are very few examples. This kitchen ware was not destined for mass distribution, as only one shipwreck site contains this pottery in a significant percentage. Its frequent but sporadic presence was perhaps related to the use of pots to contain the tar required in the continuous maintenance of navigating ships.²⁸

For this reason, the consistently notched distribution map of Pantellerian Ware represents a very interesting indicator for the integration of Pantelleria and Sicily into the network connecting the western Mediterranean islands and coasts in early Byzantine times.

By contrast, the archaeological markers of coarse ware production and consumption in the other regions of Byzantine Italy have been much less easy to interpret. Only a few kiln-sites have been excavated thus far; for instance, in Salento,²⁹ in Apulia,³⁰ and in Campania,³¹ three areas where pottery making has a very long tradition dating from antiquity to today.

24 Arthur, “La produzione di anfore bizantine”.

25 De Rossi et al., “Il porto di Miseno”.

26 Zanini, “Forma delle anfore”.

27 Menchelli, “Late Roman coarse wares”.

28 Santoro, “Le ceramiche da cucina”.

29 Leo Imperiale/Patitucci Uggeri, “Otranto, cantiere Mitello”.

30 Turchiano, “Le ceramiche comuni dell’ Apulia tardoantica”; Cassano et al., “Ceramiche comuni dipinte e da fuoco”.

31 De Rossi et al., “Il porto di Miseno”.

Much more abundant are finds coming from large consumer sites;³² nevertheless, in each single case, it has been nearly impossible to recognise a proper model of distribution and consumption. The massive presence of coarse ware and more refined pottery was probably due to the “dense commercial and functional relationships”³³ between single cities and the surrounding countryside, and/or with the existence of regional/subregional distribution networks.

In this highly complex panorama, two phenomena emerge as evident. Firstly, all the regions of Byzantine Italy appear to have been included within the wide area where jars and jugs made in a refined, plain ware decorated by large red-brownish bands were diffused. This element proves a relationship existed between Byzantine Italy with a more general Mediterranean *koiné*, characterized by the activity of a very large number of production sites and a similarly parallel number of consuming sites. The best-known study case study in Italy until now has been that of Crecchio, where a large amount of this pottery has been found, though it remains unclear whether this was due to the presence of a local manufacturer or a massive import from Egypt.³⁴

The second piece of evidence is represented by the virtual absence of any kind of similar ware in the northern Italian regions, where the tradition of a ceramic production with well-standardized and “professional” manufacturing processes seems less and less frequent between the 5th and 6th centuries, arriving at a complete stop in the second half of the 6th century, after the Lombard conquest.

3.3 *Fine Tableware*

Among the late antique pottery productions that seems to extend into the regions of Byzantine Italy between the 6th and the 7th centuries (though to a lesser degree), we also have to consider the so-called ARSW “imitations.”³⁵

This broad categorization includes a wide and composite set of artefacts coming from many different productive centres, only a very few of which have been archaeologically investigated. The distribution is always at a sub-regional scale, the unique common element being represented by the attempt to imitate ARSW shapes and colours in some way.

From a purely quantitative point of view and for the centuries here discussed, this production could be labelled as not relevant. Nevertheless, it assumes an importance as a marker of a specific productive activity, intended to

32 For Rome, see, for instance, Romei, “Produzione e circolazione”.

33 Turchiano, “Le ceramiche comuni dell’ Apulia tardoantica”.

34 Staffa Pellegrini, *Dall’Egitto copto all’Abruzzo bizantino*.

35 Fontana, “Le ‘imitazioni’ della sigillata africana”.

satisfy the request of a market that bestowed a commercial value, and perhaps a status symbol, to the artefacts coming from Africa.

The virtual disappearance of these artefacts from northern Italian regions, in contrast with their survival in southern Italy – with a significant concentration in the largest consumer centres such as Rome and Naples – seems to strengthen the image of a progressive differentiation between the two Italies (Byzantine and Lombard) with regard to the complexity of their productive and distributive systems.

Whether this phenomenon was related to long-lasting mechanisms in the evolution of the Italian economy, or if it was analogous to the different engagements extant within the macroeconomic system of the early Byzantine Mediterranean remains widely debated today.

3.4 *Clay Lamps*

An additional marker for pottery manufacture in the regions of Byzantine Italy is also represented by clay lamps. In this case too, we do not have any kiln-site which has been properly investigated,³⁶ but several discovery sites – to be noted in particular that of Crypta Balbi in Rome³⁷ – appear to indicate a very interesting phenomenon. At some point during the 7th century, lamps from Africa, which took the hegemony over the Italian market for more than four centuries, were progressively replaced in the same market by Sicilian artefacts and later by local productions rudely imitating the latter. If this tendency, which neatly emerged just recently in the Crypta Balbi context can be confirmed in other significant settings, this will result in additional evidence for a progressive localization of production and distribution.

3.5 *Non-Ceramic Productions: Glass and Metalware*

Discussions regarding glass and metalware production in Byzantine Italy have revealed themselves to be highly problematic for two contrasting reasons.

Generally speaking, glass manufacture was always a small-scale business, with a primarily local distribution and a continuous recycling of broken objects. Hence, glass objects normally have had a very low visibility within the archaeological record, especially in urban archaeological contexts, where the activity of small glass recycling workshops was concentrated. This is well-documented in the small glass kilns found in the Crypta Balbi in Rome

³⁶ Pavolini, “Le lucerne in Italia”.

³⁷ Ceci, “Note sulla circolazione delle lucerne”.

dating from the 5th century,³⁸ and in the Classe harbour area, dated to between the 5th and the 7th centuries.³⁹

Notwithstanding this information, the continuity of glass production in the different regions of Byzantine Italy could be easily postulated on two bases: the archaeological evidence of such a continuity in many other areas of the early Byzantine Mediterranean; and a substantial continuity of circulation of glass artefacts in Rome⁴⁰ and in all urban centres of Byzantine Italy heretofore investigated. Similarly, it can be quite difficult to localize metalware manufacturing sites – in particular, those connected with precious artefacts for personal ornament – because this kind of product had a high intrinsic value and a very large distribution area, often intersecting with the distribution areas of other productive centres.

In this setting, a huge documentary value has to be assigned to the assemblage of production wastes, casting models and different tools discovered into the 7th-century strata at Crypta Balbi in Rome.⁴¹ This extraordinary archaeological assemblage was associated with a multifunctional workshop, most likely connected to a monastery located in the surrounding area.

The comparison between the artefacts originating from the Crypta Balbi deposit and some parallels observed in both the Byzantine and Lombard areas opens a very interesting research perspective on the role that urban productions in Byzantine Rome could have had in structuring the exchange economy in early medieval Italy.

This idea has now been reinforced by new excavations undertaken in the nearby area of Piazza Venezia, where workshops for bronze manufacturing were recently discovered.⁴² The investigation regarding the proper nature and chronology of these structures is still ongoing, but a new image of a whole productive district dedicated to this artisanal activity is becoming increasingly detailed.⁴³

4 Imported Goods

If the local production of pottery, metal and glass proves the continuity of a relatively complex economic system in Byzantine Italy, imported goods are

38 Sagù, "Glass in Late Antiquity".

39 Cirelli/Tontini, "Produzione vetraria a Classe".

40 Sagù, "Produzioni vetrarie a Roma".

41 Arena et al., *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo*.

42 Serlorenzi, "Le testimonianze medievali".

43 La Salvia, "Impianti metallurgici".

instead very direct evidence that the same regions were well-integrated within the articulated Mediterranean economic system.

In this case too, however, researchers are still far from having a well-established overview. The mapping of findings is always in evolution, many recent excavations still need to be extensively published, and any synthesis will have to confront the inevitable problem of weak statistical samples.

By consequence, the following reflections have to be assumed more as a provisional aspect of general tendencies rather than as conclusive remarks.

4.1 *Amphorae*

The presence of imported amphorae appears to be very relevant in many archaeological sites of Byzantine Italy; it is a factor which is often independent single site size. The main importation flows originated from North Africa, Aegean and the Levant, but relatively significant flows also came from Egypt and the Black Sea region.

The distribution map of these materials follows some macroscopic lines in the mid-long period, though these are intersected by local or even punctuated phenomena.

A first macroscopic line could be read as a sort of “compensation” between the incoming flux from different areas of the early Byzantine Mediterranean. Whereas, in a single moment, African imports may have tended to decrease, their place on the local market was overtaken by Aegean and Levantine amphorae; this too seems to suggest a continuity of a relatively complex distribution system.

A second line is certainly readable as a declining of total amount of imports, albeit this decay curve today appears less vertical and more distributed across time than was supposed some years ago by researchers. This impression is greatly corroborated by recent discoveries in the wider Mediterranean basin, such as the ships in the Theodosian Harbour at Constantinople,⁴⁴ which cancelled the traditional and poorly-grounded image of the end of transmarine amphorae shipping already in the 7th–8th centuries.

A third line is represented by an evident difference in the distribution maps of imported amphorae between the Italian regions that retained relations with the Byzantine economic and administrative system for a longer time than those regions that instead passed rather quickly under Lombard control.⁴⁵

This appears to be a phenomenon that has to be registered in itself, beyond any discussion concerning the different reasons that determined it.

44 Kokabas, *Yenikapi shipwrecks*.

45 Zanini, “La ceramica bizantina”.

A fourth line is represented by the transformation of distribution patterns after the end of the 7th century. The substantial transformation of the Mediterranean commercial system after the expansion of Arab domination on the eastern and southern shores clearly affected Italy, too. The change is physically countersigned by a new type of amphorae (the broad family of so-called globular containers), and it seems to assume two different – and perhaps complementary – forms in northern and central Italy, respectively, as well as in the southern part of the peninsula and Sicily.

Within these general trends, single consuming centres show local and specific problems, and this imposes questions only partially solvable on the basis of our present knowledge. A rapid review of some case-studies could prove to be useful in focusing on certain problems.

The main consuming centre in Byzantine Italy remained of course Rome, but the extraordinary nature of its archaeological contexts offers as much potentialities as well as many critical points, the latter being related to the dimension, complexity and variability within the timeframe offered by the available archaeological samples.

For example, in the 7th-century archaeological context of Crypta Balbi's *exedra*, thousands of imported amphorae potsherds were collected and studied, and several dozen complete vessels from all over the Mediterranean were reconstructed. This garbage disposal is certainly a privileged observation post on pottery circulation within a site associated with the Roman upper social class of the 7th century;⁴⁶ but in turn, it became "responsible" for the creation of an image of massive continuity in amphorae importing. It is now very difficult to say whether this image could coincide with a more general overview, or if it ultimately derives from just one episode connected with a specific situation.⁴⁷

Some data deriving from an urban archaeology programme in Naples⁴⁸ seem to go in accordance with those offered by Crypta Balbi's assemblage. In Neapolitan contexts, imports from Africa and the Levant alternated at times, within a general framework which also included significant imports from other regions of Byzantine Italy, exactly as it happened at Crypta Balbi.

Recent excavations in the harbour area of Classe, near Ravenna,⁴⁹ have been published with a quantitative approach that is worth to being mentioned, as they offer a reliable overview of the flow of goods towards the seat of the

46 Sagui, "Roma, i centri privilegiati e la lunga durata".

47 For some other possible parallel assemblages in Rome, see Panella et al., "Contesti tardoantichi di Roma"; Paroli/Vendittelli, *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo II*.

48 Arthur, *Naples*; Carsana et al., "Nuovi dati ceramologici".

49 Augenti/Cirelli, "Classe: un osservatorio privilegiato"; Cirelli, "Typology and diffusion".

Italian Exarchate. Augenti and Cirelli also developed an interesting evaluation regarding the ratio between the amount of goods which arrived in Ravenna's harbour and the estimated number of the town's inhabitants. Too much pottery for a small population claims a possible role for Classe as a crucial point of a system of redistribution of goods towards the Adriatic coastal arch, the Po basin and also Central Europe.

Besides large consuming centres, recent research has also concentrated on centres that could be defined as "minor" on the sole basis of their physical extent, albeit they had a crucial importance during this period of transformation in Italian society which was mainly characterized by a deep urban crisis and the gradual emergence of defended and defensive sites. Two study cases appear to be particularly significant.

At the castrum of S. Antonino di Perti in western Liguria, the chart of attested amphorae⁵⁰ clearly recalls those of large urban centres of Byzantine Italy despite its location in the upper Ligurian inland. African imports largely prevail, but amphorae coming from Aegean and the Levant were also highly present in the 6th and even the first half of the 7th century.

A similar panorama appears to be now emerging at the site of Noli,⁵¹ also located in western Liguria, which was the seat of a military contingent as well. Another very similar panorama, albeit with lower numbers of potsherds, has also been recognized in the fortified hill site of Loppio, in Southern Trentino. This case demonstrates that African and Aegean amphorae managed to reach the remotest periphery of Byzantine Italy or even the Lombard territory between the 6th and the first half of the 7th centuries.⁵² This makes Loppio a case study of the greatest interest, as it offers an opportunity for reflection regarding the role of the military administration in feeding fortified centres and in generating commercial paths that were destined to survive until the end of imperial control over these regions.

The substantial transformation of the goods' distribution model in the 8th and 9th centuries is well-documented at various sites. In northern Italy, where Byzantine and "western" (Lombard, Frankish) economic systems were in close contact and actively interacted, a fundamental role was assumed by some large emporia (Comacchio being the most representative case study)⁵³ where goods coming from different regions were first concentrated in order to be locally

50 Murialdo, "Le anfore da trasporto".

51 De Vingo, "Amphores de transport".

52 Maurina/Capelli, "L'importazione di prodotti alimentari".

53 Negrelli, "Produzione, circolazione e consumo".

redistributed. In southern Italy (Salento)⁵⁴ and Sicily (Rocchicella-Mineo and Siracusa),⁵⁵ new excavations and field research are constantly enriching the image of a multifaceted and multiscale economy, demonstrating a new interaction between the local, regional and Mediterranean distribution systems.⁵⁶

4.2 *Fine Tableware*

Broadly speaking, the distribution pattern of fine imported tableware appears to follow that of amphorae: in all the consuming centres cited above, indeed, African and/or Aegean-Levantine amphorae are always associated with fine tableware, mainly of African import.

The later forms of ARSW, following the typological sequence established by John Hayes⁵⁷ and revised by Michel Bonifay,⁵⁸ are important markers for the study of both the absolute chronology of such a commerce and the integration of any single region into the goods distribution system at the Mediterranean scale. While they may have been provisional and cursory, the first distribution maps prepared at the end of 1990s⁵⁹ presented an image that remains a good starting point today.

However, two main elements deserve to be underlined: the theoretical difference between amphorae and fine tableware distribution patterns, and the role of imports from coastal Asia Minor.

As far as distribution patterns are concerned, the intrinsic characters of fine tableware mark a deep difference towards amphorae.

While ARSW was something which could be traded by itself, amphorae were simply containers for transported goods. In this, ARSW moved along a sort of “red line” directly uniting the producer to the final customer through one or more merchants. Instead, amphorae moved along a much more complex path: as containers, they could have been – and they really were – reused many times for different goods; by contrast, the same goods could change their container – perhaps from an amphora, to a barrel, or to a jar – during their travel, depending on the constraints of the journey.⁶⁰

54 Leo Imperiale, “Anfore globulari”.

55 Arcifa/Longo, “Processi di differenziazione territoriale”; Cacciaguerra “Cultura materiale e commerci”.

56 Gelichi/Molinari, *I contenitori da trasporto altomedievali*.

57 Hayes, *Late Roman pottery*.

58 Bonifay, *Etudes sur la céramique romaine*.

59 Tortorella, “La sigillata africana in Italia”; Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine*, pp. 321–322; Zanini, “La ceramica bizantina in Italia”.

60 Zanini, “Forma delle anfore”.

Moreover, ARSW had a much more favourable ratio between weight and value, if compared with amphorae. It seems therefore licit to suppose that ARSW had a greater penetrating capability, including within regions located relatively far away from the harbours of transmarine commerce.

Lastly, ARSW was destined for table furniture: so, it was possibly charged with a somewhat “public” function as a display of its owner’s wealth and life-style; and such cultural adjunct value could influence the request of ARSW on different markets in a significant way.

Here we are evidently faced with three elements of complexity that make it particularly difficult – but at the same time very promising – to draw a distribution map which takes all these factors into account.

Whereas this experiment was attempted where published data obtained from certain regions in northern Italy was more widely available,⁶¹ it led to a better definition of the complexity of interacting variables. On the whole, the picture seems to confirm the idea that ARSW was mainly – although perhaps not exclusively – accessible to the regions of Byzantine Italy compared with the Lombard ones.

Regarding fine tableware imported from Asia Minor (Late Roman C Ware), the available distribution map still appears to be quite the same as that drawn by Archer Martin in 1998.⁶² The Italian sites where LRCW has been found are a few and mainly distributed along the coasts of Byzantine regions, with a specific concentration in the lower Adriatic Sea.

4.3 Coarse Ware

Mass transportation of amphorae and fine tableware from Africa and the Levant towards Byzantine Italy inevitably created a commercial channel also for other ceramic items: in particular, for more or less small quantities of fireware and coarse ware with specific features that could attract the customers. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries, this has been the case with African fireware, that reached a wide diffusion throughout Italy; so it is highly plausible that a similar path was repeated in the early Byzantine age.

But this research area remains, at the moment, largely unexploited: a first reference overview of these productions was drawn only some years ago,⁶³ and on this basis it would now be possible to develop further investigations on the distribution map of these pottery types in early Byzantine Italy.

61 Costa, “Software libero”; Zanini, “Economia dell’Italia bizantina”.

62 Martin, “La sigillata focese”.

63 Bonifay, “Observations sur la diffusion”; Bonifay, *Etudes sur la céramique romaine*; Humphrey, *Studies on Roman pottery*.

5 Circulation of Goods: Consuming Centres, Distribution and Redistribution Centres, Economy Engines

While the overview we have rapidly sketched out may resemble a mosaic with a lot of missing tesserae, its outline is nevertheless quite readable, at least in its essential features.

The flow of imported goods coming from the early Byzantine Mediterranean (including the southern regions of Byzantine Italy) was inevitably concentrated towards the larger consuming centres, coinciding with the main seats of the administrative, military and economic Byzantine power in Italy: Rome, Ravenna and Naples.

In each of those cases, a flow of imports which can be defined as massive was assisted by the immediate proximity, if not coincidentally, of harbours that were already established within the ancient Mediterranean commercial sea routes system. From this point of view, it is particularly worthwhile to note that a very similar dynamic in commercial flows can be registered from between the middle of the 6th century and the middle of the 7th century in a port and a consuming centre as important as Marseille, which shares this feature as a *longue durée* Mediterranean focal point with Rome, Ravenna and Naples, despite never having been part of the administrative Byzantine system in the western Mediterranean.⁶⁴

If the quantitative profile of imported goods is very similar between the three cited Italian towns, the quality of flows seems to differ substantially.

The image of Ravenna is well-characterized, at least during the second half of the 6th century, by a massive importation of pottery and amphorae-packed goods from Africa.⁶⁵

This is especially significant because this massive and homogeneous importation appears to replace a former more articulated panorama where African imports were primarily flanked by Aegean imports. Secondly, it was an extremely direct connection between Africa and a consuming centre located on the northern Adriatic which at the time was still not very large, nor was it traditionally connected with the African distribution system, making it an interesting claim for reflection regarding this new phenomenon.⁶⁶ On the other hand, it should be remembered that the archaeological contexts on which this image is ultimately based are not properly related to urban consumption, but rather

64 Pieri, *Le commerce du vin oriental*.

65 Augenti, "Ravenna e Classe"; Augenti/Cirelli, "Classe: un osservatorio privilegiato".

66 Herrin/Nelson, *Ravenna*.

with the stocking of goods in a harbour's warehouse, and this circumstance could have determined some bias in the image it projects.

The images of Rome⁶⁷ and Naples⁶⁸ have been elaborated on the basis of many different archaeological contexts and they look much more articulated. In both the cases, the usual large influx of goods from Africa is associated with large imports from the Aegean and Levant and with significant flows from southern Italy and Sicily. The framework is still to be defined, but it evidently imposes a number of reflections regarding the complexity of mechanisms that could have governed the relationships between production and consuming centres, on the existence of a network of smaller, intermediate harbours and perhaps the role performed in the supply of Rome and Naples by lands held by the urban aristocracy in southern Italy.

This image of complexity seems to be largely confirmed by the preliminary analysis of some smaller sites in various Italian regions.

In Liguria, the integration of that region into the long-lasting Mediterranean circuits is evidenced by the widespread distribution of amphorae and fine tableware in all of the coastal centres.⁶⁹

A similar panorama seems to emerge for coastal Tuscany, where the site of Vada Volaterrana⁷⁰ and several small and medium-sized sites in the southern part of the region⁷¹ have registered the same continuity in the flow of goods from Africa, the Levant and Byzantine southern Italy. In all these cases, the end of this importation seems to be in somewhat tight relation with the end of Byzantine administrative control on those areas, and this asks for a possible cause-and-effect relationship between the two phenomena. Still in Tuscany, the archaeological contexts of Florence were also recently studied.⁷² There, imports seem to have continued until the 6th century, succeeded by a quick drop and a replacement with local production that sometimes imitated African artefacts. This image, when matched with the others which have been previously discussed, offers a very interesting point of view regarding the different circulation patterns between the coasts and interior.

Further south in Campania, the case-study of the Miseno, discussed above, is a testament to the complex intersection of Mediterranean imports, commerce

67 Panella et al., "Contesti tardoantichi di Roma"; Saguì, "Roma, i centri privilegiati".

68 Arthur, *Naples*; Carsana et al., "Nuovi dati ceramologici".

69 De Vingo, "Amphores de transport"; Gandolfi, "Ceramiche fini di importazione"; Gandolfi et al., "Anfore africane"; Tinterri, "Trading amphorae".

70 Sangriso/Marini, "Vada Volaterrana".

71 Vaccaro, *Sites and Pots*.

72 Cantini, "Circolazione, produzione e consumo".

on an interregional scale and the continuity of local production, both of amphorae and coarse ware with large strip decoration.

A first synthesis recently prepared for Calabria⁷³ has reconfirmed the already known differences between the Tyrrhenian and Ionian coasts and has suggested some differences between the flows from Africa and the Levant into different centres such as Crotone, Locri, Reggio and *Scolacium*. This raises several questions about the possible role of different public powers (local administration, the military, the church) within the management of trade.

The situation in the Adriatic regions from Salento,⁷⁴ through Apulia⁷⁵ and Abruzzo,⁷⁶ up towards the northern Adriatic arch⁷⁷ presented a complex picture, with local particularity inserted into a relatively homogeneous framework.⁷⁸ The latter seems to be marked by a larger ratio of Aegean and Levantine imports over those from Africa, following a *longue durée* pattern that can easily include singular, specific and well-known cases such as the Late Roman C peak in the Roman and late antique villa at Agnuli, near Mattinata⁷⁹ and the peak of Samos Cistern Type amphorae found in the northern Adriatic.⁸⁰

Similarities to the *longue durée* relationships, but this time with Africa, have been revealed in the dataset available for the two principal islands of the western Mediterranean. Sardinia was administratively connected to Africa in early Byzantine times and this could have also had an effect on their economic relationships.⁸¹ Sicily was instead more directly connected with Constantinople and Rome, but its shores were so close to African harbours that is very believable that they had an important role in the redistribution system of African artefacts towards Rome and Italy.

It is precisely this theoretically unlimited availability of African goods that makes Sicily a highly interesting case-study to investigate two separate phenomena: the intersection of distribution flows coming from Africa with those arriving from the eastern Mediterranean, and the mechanisms of sub-regional and local distribution of goods into the interior.

73 Cuteri/Salamida, "Il litorale jonico calabrese".

74 Arthur, "Riflessioni intorno alla produzione".

75 Volpe et al., "Produzioni locali ed importazioni".

76 Staffa, "I centri urbani dell'Abruzzo".

77 Degrassi et al., "Amphorae and coarse ware".

78 Gelichi/Negrelli, *La circolazione delle ceramiche*.

79 Martin, "La sigillata focese".

80 Arthur, "Anfore dall'Alto Adriatico".

81 Milanese et al., "Ceramiche tardoantiche".

Concerning the intersection of goods flows, recent but fragmentary datasets point towards a difference between the western and eastern parts of the island. In western Sicily, African imports appear to be almost exclusive;⁸² whereas in the east the panorama looks much more heterogeneous, with imports from many different regions and more complex distribution systems.⁸³ Significant differences are visible, for instance, into the circulation of goods between the coast and interior: in the region of Enna, located in the very centre of the island, African and eastern imports ended abruptly between the 6th and the 7th centuries,⁸⁴ whereas in the region of Agrigento even the large villages of the immediate inland regions were still being served by extensive imports in the same period.⁸⁵

A very similar image could also be supposed for peninsular regions, where the penetration of amphorae towards the interior was necessarily frustrated by the orographic nature of the landscape. However, it is highly likely that these difficulties were faced by the Byzantine administration's concentration of checkpoints along the main roads and navigable rivers, in order to ensure a sort of continuity in the flow of imported goods towards the inner regions.

A specific role in this respect has long since been recognised for the Tiber,⁸⁶ whereas as recently as last year a major focus had been directed towards the Po river. Recent excavations in Comacchio⁸⁷ have allowed for the hypothetical existence of a series of river emporia along the Po Valley, that ensured some circulation towards northern Italy at least for luxury goods, even after the fall of the Ravenna exarchate and the end of Byzantine control over Italy.

In summation, the circulation of archaeologically visible goods in Byzantine Italy has demonstrated highly complex characteristics which could be articulated into broad phenomena, middle-sized phenomena and local scale phenomena. The first category has distinguished the set of Byzantine regions from the set of non-Byzantine regions; the second concerns the individual regions, and those belonging to the third are characteristic of any single archaeological context.

From this perspective, an examination of one example from the many possible could include the actual context of the Crypta Balbi exedra in Rome, which could be read as the ultimate product of a synergy of a broad-scale phenomenon (the integration of Byzantine Italy into the Mediterranean economy, as

82 Ardizzone, "Nuove ipotesi: Sicilia occidentale".

83 Arcifa, "Nuove ipotesi: Sicilia orientale".

84 Bonanno et al., "Nuove esplorazioni in località Gerace".

85 Rizzo/Zambito, "Ceramiche comuni ed anfore".

86 Patterson et al., "Late Roman common wares".

87 Gelichi, "Comacchio e il suo territorio".

a necessary condition), a medium-scale phenomenon (the interregional network in which Rome was integrated, with a main focus on southern Italian regions) and a microphenomenon at a very local scale. In this case, it happened that the monastery that was at the origin of a such a deposit was probably strictly connected with land properties in Sicily.

These observations again raise two basic questions: 1. the possibility of recognising and proving the existence of a “systemic” difference in goods circulation with Byzantine Italy on one side and Lombard Italy on the other; and 2. the possibility of recognising the “engines” of such diversity.

The first issue, as is known, was the core of a rich critical reflection started more than twenty years ago, when the first distribution maps of fine tableware and amphorae in late antique/early medieval Italy were matched with the political and administrative map of Byzantine/Lombard Italy.⁸⁸

The radical economic bipartition indicated by those maps was discussed, refused or approved mainly on the basis of single-study cases, but, until now, no new and more-complete distribution maps had been produced. Hence, it seems self-evident that a concrete development of the research in this direction would have its first step in an extensive mapping of the Italian sites where imported artefacts have been discovered, taking into account not only the positive evidence, but also the negative, as represented by the “verified absences.” The latter being constituted by those sites where extensive archaeological activity was done without any, or poor amounts of imported goods from the Byzantine Mediterranean.

On the basis of such a map, the question of the possible systemic differences between the Byzantine and Lombard Italies could be reconsidered, starting from the basic idea of the “availability” of a single artefact into a single territorial context and a single span of time. This would be something much more concrete than the somewhat abstract ideas of circulation and/or importing of goods. In the meantime, it seems worth emphasizing that a series of non-systematic markers proceed in the direction of a somewhat neat bipartition between Byzantine and Lombard Italy, ultimately attesting to the adequacy of the image of a Byzantine Italy from the point of view of archaeologically visible economy. This image emerges, for instance, by a quick scrutiny of the scholarly papers published in the last printed volumes of the Late Roman Coarse Ware conferences series (LRCW3; LRCW4; LRCW5), which offer an extensive overview on the state of the art of research in this area. Among the contributions, those concerning the Italian regions furthest from the

88 Tortorella, “La sigillata africana in Italia”; Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine*; Zanini, “La ceramica bizantina in Italia”.

Mediterranean (alpine and sub-alpine regions, the Po Valley north of the river) clearly register a radical change in commercial activity markers between the 6th and the 7th centuries. In virtually all the investigated sites, it is evident that rough local artefacts rapidly overcame the last imported goods. On the basis of this evidence, one could consider an economic differential between the two Italies in the early Middle Ages in terms of a difference in the concrete availability of imported artefacts, and this in turn could be interpreted as a major symptom of a different degree of systemic economic complexity between the two worlds being discussed.

In other terms, the economy of Byzantine Italy, as seen from the perspective of its archaeological markers, appears between the 6th and the 7th centuries to be of a complexity scale significantly varied and greater than its Lombard counterpart. The goods that arrived into the final customers availability were much more numerous and came from many different regions: this guaranteed the customer a greater variety and better quality, which can be interpreted as a basic value marker. The economic system that allowed this circulation of goods has in turn been understood to be a complex, with a multiplicity of acting factors.

A first, very relevant factor was certainly the role of the central and peripheral administration of the Byzantine state, albeit this it is a very complicated issue that deserves to be investigated and debated by specialists of many different disciplines.⁸⁹ The Byzantine administration exercised its role mainly through two channels: 1. the government control over supplies for the army to provinces which were frontier territories since the day after the completion of the Justinianic reconquest; and 2. the complex fiscal apparatus, that, by the way of its articulation, was in a condition to have many repercussions upon the production, circulation and consumption of goods. A similarly important role was exercised by the trading system. This was in turn related to two main aspects: 1. a long-lasting one, made of commercial relationships between single production areas and single consumption areas which would remain dynamic for centuries; and 2. a short/medium-period one, related to the new opportunities generated by the “*renovatio Imperii*” that actually opened new sea-routes or reopened sea-routes that had become obsolete due to the crisis experienced by Western Roman Empire’s commercial system. A third element is lastly represented by natural constraints that heavily influenced both the exchanges at the Mediterranean scale and those at the regional and subregional scale,

89 Vera, “Fisco, annona e commercio”; Zanini, “La ceramica bizantina in Italia”; Zanini, “Economia dell’Italia bizantina”.

resulting in the conditioning of the local distribution of imported goods and determining the framing of specific basins of availability of local and imported goods.

Bibliography

- Arcifa, L., "Nuove ipotesi a partire dalla rilettura dei dati archeologici: la Sicilia orientale", in A. Nef/V. Prigent (eds.), *La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam*, Paris 2010, pp. 15–49.
- Arcifa, L./Longo, R., "Processi di differenziazione territoriale nella Sicilia di inizi IX secolo. Il contesto di Rocchicella-Mineo (CT)", in P. Arthur/M. Leo Imperiale (eds.), *VII Congresso nazionale di archeologia medievale*, Florence 2015, pp. 361–366.
- Ardizzone, F., "Nuove ipotesi a partire dalla rilettura dei dati archeologici: la Sicilia occidentale", in A. Nef/ V. Prigent (eds.), *La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam*, Paris 2010, pp. 50–76.
- Arena, M.S./Delogu, P./Paroli, L./Ricci, M./Sagui, L./Vendittelli, L. (eds.), *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo. Archeologia e storia nel Museo Nazionale Romano – Crypta Balbi*, Milano 2001.
- Arthur, P., "Anfore dall'Alto Adriatico e il problema del Samos Cistern Type", *Aquileia Nostra* 61 (1990), 79–93.
- Arthur, P., "La produzione di anfore bizantine", *Archeologia Medievale* 19 (1992), 103–110.
- Arthur, P., *Naples. From Roman Town to City-State* (Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome, 12), Rome 2002.
- Arthur, P., "Pots and boundaries. On cultural and economical areas between late antiquity and the early Middle Ages", in Bonifay/Tréglià (eds.), *LRCW* 2, pp. 15–27.
- Arthur, P., "Riflessioni intorno alla produzione e alla circolazione della ceramica nel basso Adriatico", in Menchelli et al. (eds.), *LRCW* 3, pp. 79–88.
- Augenti, A., "Ravenna e Classe: archeologia di due città tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo", in A. Augenti (ed.), *Le città italiane tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo*, Florence 2006, pp. 185–218.
- Augenti, A./Cirelli, E., "Classe: un osservatorio privilegiato per il commercio della Tarda Antichità", in Menchelli et al. (eds.), *LRCW* 3, pp. 605–616.
- Bes, P./Poblome, J., "(Not) see the wood for the trees? 19,700+ sherds of sigillata and what we can do with them", *Rei Cretariae Acta* 40 (2008), 505–514.
- Bonanno, C./Cabella, R./Capelli, C./Piazza, M., "Nuove esplorazioni in località Gerace (Enna-Sicilia)", in Menchelli et al. (eds.), *LRCW* 3, pp. 261–272.
- Bonifay, M., *Etudes sur la céramique romaine tardive d'Afrique*, Oxford 2005.
- Bonifay, M., "Observations sur la diffusion des céramiques africaines en Méditerranée orientale durant l'Antiquité tardive", in *Travaux et Mémoires* 15 (2005), 565–581 (= *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Sodini*).

- Bonifay M./Tréglià J.-C. (eds.), *LRCW 2. Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and Archaeometry*, 2 vols., (BAR International series, 1662), Oxford 2007.
- Brown, T.S., *Gentlemen and Officers. Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy. A.D. 554–800*, Rome 1984.
- Cacciaguerra, G., “Cultura materiale e commerci in Sicilia fra bizantini e arabi (VIII-metà X secolo): nuovi dati sulle ceramiche fini e le anfore dai contesti altomedievali di Siracusa”, in P. Arthur/M. Leo Imperiale (eds.), *VII Congresso nazionale di archeologia medievale*, Florence 2015, pp. 367–372.
- Cantini, F., “Circolazione, produzione e consumo di vasellame ceramico e anfore nel medio Valdarno tra V e VII secolo: nuovi dati da San Genesio (San Miniato, Pisa) e Firenze”, in Menchelli et al. (eds.), *LCRW 3*, pp. 353–362.
- Carsana, V./D’Amico, V./Del Vecchio, F., “Nuovi dati ceramologici per la storia economica di Napoli tra tarda antichità ad altomedioevo”, in Bonifay/Tréglià (eds.), *LRCW 2*, pp. 423–437.
- Cassano, R./Conte, R./De Filippis, M.D., “Ceramiche comuni dipinte e da fuoco dalle fornaci di Egnazia (Brindisi-Italia): archeologia e archeometria”, in Menchelli et al. (eds.), *LCRW 3*, pp. 669–680.
- Ceci, M., “Note sulla circolazione delle lucerne a Roma nell’VIII secolo: i contesti della Crypta Balbi”, *Archeologia Medievale* 19 (1992), 749–764.
- Christie, N., *From Constantine to Charlemagne. An Archaeology of Italy AD 300–800*, Aldershot 2006.
- Cirelli, E./Diosono, F./Patterson, H. (eds.), *Le forme della crisi. Produzioni ceramiche e commerci nell’Italia centrale tra Romani e Longobardi (III–VIII sec. d.C.)*, Bologna 2015.
- Cirelli, E./Tontini, S., “Produzione vetraria a Classe nella tarda antichità”, in M. Vandini (ed.), *Riflessioni e trasparenze. Diagnosi e conservazione di opere e manufatti vetrosi*, Bologna 2009, pp. 125–134.
- Costa, S., “Software libero nei processi di ricerca archeologica: l’applicazione allo studio della sigillata africana in Italia settentrionale”, in G. De Felice/M.G. Sibilano (eds.), *ArcheoFoss*, Bari 2011, pp. 19–26.
- Cracco Ruggini, L., *Economia e società nell’«Italia annonaria». Rapporti fra agricoltura e commercio dal IV al VI secolo d.C.*, Bari 1995 (1st edition, Milan 1961).
- Cuteri, F./Salamida, P., “Il litorale jonico calabrese da Crotona a Reggio (Calabria – Italia). Circolazione di manufatti ceramici tra V e VII secolo”, in Menchelli et al. (eds.), *LCRW 3*, pp. 507–513.
- Degrassi, V./Gaddi, D./Mandrizzato, L., “Amphorae and coarse ware from Late Roman – Early Medieval layers of the recent excavations in Tergeste/Trieste (Italy)”, in Bonifay/Tréglià (eds.), *LRCW 2*, pp. 423–437.

- De Rossi, G./Di Giovanni, V./Miniero, P./Salmieri, S./Soricelli, G., "Il porto di Miseno (Campania – Italia) in età tardoantica: analisi dei contesti ceramici", in Menchelli et al. (eds.), *LCRW* 3, pp. 487–496.
- De Vingo, P., "Amphores de transport, céramique de table et de cuisine de l'antiquité tardive et des premiers siècles du haut moyen âge issues des fouilles de via XXV Aprile à Noli (Savone)", in Menchelli et al. (eds.), *LCRW* 3, pp. 311–318.
- De Vingo, P., "Liguria in Late Antiquity and in the Early Middle Ages: its Trade Relations with the Western and Eastern Mediterranean Sea through Transport Amphorae", in Gurt i Esparraguera et al. (eds.), *LRCW* 1, pp. 341–351.
- Dixneuf, D. (ed.), *LRCW* 5, *Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and Archaeometry. La céramique commune, la céramique culinaire et les amphores de l'Antiquité tardive en Méditerranée. Archéologie et archéométrie*, Alexandrie 2017.
- Fontana, S., "Le 'imitazioni' della sigillata africana e le ceramiche da mensa italiche tardo-antiche", in L. Sagui (ed.), *La ceramica in Italia: VI–VII secolo*, Florence 1998, pp. 83–100.
- Gandolfi, D., "Ceramiche fini di importazione di VI–VII secolo in Liguria. L'esempio di Ventimiglia, Albenga e Luni", in L. Sagui (ed.), *La ceramica in Italia: VI–VII secolo*, Firenze 1998, pp. 253–274.
- Gandolfi, D./Murialdo, G./Capelli, C./Bonifay, M., "Anfore africane di tardo V–VII secolo in Liguria (Italia): un aggiornamento dei dati archeologici e archeometrici", in Menchelli et al. (eds.), *LCRW* 3, pp. 33–56.
- Gelichi, S., "Comacchio e il suo territorio tra la Tarda Antichità e l'Alto Medioevo", in *Genti nel Delta: da Spina a Comacchio. Uomini, territorio e culto dall'antichità all'alto medioevo*, Comacchio 2007, pp. 363–685.
- Gelichi, S./Molinari, A. (eds.), *I contenitori da trasporto altomedievali e medievali (VIII–XII secolo) nel Mediterraneo. Centri produttori, contenuti, reti di scambio* (Atti del convegno – Roma 2017), *Archeologia Medievale* 45 (2018), 9–316.
- Gelichi, S./Negrelli, C. (eds.), *La circolazione delle ceramiche nell'Adriatico tra Tarda Antichità e Altomedioevo*, Mantova 2007.
- Giardina, A., "Le due Italie nella forma tarda dell'impero", in id. (ed.), *Società romana e impero tardoantico*, 4 vols., Roma-Bari 1986, 1, pp. 1–36.
- Green, K., "Roman pottery: models, proxies and economic interpretation", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 18 (2005), 34–56.
- Gurt i Esparraguera, J.M./Buxeda i Garrigòs J./Cau Ontiveros M.A. (eds.), *LRCW* 1, *Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and Archaeometry* (BAR International Series 1340), Oxford 2005.
- Haldon, J., "Production, distribution and demand in the Byzantine world, c. 660–840", in L.L. Hansen/C. Wickham (eds.), *The Long Eighth Century* (The Transformation of the Roman World, 1), Leiden 2000, pp. 225–264.

- Hayes, J.W., *Late Roman pottery*, London 1972.
- Herrin, J./Nelson, J. (eds.), *Ravenna: its role in earlier medieval change and exchange*, London 2016.
- Humphrey, J.H. (ed.), *Studies on Roman pottery of the provinces of Africa Proconsularis and Byzacena (Tunisia). Hommage à Michael Bonifay*, Portsmouth (RI) 2009.
- Kokabaş, U. (ed.), *Yenikapi shipwrecks, vol. 1: The "old ships" of the "new gate"*, Istanbul 2012.
- La Salvia, V., "Impianti metallurgici tardo antichi ed alto medievali a Roma. Alcune riflessioni tecnologiche e storico-economiche a partire dai recenti rinvenimenti archeologici a Piazza della Madonna di Loreto", in Molinari, A./Santangeli Valenzani, R./Spera, L. (eds.), *L'archeologia della produzione a Roma (secoli V–XV)*, Rome 2016, pp. 253–277.
- Leo Imperiale, M., "Anfore globulari dal Salento. Produzione e circolazione nell'Adriatico meridionale durante l'alto Medioevo", in P. Arthur/M. Leo Imperiale (eds.), *VII Congresso nazionale di archeologia medievale*, Florence, pp. 426–431.
- Leo Imperiale, M./Patitucci Uggeri, S., "Otranto, cantiere Mitello: un centro produttivo nel Mediterraneo bizantino, Note intorno ad alcune forme ceramiche di fabbricazione locale", in S. Patitucci Uggeri (ed.), *La ceramica altomedievale in Italia*, Florence 2004, pp. 327–342.
- Lund, J., "Writing long-term history with potsherds: problems-prospects", in D. Malfitana/J. Poblome/J. Lund (eds.), *Old Pottery in a New Century. Innovating Perspectives on Roman Pottery Studies*, Catania 2006, pp. 213–228.
- Marazzi, F., "The destinies of the late antique Italies: politico-economic developments of the sixth century", in R. Hodges/W. Bowden (eds.), *The Sixth Century. Production, Distribution and Demand* (The Transformation of the Roman World, 3), Leiden 1998, pp. 119–160.
- Martin, A., "La sigillata focese (Phocaean red-slip/late Roman C ware)", in L. Sagui (ed.), *La ceramica in Italia: VI–VII secolo*, Florence 1998, pp. 109–122.
- Maurina, B./Capelli, C., "L'importazione di prodotti alimentari in anfore nell'arco alpino orientale fra tardoantico e altomedioevo: recenti dati da Loppio – S. Andrea (TN)", *Archeologia Medievale* 32 (2005), pp. 409–422.
- Menchelli, S., "Late Roman coarse ware, cooking wares and amphorae. A survey of current research in Italy", in Dixneuf (ed.), *LRCW* 5, pp. 203–222.
- Menchelli, S./Santoro, S./Pasquinucci, M./Guiducci, G. (eds.), *LCRW 3, Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and Archaeometry. Comparison between Western and Eastern Mediterranean*, 2 vols. (BAR International Series, 2185), Oxford 2010.
- Michaelides, D./Pergola, Ph./Zanini, E. (eds.), *The Insular System in Early Byzantine Mediterranean: Archaeology and History*, Oxford 2013.

- Milaneze, M./Biagini, M./Cherchi, M./Marras, G./Padua, G./Vecciu, A., "Ceramiche tardoantiche da ricognizioni di superficie nella Sardegna nord-occidentale", in Menchelli et al. (eds.), *LCRW* 3, pp. 33–56.
- Murialdo, G., "Le anfore da trasporto", in T. Mannoni/G. Murialdo (eds.), *S. Antonino di Pertì: un insediamento fortificato nella Liguria bizantina*, Bordighera 2001, pp. 255–296.
- Negrelli, C., "Produzione, circolazione e consumo tra VI e IX secolo: dal territorio del Padovetere a Comacchio", in *Genti nel Delta: da Spina a Comacchio. Uomini, territorio e culto dall'antichità all'alto medioevo*, Comacchio 2007, pp. 437–471.
- Pacetti, F., "La questione delle Keay LII nell'ambito della produzione anforica in Italia", in L. Sagui (ed.), *La ceramica in Italia: VI–VII secolo*, Florence 1998, pp. 185–208.
- Panella, C./Sagui, L./Coletti, F., "Contesti tardoantichi di Roma. Una rilettura alla luce di nuovi dati", in Menchelli et al. (eds.), *LCRW* 3, pp. 57–78.
- Paroli, L./Vendittelli, L. (eds.), *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo*, vol. 2. *Contesti tardoantichi e altomedievali*, Rome 2004.
- Patterson, H./Bousquet, A./Fontana, S./Witcher, R./Zampini, S., "Late Roman common wares and amphorae in the Middle Tiber Valley: the preliminary results of the Tiber Valley Project", in Gurt i Esparraguera et al. (eds.), *LRCW* 1, pp. 369–384.
- Pavolini, C., "Le lucerne in Italia nel VI–VII secolo d.C.: alcuni contesti significativi", in L. Sagui (ed.), *La ceramica in Italia: VI–VII secolo*, Florence 1998, pp. 123–139.
- Petersen, L.I.R., *Siege, Warfare and Military Organization in the Successor States (400–800 AD): Byzantium, the West and Islam*, Leiden-Boston 2013.
- Pieri, D., *Le commerce du vin oriental à l'époque byzantine (V^e–VII^e siècles). Le témoignage des amphores en Gaule*, Beirut 2005.
- Porena, P., *L'insediamento degli Ostrogoti in Italia*, Rome 2012.
- Poulou-Papadimitriou, N./Nodarou, E./Kilikoglou, V. (eds.), *LCRW* 4, *Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and Archaeometry. The Mediterranean: a market without frontiers*, 2 vols., (BAR International Series 2612), Oxford 2014.
- Rizzo, M.S./Zambito, L., "Ceramiche comuni ed anfore dal villaggio tardoantico di Cignana (Naro-Agrigento, Sicilia, Italia)", in Menchelli et al. (eds.), *LCRW* 3, pp. 293–300.
- Romei, D., "Produzione e circolazione dei manufatti ceramici a Roma nell'alto medioevo", in L. Paroli/L. Vendittelli (eds.), *Roma dall'antichità al Medioevo*, vol. 2. *Contesti tardoantichi e altomedievali*, Rome 2004, pp. 278–311.
- Sagui, L., "Glass in Late Antiquity: the continuity of technology and sources of supply", in L. Lavan/E. Zanini/A. Sarantis (eds.), *Technology in Transition A.D. 300–650*, (Late Antique Archaeology, 4), Leiden 2007, pp. 211–231.

- Sagui, L., "Produzioni vetrarie a Roma tra tardo-antico e alto medioevo", in L. Paroli/P. Delogu (eds.), *La storia economica di Roma nell'alto medioevo alla luce dei recenti scavi archeologici*, Florence 1993, pp. 113–137.
- Sagui, L., "Roma, i centri privilegiati e la lunga durata della tarda antichità. Dati archeologici dal deposito di VII secolo nell'edera della Crypta Balbi", *Archeologia Medievale* 29 (2002), 7–42.
- Sangriso, P./Marini, S., "Vada Volaterrana (Vada, Livorno). Materiali tardo-antichi dal pozzo delle Grandi Terme", in Menchelli et al. (eds.), *LRCW* 3, pp. 345–352.
- Santoro, S., "Le ceramiche da cucina prodotte in Italia ed esportate nel Mediterraneo: un primo panorama archeometrico e archeologico sulla base di una banca dati", in Bonifay/Trégia (eds.), *LRCW* 2, pp. 365–371.
- Serlorenzi, M., "Le testimonianze medievali nei cantieri di piazza Venezia", in R. Egidi/F. Filippi/S. Martone (eds.), *Archeologia e infrastrutture, Bollettino d'Arte*, s. VII, special issue (2010), pp. 131–165.
- Staffa, A.R., "I centri urbani dell'Abruzzo adriatico fra tarda antichità ed altomedioevo", in A. Augenti (ed.), *Le città italiane tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo*, Florence 2006, pp. 345–477.
- Staffa, A.R./Pellegrini, W., *Dall'Egitto copto all'Abruzzo bizantino: i bizantini in Abruzzo (secc. VI–VII)*, Mosciano S. Angelo 1993.
- Tinterri, D., "Trading amphorae in late Roman Liguria (AD 400–700)", in Poulou-Papadimitriou et al. (eds.), *LRCW* 4, pp. 975–984.
- Tortorella, S., "La sigillata africana in Italia nel VI e nel VII secolo d.C.: problemi di cronologia e distribuzione", in L. Sagui (ed.), *La ceramica in Italia: VI–VII secolo*, Florence 1998, pp. 41–69.
- Turchiano, M., "Le ceramiche comuni dell'Apulia tardoantica e altomedievale: luoghi della produzione, del commercio e del consumo", in Menchelli et al. (eds.), *LRCW* 3, pp. 657–668.
- Vaccaro, E., *Sites and Pots: Settlement and Economy in Southern Tuscany (AD 300–900)* (BAR International Series, 2191), Oxford 2011.
- Vera, D., "Fisco, annona e commercio nel Mediterraneo tardoantico: destini incrociati o vite parallele?", in Menchelli et al. (eds.), *LRCW* 3, pp. 1–18.
- Vidrih Perko, V., "Seaborne Trade Routes in the North-East Adriatic and their Connections to the Hinterland in the Late Antiquity", in G.P. Brogiolo/P. Delogu (eds.), *L'Adriatico dalla tarda antichità all'età carolingia*, Brescia 2001, pp. 49–77.
- Volpe, G./Annese, G./Disantarosa, G./Leone, D., "Produzioni locali ed importazioni nella Puglia centro-settentrionale tardoantica", in Menchelli et al. (eds.), *LRCW* 3, pp. 643–656.
- Wickham, C., *Framing the Early Middle Ages. Europe and Mediterranean 400–800*, Oxford 2005.

- Wickham, C., "Italy at the end of the Mediterranean world system", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 13 (2000), 818–824.
- Zanini, E., "Economia dell'Italia bizantina e indicatori archeologici: qualche ulteriore riflessione", *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes* 28/1 (2015), 431–458.
- Zanini, E., "Forma delle anfore e forme del commercio tardoantico: spunti per una riflessione", in Menchelli et al. (eds.), *LRCW* 3, pp. 139–148.
- Zanini, E., "La ceramica bizantina in Italia tra VI e VIII secolo. Un sistema informativo territoriale per lo studio della distribuzione e del consumo", in Ch. Bakirtzis (ed.), *Actes du VII^e Congrès International sur la Céramique Médiévale en Méditerranée*, Thessaloniki 2003, pp. 381–394.
- Zanini, E., *Le Italie bizantine. Territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia (VI–VIII secolo)*, Bari 1998.
- Zanini, E., "Ricontando la terra sigillata africana", *Archeologia Medievale* 23 (1996), 677–688.

Mints, Coin Production and Circulation

Vivien Prigent

During the Early Middle Ages, the Byzantine Empire stood apart from the other contemporary states because of the steady importance of its state-controlled coinage. It is not mere chance that the Empire eventually became almost synonymous with its coinage, as the term “bezant” asserted itself to designate the gold coin par excellence of the Mediterranean world.¹

The secular stability of the Byzantine gold currency mirrors its paramount importance for the Imperial government as the coinage underpinned the perpetuation of the political model of the Eastern Roman Empire, the very survival of its state apparatus, and the aristocratic model of state dignitaries. Even from an ideological point of view, the Emperor, as the purveyor of the gold currency and the guarantor of its value, asserted his role as the source of all aristocratic distinction and the embodiment of lawful rule. Byzantine Italy is probably the best place to demonstrate this fundamental importance of coinage in the political stability of the Empire, as Byzantium lost its grip on the peninsula in two stages (8th and 11th centuries), each of which corresponds to an acute monetary crisis.²

The long and eventful history of Byzantine rule in Italy offers quite a challenge to a straightforward depiction of the monetary history of this western province as its boundaries and forms of administration differed, sensibly, through the centuries and from one region to another.³ Furthermore, both the production and circulation of Imperial coins were affected by the gradual affirmation of rival coinages. But three main phases can still be singled out in this six hundred year history: first, from the 6th to the 8th century, Italy benefited from a network of Imperial mints, with up to five official coin-producing institutions working simultaneously; then, from the second half of the 8th to the end of the 9th century, only Sicily struck coins locally for the Byzantine Emperors; finally, from the 10th to the 11th century, the Italian territories

¹ Bompaire, “Le mythe du besant ?”.

² Even though it will not be cited here extensively, it must be stressed that all study of the monetary circulation in Byzantine Italy relies heavily on the patient work done by E.A. Arslan, whose *Repertorio*, is an instrument of paramount importance for any research on the topics treated in this chapter.

³ In this volume, see chapter on *Administration and Army* by V. Prigent.

controlled by Constantinople depended completely on the central mint. This approach based on the production centres is clearly schematic, as the Constantinopolitan coinage played a role through each of the three phases, but its simplicity allows us to frame as clearly as possible the discussion of the many-faceted problems of Byzantine Italy's monetary history. Within this three-fold frame, problems as diverse as metrological issues, the economic role of the coinage, or the relationship between Imperial, Germanic and Muslim coinages can be subsequently broached.⁴

TABLE 1 Monetary production in Byzantine Italy, 536–775: a synoptic view

		RAVENNA	ROME	SICILY	NAPLES	SARDINIA
JUSTINIAN	Gold	S/LW/Se/T	S/T	S/Se/T		
	Silver	H/F/E	H/F			
	Bronze	M/K/I/L	M/K/I/E/L			
JUSTIN II	Gold	S/LW/Se/T	S	S/Se/T		
	Silver	T/S	H/Q/T/S			
	Bronze	I	I/E/L	I/E		
TIBERIOS II	Gold	S/LW/T	S/T	T		
	Silver	F				
	Bronze	I				
MAURICE	Gold	S/LW/S/T	S/LW/T	S		
	Silver	S				
	Bronze	M/K/I/E		M/I/E		
PHOCAS	Gold	S/Se/T	S/T	S		
	Silver	E				
	Bronze	M/K/I	K/I	I/E		
HERACLIUS	Gold	S/Se/T	S?	S/Se/T		
	Silver	Hx/E	H?/E/?			
	Bronze	M/K/I	K/I	(M)/I/E		
CONSTANS II	Gold	S/T	S/T	S/Se/T	S (?)	
	Silver	E	E			
	Bronze	M/K	K/I	M/K/I	K	
CONSTANTINE IV	Gold	S/T	S/T	S/Se/T	S	
	Silver	E	E			
	Bronze	M/K	K	M/K	K	

4 General presentations with select bibliography, Morrisson/Prigent, "Le monnayage byzantin", and Travaini, "Monete e circolazione monetaria".

TABLE 1 Monetary production in Byzantine Italy, 536–775: a synoptic view (*cont.*)

		RAVENNA	ROME	SICILY	NAPLES	SARDINIA
JUSTINIAN II	Gold	S/T	S/T	S/Se/T	S/T	S
	Silver		E (P)			
	Bronze	M	K	M/K	K	M/K
LEONTIOS	Gold	S	S/T	S/Se/T	S/T	T
	Silver	E	E (P)			
	Bronze	M/K	K	M		K
TIBERIOS III	Gold	S/T	S/T	S/Se/T	S/T	S/T
	Silver	E	E (P)			
	Bronze	M	K	M		K
JUSTINIAN II	Gold	S/Se/T	S/T	S/Se/T	S/T	S/T
	Silver		(P)			
	Bronze	M	K	M		
PHILIPPIKOS	Gold	T	S	S/se/T		
	Silver		(P)			
	Bronze		K	M		
ANASTASIOS II	Gold	S/T	S/T	S/Se/T	S/T	S
	Silver		(P)			
	Bronze	M		M		K
THEODOSIOS III	Gold	T	S/T	S	S	S
	Silver		(P)			
	Bronze		K	M		
LEO III	Gold	S/T	S/T	S/Se/T	S/T	T
	Silver		(P)			
	Bronze		K	M		
CONSTANTINE V	Gold	T	S/T	S/Se/T	S	
	Silver		(P)		E	
	Bronze			M	M	

S: *solidus*; LW: light-weight *solidus*; Se: *semis*; T: *tremissis*; Hx: hexagram; H: half-*siliqua*; F: fourth-*siliqua*; T: Third-*siliqua*; S: Sixth-*siliqua*; E: Eight-*siliqua*; (P): papal silver; M: *folles*; (M): *folles* produced in Constantinople for the province; K: half-*folles*; I: *dekanoummion*; E: *pentanoummion*; L: lower denomination.

1 The Imperial Mints in Early Byzantine Italy (6th–Mid-8th Century)

1.1 General Evolution of the Mints System

The mints system of the western provinces of the Byzantine Empire evolved in direct contrast to its counterpart in the east. There, up to the reign of Heraclius, a number of different institutions produced an abundant coinage. The organization of the monetary production followed the lines of the provincial administration, with a mint for every main group of provinces, or dioceses. So Nikomedia struck for *Pontica*, Cyzikos for *Asiana*, Antioch for the *Oriens*, Alexandria for Egypt and Thessalonica for *Illyricum*.⁵ But at the end of the 620s, Heraclius decided to reorganize the monetary production, centralizing it in Constantinople.⁶ The capital city of the Empire enjoyed from now on the monopoly of monetary production, considerably enhancing its economic importance.⁷

By contrast, in the west, the mints tended to proliferate, mainly for strategic reasons. Initially, the emperors tried to enforce the established administrative rule, although with seats of *praefectura* as mints instead of diocesan capitals. Carthage received a mint responsible for all African provinces.⁸ In Italy, since the very first year of the conquest of the *Urbs*, the mint of Rome struck a coinage whose propaganda value is evident;⁹ four years later a similar move initiated the series of Byzantine Ravennate coinage.¹⁰ Both cities had actually headed a diocese (respectively *suburbicaria* and *annonaria*) of the Italian *praefectura*, but this dual administrative system quickly faded out under Imperial rule.¹¹ The political capital city of Italy was clearly Ravenna and during the last phase of the Gothic War and the reign of Justin II, gold was struck only in Ravenna.¹² This coinage was eventually copied by the Lombards,¹³ demonstrating that

5 A prefecture, not a diocese.

6 Hendy, "On the Administrative Basis".

7 Morrisson, "Byzantine Money".

8 Morrisson, "Tra Vandali e bizantini" and Johnson/Blet-Lemarquand/Morrisson, "The Byzantine Mint in Carthage".

9 During the Gothic Wars, the two mints of Rome and Ravenna seem to have mostly worked alternatively, *MIBE*, pp. 48–50.

10 *MIBE*, p. 49.

11 Except for the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the pope having metropolitan rights on all *Suburbicaria*.

12 Even if a Roman gold coinage can be hypothesized (*MIBEC*, p. 25, type V20), it would have been of minute volume.

13 *MIBEC*, p. 25 and *MEC*, pp. 62–63. Some imitations display the name of Justinian and Justin II but they were probably also struck after the demise of these emperors. The Ravennate gold probably also offered the *materia prima* of Lombard gold coinage,

Ravenna, not Rome, was the ultimate political reference for them.¹⁴ The decision to keep a mint active in Rome probably stemmed first of all from ideological reasons.¹⁵ Finally, a third mint was opened in Sicily: in 537, the island had been detached from the ordinary provincial administration to be bound as tightly as possible to Constantinople;¹⁶ so it was only logical for the island to receive its own mint as neither Carthage, Rome, or Ravenna had the responsibility to supply it with coinage. The mint was first located in Catania and subsequently, probably in 693–694, dislocated to Syracuse.¹⁷

The Lombard and Muslim invasions introduced important modifications to this equilibrium. As the Germanic invaders took control of huge swathes of territory, the Imperial province was soon reduced to five districts linked by tenuous military “corridors” or maritime roads.¹⁸ Each of these areas was centred on an important city: Ravenna, Rome, Naples, Reggio Calabria, and Genova. The last one fell to the Lombards in the middle of the 7th century and shortly after the Emperor ordered the opening of a mint in Naples.¹⁹ As present-day Calabria already depended upon the mint of Sicily,²⁰ every sub-area of the mainland Imperial territory now relied on its own mint and could function more autonomously.²¹ As such, the fall of Liguria could have been the final incentive to the opening of the Neapolitan mint. The new arrangement certainly goes a long way to explain the subsequent appearance

as Imperial gold can also be traced into the Lombard jewels, Devoto, “Tecniche orafe”, pp. 275–283.

- 14 But note that Grierson was reluctant to accept this theory, arguing that the Lombard *tremisses* showing more similarities with Imperial production stem mainly from Tuscany, hinting towards imitation of Roman model (*DOC*, II, 1, p. 47).
- 15 On this topic, see, for example, Bonini, “Caduta e riconquista”.
- 16 See Prigent, *Administration and Army* in this volume, p. 150–152.
- 17 *MIB*, Justinian II, first reign, no. 71. Contrary to the *communis opinio*, there is no basis to postulate the simultaneous activity of two mints on the island, and no indication for the transfer of the mint to Syracuse before the reign of Justinian II. This reform probably happened together with the creation of the *thema* of Sicily (Prigent, *Administration and Army*, in this volume, p. 150–152).
- 18 In this volume, the chapter by Denis Sami. Also Conti, *L'Italia bizantina*.
- 19 The first emission dates from the end of Constans II's reign, *MIB*, no. 216.
- 20 See the account of monetary circulation in Calabria, Guzzetta, “Per la Calabria bizantina”.
- 21 Mostly for the small change, the part of coinage which was expensive to produce and transport. The Neapolitan example is particularly clear. The city used mainly Roman coins before Constans II, but from this reign, marked by the opening of the local mint, Roman coins disappear (Rovelli, “Gold, Silver and Bronze”, p. 283). Nonetheless, gold production in Naples began under Constantine IV (*MIB*, no. 45) or maybe even Constans II, see S. Bendall, “A Neapolitan Solidus of Constans II”, *Numismatic Circular* 102 (1994), p. 257.

of the “duchies”.²² Finally, from the first reign of Justinian II onward (685–695), the mint of Carthage branched out to Sardinia and a new mint opened on this island. When Carthage fell in 698, it survived up to the reign of Leo III²³ and, even if Sardinia was no more part of Italy than Sicily was from an administrative point of view, the coinage of these two mints must obviously be taken into consideration when discussing the monetary history of Byzantine Italy.²⁴ So, Byzantine Italy entered the 8th century with as many as five mints (Ravenna, Rome, Naples, Sardinia, and Sicily²⁵), whose official productions were eventually imitated in secondary centres.²⁶

During the first half of the 8th century, this mint system collapsed for intimately linked economic and political reasons. The rise of the Muslim threat in Africa led the Imperial government to increase enormously the output of the mint of Sicily, drawing ever more bullion from Italy towards the island.²⁷ Therefore, the monetary production of the continental mints dropped sharply, and their coinage experienced a severe debasement.²⁸ In turn, this monetary crisis weakened the Imperial control and led to a chronic state of civil unrest. Under Leo III, this situation climaxed in the famous rebellion of the popes, probably sparked by the Imperial decision to adjust the ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the detriment of Rome.²⁹ In a short time, both Ravenna, conquered by the Lombards, and Rome, where the popes came to choose the Frankish alliance over the fidelity towards Byzantium, were lost to the Empire.³⁰ The crisis also affected Naples. Even if the situation there was much less clear-cut, the Emperors had lost any direct control over this city at least by the first decades

22 In this volume, the chapter by Prigent, *Administration and Army*, p. 140–141.

23 *MIB* 19–20 to *MIB* 5.

24 The monetary relations between the island and Italy are also evident from the circulation in Sardinia of Lombard gold coins, Piras, “Un ripostiglio”.

25 For synthesis on the production of these mints, including bibliography, see the general presentation by Morrisson, “Le zecche nell’Italia bizantina”, and in the same volume the relevant chapters for each mint, describing the production and giving bibliographies. For Naples, add Rovelli, “Naples”; for Ravenna, Morrisson/ Callegher, “Ravenne” and Prigent, “A Striking Evolution”; for Sicily, Prigent, “La circulation monétaire” and id., “Monnaie et circulation monétaire”, pp. 541–576; for Sardegna, Piras, *Le monete*.

26 The classic study of Ricotti Prina, *La monetazione*, presents many minor “Byzantine mints”, but most of the types should be given back to Rome, Ravenna and Sicily. Nonetheless, some clear cases of imitations exist (see for example *MIB*, Constantine IV XI–21), even if it is not possible to trace their origin.

27 Prigent, “Monnaie et circulation monétaire”, pp. 394–395 et n. 17.

28 See below.

29 See S. Cosentino, *Ecclesiastic Life and Its Institutions*, in this volume.

30 See S. Cosentino, *Politics and Society*, in this volume.

of the 9th century.³¹ The city still paid lip-service to the Empire in its coinage,³² but it was no more properly Byzantine than Venice's was. There too, monetary production took place in a city which was officially part of the Empire, but Constantinople had no control whatsoever on the activity of the mint.³³

2 A Brief Survey of the Imperial Mints' Production: General Evolution of the Coinage

While table 1 provides a synoptic view of the production of the different Imperial mints up to the second half of the 8th century,³⁴ four main features of the monetary production must be stressed: the changing importance of each metal; the shrinking variety of denominations struck; the debasement process; and the global management of bullion resources. None of these four evolutions were autonomous, all four functioning as a system.

Concerning the first point, one must stress a diverging evolution between the northern and southern Imperial territories. The north saw a growing importance in silver during the 6th and 7th centuries, and more specifically the importance of very small silver denominations. Copper played a greater role in the south.

In Ravenna, the trend towards silver's dominant position had already begun under the Germanic kings.³⁵ The mint asserted itself as the main purveyor of silver coinage and the fractions of *siliquae* (especially the fourth) quickly became the main denomination struck.³⁶ This trend was confirmed under Byzantine rule, and the eighth of *siliquae*, or even smaller coins, asserted themselves as the main low-value coinage in 7th-century Byzantine Italy:³⁷ from Constans II

31 See F. Marazzi, *Byzantine Naples and Gaeta*, in this volume.

32 Rovelli, "Naples".

33 Recent data in Sarah/Bompaire/McCormick/Rovelli/Guerrot, "Analyses élémentaires".

34 The figure is based on *MIBE*, *MIBE*, *MIB* and *DOC*. Some of the attributions remain controversial but this is not the place to tackle the various problematic issues. The same can be said of the metrology of the silver coins, explaining the appearance of fractions (e.g. the third-*siliqua*) not mentioned in the text. The thirty *nummi* coin of Rome listed in *MIB* must be identified as a twenty *nummi* coinage, see n. 135.

35 Nonetheless, even in the Lombard kingdom, bronze was initially struck and used, Arslan, "Produzione e circolazione".

36 Metlich, *The coinage*, pp. 38–41. Even 1/16th of *siliquae* were struck under the reign of Odoacer; Brenot, "Deux monnaies d'argent".

37 *MIBEC* prefers to speak of a sixth of *siliqua* (Maurice 64D), but as only one denomination was struck, it is better to read the weight variation as the results of a variation in the

onward the mint of Rome also produced coins of this type³⁸ and the Imperial issues were even supplemented with a Papal silver coinage from the pontificate of Sergius I (686–695) onwards.³⁹ This papal small coinage even outlived the Imperial one.⁴⁰

This trend was counterbalanced by an inverse evolution in the production of copper coinage. From the reign of Maurice onward, the copper production of Ravenna decreased in the long run.⁴¹ In Rome, the same reign saw the introduction of a “Military Imitative Mint” to compensate for the weak output of the official mint.⁴² From the beginning of Constans II’s reign onward, both Ravenna and Rome produced very limited bronze coinage.⁴³

The Southern Imperial territories experienced a radically different evolution. There, the Sicilian mint was responsible for provisioning the monetary market and it never struck silver. Consequently, the copper coinage resisted much better. From the reign of Heraclius onward it became extraordinarily abundant.⁴⁴

During the first half of the 8th century, both zones seemed to converge briefly as neither bronze nor silver small denominations continued to be produced in good quantities. The mint activity was focused on the production of

nominal *siliqua* weight linked to changing Au:Ar ratio. It must be stressed that all specialists do not concur on the coin types to be attributed to Ravenna (see bibliography in note 25).

- 38 Inducing the Lombards of Benevento to produce their own copies of this coinage; Arslan, “La moneta in argento”, p. 333, n. 33.
- 39 Morrisson/Barrandon, “La trouvaille de monnaies d’argent”. This article corrects some of the conclusions made in the original publication of the hoard by O’Hara, “A Find of Byzantine Silver”, to be completed with id., “The Last Three ‘Byzantine-Papal’ Siliquae” and id., “The Thirty Second Silver Coin”.
- 40 Morrisson/ Barrandon, “La trouvaille de monnaies d’argent”, p. 159.
- 41 Even if bronze coinage experienced something of a revival under Heraclius, with new issues introduced more than every second year (19 regnal years documented for a 32-years long reign). Stray finds being fairly frequent this regularity can be accepted as a sign of a steady production. One wonders if the government could have been anxious to substitute as far as it was possible copper for silver in order to use the precious metal stocks to finance the wars in the East.
- 42 Arslan/Morrisson, “Monete e moneta a Roma”, p. 1259, n. 12.
- 43 Constantine IV ordered annual issues, after 674/675, but surviving exemplars are rare and these were probably small.
- 44 The problem is very complicated because of the specific status of the island and of its mint. During most of the long reign of Heraclius, the coins struck for the Sicilian market were mostly produced in Constantinople, so calling it a Sicilian coinage is a bit of an exaggeration. But their specific destination justifies treating them as such. Under Constans II, this process stopped and the local mint began striking huge quantities of copper coins: Prigent, “La circulation monétaire”.

the gold coinage, and this evolution was partly linked to the debasement process to which we will return later. From the reign of Constantine V onward, Sicily returned to a plentiful bronze coinage.⁴⁵

Apart from the first two decades of the 8th century, it is clear that the Imperial territory was divided into two distinct monetary zones, the first one favouring silver as the main small-value coinage, the second preferring bronze. The explanation is certainly multifaceted: the lower costs of production of the small silver;⁴⁶ different availability of bullion;⁴⁷ and different needs in terms of compatibility with neighbouring monetary systems.⁴⁸ The boundaries between these two zones later coincided roughly with the frontier of the area of circulation of the Carolingian *denarius*, and the differentiated Byzantine legacy certainly played a role in the differences there, apart from political and military matters.⁴⁹

The second point, the shrinking of the variety of denominations struck, is the easiest to observe. During the reign of Justinian I, the whole gamut of denominations was produced in Italy: the *solidus* and its main fractions, together with some lightweight *solidi*; silver running from half *siliquae* to eighths;⁵⁰ and copper coins running from full *folleis* to *minimi*. But from an early date, some denominations came to the fore, while others faded out progressively. For the gold coinage, even if the *solidus* was produced to the end, the *tremissis* was already the main gold denomination struck in Ravenna by the reign of Justin II,⁵¹ and it was also the only gold coin produced in Sicily in decent quantity until the last decades of the reign of Heraclius;⁵² in Rome, the *tremissis* also became the main production under Maurice.⁵³ The very importance of this denomination goes a long way to explain its adoption as a model for the first Lombard coinage.

45 Prigent, "Monnaie et circulation monétaire".

46 The metal is softer and as the coins are very small, each die can be used longer before breaking, thus lowering the costs of production.

47 So the importance of silver coinage in Northern Italy could be seen as a legacy of the Late Roman coinage, as Ravenna was then the main production centre for this type of coinage. As monetary production is first of all a recycling industry, it is easier for a mint to continue striking the metal previously issued and circulating in its hinterland.

48 Northern Italy exchanged with the Germanic (Lombard and then Frankish) world, while in the South, the contacts with the Eastern Byzantine Empire were tighter, as is revealed by the metrological choices of the Imperial government, Prigent, "La circulation monétaire".

49 See Martin, "Economia naturale".

50 *MIB* V77–82.

51 *MIBEC*, p. 25.

52 The early types *MIB*, nos. 97–98 are exceedingly rare.

53 *MIBEC*, p. 49.

As mentioned earlier, even if the reign of Heraclius offers some hexagrams,⁵⁴ the silver coinage experienced a trend towards ever lighter coins and this induced a reduction in the array of denominations struck. If Justinian II issued coins of four different weight standards, his immediate successors settled for just one.⁵⁵

For the copper coinage, the process is not so clear-cut, for reasons specific to this type of coinage. Nonetheless, under Maurice, only two denominations were still struck.⁵⁶ The reign of Heraclius blurs the issue because under this emperor Ravenna struck three different denominations (*folles*, half-*folles*, *dekanoummia*). But if we take into account not only the types issued, but their respective importance in the total output, it is quite clear that the half-*folles* already represented the lion's share of the coinage put into circulation by the mainland mints. Under Heraclius' successors, the half-*folles* remains the main denomination, even if each mint had a second "specialty":⁵⁷ *dekanoummia* in Rome; *folles* in Ravenna. From the first reign of Justinian II, no more than one denomination was struck in each of the mainland mints.⁵⁸ In the south, the problem is different since Sicily was supplied from Constantinople during the reign of Heraclius. Nonetheless, the simplification happened: three denominations under Constans II; two under his son; only one after 690/1.⁵⁹

Clearly, the simplification was not an overnight affair, but the watershed between the very articulate system of late Antiquity and the simple, "medieval" one should be identified with the reign of Maurice. Incidentally, this reign also saw the implementation of a policy of rationalization of the gold production, as demonstrated in Africa.⁶⁰

The third evolution of paramount importance was the debasement process which affected the Imperial coinage from the end of the 7th century, and quickly gained momentum during the 8th century, especially under Leo III.⁶¹ The onset of the debasement quite clearly coincides with the demise of Imperial power in Africa and the subsequent threat of a Muslim assault against

54 *MIB*, nos. 153–154.

55 With maybe a half-*siliqua* under Heraclius, along with the unique light-weight hexagram of Ravenna, *MIB*, no. 151.

56 *Pentanoummia* and *dekanoummia*, as the half-*folles* was produced in Rome by an Imitative Military Mint.

57 But, as we shall see later, complementary productions were not intended. Naples produced only half-*folles*.

58 One exception, *MIB*, Leontius 39 and 40.

59 See the synoptic tables offered in *MIB*.

60 Morrisson, *Carthage: the moneta auri*.

61 The data commented upon in the following section come from unpublished analysis and two seminal articles: Morrisson/Barrandon/Poirier, "Nouvelles recherches" and Oddy, "The Debasement".

Sicily and mainland Italy. Therefore, massive public expenditures certainly played a key role. Strangely, only the gold struck in Sardinia resisted really well, probably because the output was very small, and also perhaps because the authorities tried to maintain the best possible quality as the symbol of a surviving Byzantine African province.

In Italy, already during the reign of Constantine IV, the fineness of both Roman and Ravennate gold fell to 90 %. By c.720, it was around 60 %. In Naples, the fall is even more drastic. Possibly more disruptive for the economy than the drop in fineness in itself was the lack of consistency in the alloy used for a given monetary issue. Different coins of the same type could present very significant variations in fineness, wreaking havoc in the calculations of dues, rents, salaries, etc. The situation was initially different in Sicily, where, even if the alloy remained unadulterated, the official weight of the *solidus* fell from 24 to 22 carats at the start of the first reign of Justinian II. Nonetheless the debasement began shortly after: around 720, the Sicilian *nomisma*'s quality fared no better than its Roman and Ravennate counterparts (c.60 % gold).

The reign of Leo III marks a clear-cut watershed. The debasement spiralled out of control on the continent. In Rome, the fineness of Leo III's coins presents wild discrepancies, between 10 % and 90 % of gold, with the lowest values the commonest. Under Constantine V, the gold content plunges and coins of the last emissions have between 0 and 12 % of gold. The evolution was similar in Ravenna and even faster in Naples. The debasement similarly affected the silver coinage even if available data are scarce. At least the papal silver coinage clearly shows a steady trend towards a low fineness, dropping from around 90 % in c.700 to less than 30 % in the 730s.⁶² On the contrary, in Sicily, Leo III reformed the gold coinage and established a new standard: a coin of 22 carats and 83/4 % of gold. After his reign, the Sicilian *solidus* remained stable up to the beginning of the 9th century.⁶³

In mainland Italy, the debasement process probably goes a long way towards explaining the changing pattern of monetary production by the Imperial mints at the beginning of the 8th century. As was seen earlier, both the minting of silver and bronze dwindled and stopped. As the debasement of the gold coinage mirrors badly mauled public finances, it is probable that the cost of producing low-value copper coinage became unsustainable, especially as the value of

62 Between 710 and 740, the copper content of the papal silver coinage raises from 10 % to 70 %, Morriison/Barrandon, "La trouvaille de monnaies d'argent", p. 156.

63 More on this topic below.

bronze in gold dropped severely throughout the 7th century.⁶⁴ Producing the very light silver coinage was a much cheaper solution to offer small change. But later, the silver bullion was certainly used to debase the *solidi*, explaining the debasement of the papal silver coinage and ultimately the disappearance of the Imperial silver coinage. Some *solidi* were debased by mixing refined and native gold, while others were struck using silver directly, mixed with copper for the sake of colour.⁶⁵ Whatever precious metal the mint masters could lay their hands on went to the crucible, first of all silver and copper coins. This process is mirrored in Lombard Italy: there too the silver coinage stopped when the debasement of the royal gold *tremissis* reached a high tide.⁶⁶

The final aspect of the Imperial coin production in Italy that should be stressed is the fact that the different mints certainly functioned as a system, with the bullion resources, at least for gold and silver, being managed on a global level. The available stock of precious metal was far from inexhaustible and so the Imperial government had to compensate for any increase in the production of a given mint by a reduction elsewhere if they did not want to, or could not, raise taxes and/or send bullion from the East. The alternative was debasement and, as we have seen, they ultimately had to come to that.

This reality cannot be studied in detail but can be exemplified through some examples. From the last phase of the Gothic War, the government seemed to have given Ravenna the monopoly on gold production, perhaps because the bullion reserve in Rome had been moved towards the Adriatic.⁶⁷ When a gold coinage was restored in Rome, the *Urbs* stopped minting silver, which became the preserve of Ravenna.⁶⁸ But the evolution is particularly clear from the reign of Constans II. The output of the Ravenna mint dropped

64 See the tables offered in Morisson/ Popović/ Ivanišević, *Les trésors monétaires*, p. 51, table 2, with my remarks in Prigent, 'La circulation monétaire', p. 153, n. 125.

65 Barrandon, "Modélisation de l'altération de la monnaie d'or", p. 7 and p. 8 fig. 1. A specimen of *DOC* 3, p. 47 show 33.5 % silver and 9.9 % copper. Two *DOC* 3, p. 48 have 13.5 % silver, 27 % copper and 20.5 % silver, 25.4 % copper, together with 2.5 % lead.

66 The production of Lombard *siliqua* fractions stopped under Liutprand, whose coinage was heavily debased: Arslan, "La moneta in argento"; Oddy, "Analyses of Lombardic Tremisses".

67 See the remarks on this possibility, *MIBE*, p. 49. The problem is more complex with alternate production periods in Rome and Ravenna. Even if a Roman gold coinage can be hypothesized (*MIBEC*, p. 25), it would have been of minute volume. As the *pragmatica sanctio* had given legal tender status to the older Imperial and Germanic coinages, there was no real need for a strong output.

68 *MIBEC* prefers to speak of a sixth of *siliqua* (Maurice 64D), but as only one denomination was struck, it is better to read the weight variation as the results of a variation in the nominal *siliqua* weight linked to changing Au:Ar ratio.

clearly when the Sicilian mint re-opened.⁶⁹ Apart from one emission dating from the arrival of the emperor in Italy, production stopped in Ravenna in the fourth year of Constans II, exactly when this emperor ordered to re-open the mint in Catania. Ravenna also lost ground to Rome, the *Urbs* asserting itself gradually as mainland Italy's foremost mint around 700 at least.⁷⁰ Finally, the debasement clearly shows that all mainland mints were sacrificed to build up the output of Syracuse's mint. This does not mean that Constantinople had decided to strip Italy of gold; more probably the Imperial government had decided to emulate in the west the reform enacted by Heraclius in the east when he concentrated all monetary production in a single mint, whose production supplied a wide range of territories. The fact that the debasement also affected the Lombard coinage shows that the Italian mint system came to include *de facto* the Lombard mints, as Imperial gold was certainly used as bullion by the Lombard moneyers.

Some evidence from Sardinia also points towards administrative practices going beyond the global management of the bullion. Two surviving *tremisses* struck for Tiberios III associate an obverse typical of the mint of Sardinia with reverses produced by dies engraved in the Sicilian mint.⁷¹ In the same way, a Sardinian half-*follis* used a Sicilian *follis* reverse die.⁷² So it seems that the very active Sicilian mint sent some dies (underused or even especially made) to its Sardinian counterpart. The fact is especially interesting as it hints at an administrative dependence of the northern island on Sicily in the years following the fall of Carthage.

3 The Middle Byzantine Period: the Sicilian Monopoly

From the second half of the 8th century onwards,⁷³ Syracuse remained the only Imperial mint active in the West, if we discount Venice and Naples, two cities whose links to the Empire were essentially formal and ideological.⁷⁴ The Muslim onslaught on Byzantine Sicily, initiated in 827, certainly disrupted

69 The production of Ravenna lost its distinctive style from Constans II onward, *DOC*, II, pp. 46–48 and 417.

70 *DOC* 3, p. 87.

71 *MIB*, no. 38 and p. 187.

72 Respectively, *MIB*, nos. 78 and 79; *MIB*, p. 190.

73 Ravenna fell to the Lombards in 751 and the last Roman coins explicitly acknowledging the Imperial authority date from the beginning of the 770 (Denk, "Zur Datierung").

74 Their claim to belong to the Empire buttressed their independence against the ambitions of hostile Germanic powers, but the Emperors had no real authority over these city-states.

the production and it is possible that the mint of Syracuse eventually had to branch out, with various sub-units supplying specific strongholds, but we have no certainty in the matter.⁷⁵ Finally, after the fall of Syracuse in 878, the mint ultimately moved towards Reggio Calabria and remained active for a short while, producing copper and even some gold.⁷⁶ Reggio may have already begun to strike coins earlier on, as one of the sub-mints dislocated from Syracuse.⁷⁷ This mint closed under Leo VI, either in the first years of the 10th century⁷⁸ or quite early in this reign,⁷⁹ immediately after the success against the Muslim emirates of Calabria. Ultimately, the Sicilian coinage lost *de facto* all official status when Leo VI enacted a novel forbidding the use of gold coins whose weight and fineness departed from the Constantinopolitan standard.⁸⁰

During this century and a half (c.750–c.900), the output of the Sicilian mint remained conspicuous, both for copper and gold. The copper production knew two peaks under Constantine V and Leo V, each of whom compensated for a previously weak production, respectively during the first half of the 8th century and the years between 775 and 810. Both the Sicilian *solidus* and the Sicilian *folles* were lighter than their Oriental counterparts and in similar proportion, hinting towards a policy aiming at keeping the same number of *folles* to the *solidus* within both monetary systems.⁸¹

As far as the gold production is concerned, in the absence of a die-study we cannot measure its importance in any exact way, but at least during the reign of Leo III and Constantine V, preliminary studies hints towards a production reaching one half of Constantinople's output.⁸² A specificity of the Sicilian mint was the production of sizeable quantities of fractions (*tremisses* and *semisses*), a characteristic to which we will return later. An event of paramount importance occurred at the beginning of the reign of Constantine V. As the Emperor seized the Ecclesiastical patrimonies of Italian Churches (certainly Rome, maybe Ravenna),⁸³ these huge properties stopped paying gold to their

75 *DOC* 3, p. 417.

76 With previous bibliography, Castrizio, "Emissioni monetali". It is possible that the dies used were sent from Constantinople and this gold production could have been nothing but an ideological tool, linked with the Calabrian campaigns of Leo VI (Prigent, "Monnaie et circulation monétaire", p. 403).

77 The star typical of the copper coins struck in Reggio can already be observed on former "Sicilian" productions.

78 Castrizio, "Emissioni monetali", pp. 159–160.

79 Prigent, "Monnaie et circulation monétaire", pp. 403–404.

80 P. Noailles/A. Dain, *Les nouvelles de Léon VI le Sage*, Paris 1944: novelle 52, pp. 198–201.

81 Prigent, "Monnaie et circulation monétaire".

82 For the production of the capital city, Füeg, *Corpus of the nomismata*.

83 See S. Cosentino, *Politics and Society*, in this volume.

owner. The confiscation was in itself important for the Imperial finances, but from a monetary point of view, we must stress that this decision put an end to a process resulting hitherto in the steady depletion of the island's precious metal stocks. As with copper, gold production knew two peaks, respectively during the second part of Constantine V's reign and during the first fifteen years of the Muslim wars.⁸⁴ After the death of Theophilus, the output plunged: the surviving numbers of coins for Michael III is around one-tenth of the quantities available to study his father's coinage, even if his reign was nearly two times longer.⁸⁵

Furthermore, the reign of Michael III marked the definitive collapse of the Sicilian gold coinage's quality. The debasement process checked by Leo III's reforms in the 730s had already resumed during the reign of Michael I (811–813), that is, before the start of the Muslim wars. As such this process must be taken into account to explain the chronic civil unrest which led to the invasion. Ultimately, the monetary problem was a cause, not a consequence, of the Aghlabid attack. The fineness of the Sicilian gold coinage dropped from 84 % to c.77 %, or lower, under Michael I and his son. Finally, Michael II established a new standard of 75 %, which was maintained down to the reign of his grandson, even if during the reign of Theophilus important variations can be observed from one coin to another, differences possibly ascribable to the existence of local branches of the Syracusan mint. Then, Michael III struck coins with around 43 % gold, before a final drop under Basil I, whose coinage was gold in name only. The resulting hardening of the alloy is directly mirrored in the increasingly low quality of the engraving and the adoption of a globular profile for the coins. Once more, the production of *folleis* stopped at the worst of the debasement hinting towards the use of copper to debase the gold coinage.⁸⁶

4 Epilogue: Direct Supply from Constantinople

Leo VI's decision to close the mint operating in Reggio Calabria signalled the end of three and a half centuries of Byzantine monetary production in Italy. From now on, the Imperial coinage available to the Italian subjects of Constantinople was brought through trade or sent directly from the capital

84 The first one has been identified through an unpublished die-study, the second is obvious from the hoard material and the demands of the wars.

85 Prigent, "Monnaie et circulation monétaire".

86 More detailed analysis in Prigent, "Monnaie et circulation monétaire".

city on the Bosphorus. This situation was not without precedent: during the second quarter of the 7th century, Sicily and the territory close to the island had relied completely on Constantinople for their monetary supply.

Leo VI's choice was probably dictated by two factors, and the reduction of the Byzantine territory in south-western Italy was probably not one of them. As a matter of fact, the loss of Sicily was compensated more than adequately by the conquest of most of the Eastern territories of the Lombard Duchy of Benevento. The new territories from Puglia and Basilicata which formed the *thema* of *Longobardia* were more or less the size of the lost island. More probably, the emperor took into consideration the fact that the mint of Constantinople had considerably increased its output of copper coinage since the 820s⁸⁷ and that the reassertion of Imperial control over most of the Southern Balkans,⁸⁸ together with the growing commercial importance of the Adriatic sea, ensured steady communications between Italy and the core provinces of the Empire.⁸⁹ Therefore, Italy could be properly supplied from the centre without great difficulty and without stock-piling bullion in provincial cities always threatened by Muslims raids.⁹⁰ Finally, the newly conquered Lombard areas most probably lacked the necessary stocks of old gold coinage that a local mint could have directly recycled, so it would still have to be supplied in bullion from the east. This general policy did not preclude occasional monetary production in Italy, as was demonstrated by the special type of anonymous *folleis* struck in the west during Georges Maniakes' campaign.⁹¹

Even if our data remains incomplete, the supply seems to have been consistent. As the debasement of the Constantinopolitan gold worsened throughout the 11th century, the southern Italian archival documents began to use specific names for issues of varying fineness, demonstrating that newly struck gold regularly reached the peninsula.⁹² The policy of direct supply also introduced to

87 Metcalf, "How extensive".

88 After the wars with Krum and the peace treaty with Omourtag, Byzantium enjoyed a long peace with Bulgaria and felt strong enough to take the initiative to break it under Theophilus; Sophoulis, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*, pp. 306–310. The Empire strengthened its position along the Adriatic by creating new military commands, Kislinger, "Dyrrhachion und die Küsten", pp. 313–352.

89 McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 523–547. From the last third of the 9th century there is a clear upsurge in coin finds in Albania, see Papadopoulou, "The numismatic evidence", p. 300, 303, 307.

90 The sack of Reggio Calabria in 901 was a sharp remainder of such permanent threat.

91 Bendall, "Western Type C Anonymous Folles". Travaini, *La monetazione*, p. 238, prefers to place the production of this coinage in Constantinople, albeit accepting its connexion with Maniakes' Italian expedition.

92 See Morrisson, "Le michaèlaton".

southern Italy the Imperial silver currency, the *miliarēsion*, never before struck in Italy. The various mentions of *miliarēsia* in the archival documents of Apulia, as well as some physical evidence, hints towards an effective circulation of this coinage, beyond its obvious role as a unit of account.⁹³ It is possible that the introduction of a Frankish-style silver *denarius* in the Lombard coinage of Benevento and Salerno and the increasing economic role of the Venetians, whose mint also struck *denarii*, along the Adriatic, had paved the way for this new role of Imperial silver in southern Italy.⁹⁴ Conversely, as the appearance of the *miliaresia* corresponds chronologically to the interruption of the minting of *denarius* in the south, its assertion in Italy could have played a role in this evolution, or compensated it.

Nonetheless, this ideal picture requires some qualifications. Along the Tyrrhenian Coast, the Imperial gold lost ground to the Islamic *tari*, a small gold coin of high fineness.⁹⁵ In time this coinage also penetrated the north of the *thema* of Longobardia.⁹⁶ In Calabria, the properties of the metropolitan see of Reggio systematically paid rents in this coinage around the middle of the 11th century.⁹⁷ So it seems that the supply of this coinage had been strong enough to overcome the position of the official Imperial coinage. But the archival documentation informs us that even if the *tari* was used in private transactions, the *nomisma* kept its monopoly as far as tax payments and fines were concerned: it was still the only official coinage.⁹⁸ *De facto* and *de iure* monetary systems did not correspond and where the *nomisma* was not protected by its official status it was discarded for the *tari*.⁹⁹ The extent of this reality and its chronology escapes us, because we lack documentation for Calabria before the 11th century. In fact, the *tari* had already gained dominance in the Tyrrhenian duchies by the beginning of the 10th century,¹⁰⁰ that is, immediately after the demise of the Sicilian mint, whose last production precisely inspired the *tari*.

93 Martin, "Economia naturale", p. 193, *contra* Grierson, "Monete bizantine", p. 55. The *miliarēsion* certainly circulated on the other side of the Adriatic as a small hoard of Michael III's *miliaresia*, still unpublished, has been found in Lezhë (Albania).

94 On the use of silver *denarii* in the Lombard territories and in Naples, see Martin, "Economia naturale" pp. 187–188.

95 On the origins of this coinage, De Lucca, "Un contributo".

96 Martin, "Economia naturale", p. 201.

97 The traditional dating of the document, established by Guillou, *Le brébion*, has been rejected by Castrizio, "Il brébion", in favour of an Early Norman dating.

98 As is shown in the various Calabrian documents edited in the series *Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du Sud* (CAG).

99 In Naples up to c.970; in Gaeta, up to c.958, Martin, "Economia naturale", p. 192.

100 First mentions: 907 in Amalfi; between 909 and 911 in Gaeta; 911 in Salerno; 935 in Naples, Martin, "Economia naturale", pp. 199–200.

So this Islamic coin could have already been well entrenched when the supply of Constantinopolitan coinage increased. It is possible that a different relation to the silver coinage must also be adduced to explain the *tari*'s dominance along the Tyrrhenian. Most of the documentary sources that mention the *miliaresia* stem from the theme of Longobardia, and they are lacking in the admittedly poorer Calabrian documentation. Therefore, this lack of mid-value silver currency could go a long way towards justifying the privileged use of the *tari*, a small gold coin enabling payments on a lower scale than the full *nomisma*.¹⁰¹

Finally, the copper coinage seemed to have been fairly plentiful both in Longobardia and Calabria.¹⁰² It was ubiquitous enough to replace the silver *denarius* for small payments or rents outside the borders of the Imperial territory, where it was even imitated.¹⁰³ Archival documents mention payments valued in *miliaresia* but which were effectively paid in copper coins. *Folleis* of Romanus I were especially common and certainly formed the bulk of the 10th century coinage before the advent of the anonymous *folleis*.¹⁰⁴ Once more, regional variations can be observed. The model C, struck between 1030/35 and 1042 played a major role in Calabria, resulting in its use as the prototype by the subsequent Norman coinage.¹⁰⁵ In Apulia, types E-F (c.1060–1065) and G (c.1065–1070) were more common.¹⁰⁶ The supply remained steady up to the Norman conquest, as only types posterior to the anonymous *follis* I, struck during the 1070s, are lacking.¹⁰⁷ The very fact that the Norman conquest, by weaning Italy from the Imperial copper coin supply, triggered local imitations of the *follis* in Salerno and Gaeta tells of the importance of this coinage.¹⁰⁸

101 A *tari* would have been worth around 2 or 2.5 *miliaresia*, as these were valued as 1/12th of the *nomisma*.

102 On the "return" of the Oriental *follis*, see Callegher/Morrisson, "*Miliareni de follibus*", pp. 113–118.

103 E.g. in Salerno, Martin, "Economia naturale", p. 202; see also pp. 203–205 and 215. That more rents were paid in kind does not necessarily indicate a dearth of coinage. It depends both on the general level of prices and on the degree of implication in commercial activity of the landlord. Imitations: *MEC*, p. 61 (Salerno), pp. 68–69 (Amalfi).

104 Travaini, *La monetazione*, pp. 14–15 and Callegher/Morrisson, "*Miliareni de follibus*", p. 119. Same reality in Sicily, Prigent, *La politique sicilienne*, p. 83.

105 They were the prototype of the first Norman coinage of Ruggero I, Travaini, *La monetazione*, p. 238 and n. 41.

106 Siciliano, "Ugello".

107 Callegher, "Presenza di 'Folles anonimi'", p. 310. The importance of the Class C (46 %) must take into account that some of these were produced directly in Southern Italy (see n. 90). Class I was also of particular importance on the other side of the Adriatic, explaining their arrival in Italy, Papadopoulos, "The numismatic evidence", p. 304.

108 Travaini, *La monetazione*, pp. 16–19.

It is very difficult to assess the respective importance of trade and official dispatches of coins in the supply of Italy. Initially, the fact that the *strategos* derived its salary from custom duties and not from funds sent from the east, and the importance of indirect taxation in the finances of the theme of Longobardia¹⁰⁹ points towards the crucial importance of trade. But on the contrary, the scarcity of gold and copper issues (the last one even triggering local imitations in Salerno and Gaeta¹¹⁰) after the loss of Italy speaks in favour of an official policy aiming at ensuring the supply, as the Norman conquest certainly did not put an end to trade in the long run. Whatever the exact balance between the two sources of supply, and it obviously evolved over time, the administrative reform creating the *katepanate* at the end of the 10th century certainly increased public spending, if only for the upkeep of the new Tagmatic army garrisoned in the peninsula, and so probably determined a parallel increase in the dispatches of gold coins from Constantinople.¹¹¹

5 Monetary Economy, Monetary Circulation and the Availability of Coins

The destiny of the monetary economy during the high Middle Ages is a polemical issue. Even if no one would deny that it experienced a decline from the Late Antiquity, the exact strength of the monetary economy during the 6th–11th centuries remains controversial.¹¹² The key problem is obviously the availability of coinage, because in order to play a substantial role in the economy, it had to be reasonably common, even if gold, silver and copper played different economic roles: accounting standard of value; reserve; payment for daily transactions at various levels, just to mention the most important functions.

This question of availability is only partly covered by the monetary production, and with all probability, the contemporary production played an ever smaller role in Byzantine Italy during the first centuries of the Middle Ages. Production was supplemented by or, more probably, supplemented three other “sources of supply”. The first one was the arrival in Italy of coins coming from the east. Second was the foreign coins whose characteristics were compatible with the Byzantine coinage and could thus be used alongside the official issues. Third, there were the existing stocks of coins, sometimes a century old

109 See the chapter by V. Prigent, *Administration and Army*, p. 346 in this volume.

110 Travaini, *La monetazione*, pp. 16–19.

111 See V. Prigent, *Administration and Army*, p. 160 in this volume.

112 See for example, Rovelli, “Coins and trade”.

or even more, still circulating. These sources partially overlap because the decisive factor was metrological compatibility. As important as they were, these sources of supply can only be approached through tentative hypotheses and some more or less clear examples. In assessing the availability of coins we must also keep in mind the demographic collapse experienced by Italy at the onset of the Middle Ages: fewer people needed fewer coins. Finally, the question of the velocity of circulation of the coinage also played a role, as higher velocity means higher availability, the same coin being used in many transactions over a short period.¹¹³ Here, towns and the coast were clearly at an advantage, with major ports as the most privileged place.¹¹⁴ Political stability was also of paramount importance, as troubles disturbed a key factor of monetary circulation, namely the dual system of monetized taxes and salaried public administration.¹¹⁵ Across the Empire's territory, half of the coins indeed circulated through the fiscal cycle.¹¹⁶

As impressive as the mint system was in Byzantine Italy up to the end of the 9th century, dispatches of gold coins from Constantinople probably never stopped completely.¹¹⁷ The fact is clearer in Sicily. Up to the reign of Heraclius, the local mint struck only *tremisses*, so we can be quite certain that most of the *solidi* in circulation were sent from the capital. Some 7th-century hoards also reveal the importance of the Constantinopolitan coinage on the island.¹¹⁸ Around 700, two hoards seem to testify that the Constantinopolitan coinage was no longer reaching Sicily, because they were made of locally-struck debased coins, obviously not the first choice for hoarding if full-weight *solidi* were easily available.¹¹⁹ But at the same time, the way the Sicilian *solidus* was

113 This issue is very important during the period experiencing a debasement: as the people cling to their "good coins", the amount of coinage available for transaction and the speed of its circulation drop, resulting in a dearth of precious metal in the mints and the consequent necessity to further debase the subsequent issues to maintain the volume of the output.

114 Rovelli, "Gold, silver and bronze", p. 273; Morisson, "La monnaie sur les routes fluviales et maritimes".

115 Oikonomides, "The Role of the Byzantine State", p. 980: "The first period (650–110) might be described as that of the command economy, in which the state exerted close control and functioned as a kind of pump, distributing and collecting money on the salary/tax system."

116 Morisson, "Byzantine Money", p. 950.

117 Clearly we will not consider the later period here, when all the coinage came integrally from the East.

118 In the unpublished Racalmuto hoard, the coins of Constantinople represent nearly 80 % of the coins; the Milazzo hoard was composed entirely of such coins (Hahn, "More about", p. 554); Syracuse coins make the bulk of later hoards.

119 Grierson, "Hoards", pp. 220–225, complété par Bendall, "Appendice"; Fagerlie, "Hoards".

debased under Justinian II (a drop in weight instead of a reduction in fineness) hints towards a system which allowed Sicily to make use of a monetary alloy identical to the one used in Constantinople.¹²⁰ So the simplest way to envision things is to admit that the government strove to keep open the possibility for the Sicilian mint to receive monetary-grade gold from Constantinople, whether as ingots or full-weight *nomismata*. Between 775 and 797, the mint temporarily closed, and the Capo Schiso hoard testifies that gold coins were then sent from Constantinople to the island.¹²¹

The situation is more difficult to assess on the mainland due to the lack of hoards. We know that Maurice sent batches of gold coins to pay the military. The same system still functioned in Rome under Heraclius.¹²² Further, all we can say is that the coinage was debased even as the output decreased. So it is clear that the bullion stock available to the continental mints dropped dramatically. As we have no reason to believe that the administration abruptly lost its capacity to levy taxes, we must admit that Constantinople not only stopped sending precious metal, but also recalled existing stocks and this, in turn, helps to explain the chronic civil strife in mainland Italy. At the same time, another phenomenon played the other way, on a shorter circuit. In some areas of northern and central Italy, a coin called *mancus* in the archival documents was used as a regular measure of value and payments of important fines.¹²³ Since the 1960s, the *communis opinio* identified this type of coin as a Muslim dinar, with a stupefying consequence on our appraisal of the level of exchange between Italy and the Middle-East.¹²⁴ But the *mancus* should be more properly identified as the imperial gold coinage of Sicily, so even if Italy was depleted of its bullion in favour of the Syracusan mint, part of this latter coin's production certainly reached the mainland, irrigating the Italian monetary circuit.¹²⁵

The second aspect of the problem of availability covers the compatibility between juxtaposed monetary systems. All coins with similar characteristics could certainly be used on the market, if not for a fiscal purpose, because ultimately all coins were "Wertmünzen", whose value relied nearly exclusively on the metal from which they were made. Furthermore, as the range of denominations produced shrunk, the official nominal value expressed on the coins lost

120 Prigent, "Monnaie et circulation monétaire", p. 394.

121 Prigent, "Monnaie et circulation monétaire", pp. 398–399.

122 See V. Prigent, *Army and Administration*, p. 149 in this volume.

123 Rovelli, "Monetary circulation and notarial formulas", pp. 1–30.

124 McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 319–337.

125 Prigent, "Le mythe du *mancus*".

its meaning and the metallic value became ever more important.¹²⁶ During the 7th century the Roman half-*folles* and Ravennate *folles* had similar weights, so even if the first's nominal value was half the second's, they ultimately shared a similar value when assessed against the gold *solidus*.¹²⁷ On the contrary, different weights resulted in segregation and, during the 7th century, different autonomous monetary zones appeared around Sicily and Ravenna.¹²⁸ But the interpretation of this phenomenon should not be seen as too straightforward. In Sicily, non-Sicilian coinage disappeared in a few years and this cannot mirror a parallel plunge in commercial exchanges. So we must admit that most of the "foreign" copper coinage was melted down and recycled by the local mint as "Sicilian" bronze. Similarly, in Rome, eastern ceramic types are found up to the very last years of the 7th century, whereas oriental coins had already disappeared since, at best, the first half of the century.¹²⁹ This observation compels us to be cautious in our interpretation of the disappearance of oriental bronze coins from Italy during the 7th century, at least in the major cities.¹³⁰ A drastic drop in the level of long-distance exchanges could be an overly simple explanation. Even if they were struck anew locally, these "foreign" bronzes ultimately supplied the local market.¹³¹ But conversely, local production and external supply cannot be simply added together. At some point, the role of the mint probably evolved slightly, because instead of simply "producing" new coinage from bullion, their role in adapting existing "foreign" coins to the local metrological norms probably gained importance. Nonetheless, the regionalisation of monetary circulation is undeniable: the area of Rome and Ravenna used their coinage exclusively even if no real metrological problems existed between their productions.

¹²⁶ As demonstrated by A. Rovelli, this also explains the appearance of the famous rectangular 30-nummi bronze coinage of Rome: the model was still the half-folles, marked xx, but the ornamental crosslet of the model (x+x) was integrated to the mark of value when it lost its meaning, resulting in xxx.

¹²⁷ The weights of Roman half-*folles* point towards a notional *folles* weighting 1/36 of the pounds, whereas the Ravennate *folles* weighed 1/72 of the pound. Maybe there were slight regional variations in the value of bronze but not from simple to double.

¹²⁸ Morrisson, *Survivance de l'économie monétaire*, pp. 383 and 385; Prigent, "La circulation monétaire", pp. 149–152; Callegher, "La diffusione della moneta di Ravenna", p. 254.

¹²⁹ Rome, maybe on a lower scale, also came to rely on its own coinage, Arslan/Morrisson, "Monete e moneta a Roma", pp. 1272–1273.

¹³⁰ Examples of Oriental coins found in Italy for the 6th century are summed up in Rovelli, "Gold, silver and bronze", p. 274, n. 26. After the end of the 620s, Oriental coins obviously all came from Constantinople since Heraclius had closed the other mints.

¹³¹ Clearly, this caveat does not mean that the drop did not occur; archaeological evidence is compelling and the very fact that the authorities allowed the metrological unity of the Empire to end under Maurice testifies that the exchanges had already dwindled.

The compatibility between the Lombard and Byzantine monetary system certainly played a key role in the availability of the coinage: the hoard of Racalmuto clearly testifies that a Byzantine *possessor* had no trouble hoarding Lombard *tremisses* alongside the Imperial gold coins.¹³² The parallel debasement curves affecting Imperial and Lombard coinage also testifies towards this reality.¹³³ Both systems also eventually adopted a unique light-weight silver coin facilitating daily transactions.¹³⁴ But without doubt the more spectacular example of this much sought-after metrological compatibility was the calibration system established between the Sicilian gold coinage and its Constantinopolitan counterpart.¹³⁵

As we have seen, the Imperial authorities managed to stop the debasement process affecting the Sicilian gold coinage at the beginning of the 8th century. But they were still unable to return the Sicilian *solidus* to its former weight and fineness and had to settle for a lighter coin of gold-silver alloy. In itself this choice is very interesting: it testifies to the fact that the Imperial government was not only keen to supply the monetary market with a given value in monetized gold, but also had to address the problem of easy availability of fractions of this global value and this fact hints towards a very regular use of the gold coinage in the daily economy and fiscal processes.¹³⁶ The metrological choices of the Imperial government ensured a simple exchange rate between Sicilian and Constantinopolitan coins. From Leo III to Michael II, the Sicilian gold coinage was worth 75 % of its Oriental counterparts: so a *solidus* and a *tremissis* struck in Syracuse offered the same quantity of fine gold as a Constantinopolitan *solidus*. From the 820s new economic problems compelled the Imperial government to lower the fineness of the Sicilian gold. Now 36 carats (one *solidus* and one *semissis* or three *semisses*) offered the quantity of gold contained in a single Oriental *solidus* of 24 carats. Finally, under Michael III, it is possible that a third controlled debasement occurred, with 60 carats struck in Syracuse containing the fine gold of the Eastern *solidus*. This system explains the importance of the *tremisses* and *semisses* in the gold production of Syracuse's mint.

¹³² C.10 % of Lombard coins in the hoard.

¹³³ Oddy, "Analyses".

¹³⁴ Here p. 50 and 66.

¹³⁵ What follows is detailed in Prigent, "Monnaie et circulation monétaire".

¹³⁶ When the gold coinage is not plentiful enough, the fiscal burden rises even if the official demands of the state remain the same, because each taxpayer struggles to find the coin necessary to pay his taxes and so may have to buy the gold coins at a higher price than its official, fiscal, value.

This monetary policy, consistently pursued during more than a century, demonstrates the importance of the metrological compatibility of coinages for the Byzantines. It allowed not only common administrative accounting practices and simple exchanges between the island and the core provinces of the Empire, but also the continued use in Sicily of coins struck before the debasement crisis of the beginning of the 8th century. Ultimately, the famous Islamic *tari* appeared as the direct heir of the late Imperial coinage in Sicily, through such an interest by public authorities for metrological compatibility. Later, the circulation of the gold coinage of Michael VII in Norman Italy was also ensured by its common fineness with the royal *tari*.¹³⁷

These last considerations lead us towards the next point: the paramount importance for the monetary economy of residual coins; that is the use of decades- or even centuries-old coins in transactions.

As far as gold is concerned, this importance of residual gold is normally illustrated through the age structure of hoards, but such material is sorely lacking for Byzantine Italy. Nonetheless, 6th- and 7th-century Sicily offers a series of deposits whose age structures do not differ significantly from the late antique Italian hoard.¹³⁸ A curious testamentary practice in Naples can also be adduced: in this city, testaments from the 10th century onward routinely mention the gift of a *neapolitanus tremissis* to the cathedral, even if such coinage had not been struck for generations.¹³⁹ The archival documentation of southern Italy also proves that gold coins were used half a century after their production: for example a document of 1086 mentions both coins of Romanos III and of Michael VII.¹⁴⁰ But already from the end of the 9th century, documents mention *solidi constantini*, meaning “from Constantinople”.¹⁴¹ As no other mints existed at the time, this insistence should be seen as an indication that many Sicilian light-weight *solidus* were still in circulation in Southern Italy, even if, as “bad money”, they would not have been hoarded.¹⁴² Metrological compatibility being of paramount importance, it could also be significant that

137 Morisson, “Le Michaëlaton”, p. 374. As a matter of fact, the fineness of the *tari* was decided to open this possibility.

138 Bourgey, *Les trésors monétaires*; no such synthesis exists for Sicilian hoards, but the information available points towards a similar age structure.

139 Rovelli, “Naples”.

140 Morisson, “Le Michaëlaton”, p. 371. Oriental documents offer even more striking examples, but in some cases the recent discovery of a hoard can explain the availability of age-old gold coins.

141 *DOC* 3, pp. 46–47.

142 The same reasoning could be proposed for the appearance of the term *euritius* or *evritius*, for *eureitēs*, “current”, in some Italian charters, because all *nomismata*, whatever their age, had the same legal value; but as the examples come from outside the boundaries of the

the Lombards used as a standard of value (at least in the area of Salerno) the first issue of prince Siccard (832–839), which had a fineness very similar to the last controlled issues of Syracuse (40 % against c.43 %).¹⁴³

For small change, residuality is slightly easier to exemplify. Some cases are truly amazing, such as the use of Vespasian coins as *folleis* in 6th century Italy¹⁴⁴ or the adoption by the Normans of iconographic models going back to archaic Magna Grecia.¹⁴⁵ More mundane and significant is the situation revealed by recent excavations in Naples: along a 7th-century newly-built road, most of the coins found by the archaeologists were struck in the 5th century.¹⁴⁶ But residuality was not a blind phenomenon. In Rome, in and around the famous Crypta Balbi, different archaeological contexts confirm the importance of residuality, but the coins differ from layer to layer, obviously mirroring a sieving process as people from different periods predominantly made use of old coins whose metrology was compatible with the coins currently produced during their own times.¹⁴⁷ This fact is of great interest for us because it demonstrates that each of these very small coins still had a real economic role. They were not used in batches and weighed at the moment of the transactions. So, even extremely small payments seem to have been still monetized. This example also warns us against a straightforward interpretation of clipped coins. The desire to adapt them to a new metrology certainly played a role as important as the desperate hope of making a mean profit by accumulating chips of metal. Other examples can be adduced from a later period: in Classe, 7th-century layers offered many late antique copper coins;¹⁴⁸ the bronze hoard of Canne had an age structure spanning roughly 130 years, between Michael II and Romanos II.¹⁴⁹ Residuality also spanned political gaps: a bronze hoard unearthed in Muslim Sicily has revealed a mix of Islamic *fulus* and old Amorion *folleis*.¹⁵⁰ In Comacchio, Late Roman coins represent 70 % of the sample discovered.¹⁵¹ Even iconography

Imperial territory, it could more simply cover the desire to be paid in new coins, not too worn out (*DOC* 3, p. 45).

143 Martin, "Economia naturale", p. 187.

144 Morisson, "The re-use of obsolete coins".

145 Travaini, "Le prime monete argentee".

146 Rovelli, "Naples", pp. 703–706.

147 Rovelli, "Residuality, non-residuality, and continuity", supplemented for later finds discussed in personal communication with the author, who is currently editing the new material.

148 Cirelli, *Ravenna*, pp. 137–139.

149 Callegher/Morisson, "*Miliareni de follibus*".

150 Prigent, "Monnaie et circulation monétaire", p. 417.

151 Rovelli, "Gold, silver and bronze", p. 270. Certainly, Comacchio was not "Byzantine territory", but the example is nonetheless telling of the availability of this late antique coinage

can be adduced to demonstrate the phenomenon, as the Ravennate bronze coinage of Heraclius reintroduced prototypes designed two centuries before.¹⁵²

Clearly, the role of residuality cannot be overestimated, but it is nonetheless clear that its very importance mirrored a problem of supply from the mints. In some cases, even residuality could not compensate for the scarcity of new coinage, as is demonstrated by the production of lead coins in 6th-century Liguria.¹⁵³

6 Conclusion

Comprehensively, production, existing stocks, imports and use of metrologically compatible foreign coins certainly offered Byzantine Italy a steady supply of coinage, even if the monetary economy experienced a steep decline from late antique times. Let us take two examples: Ravenna probably had a population of c.7000 at the beginning of the 8th century;¹⁵⁴ Rome had probably fallen under 20,000.¹⁵⁵ Now each year ecclesiastical patrimonies located in Calabria and Sicily sent to the first city slightly more than two *solidi* per inhabitant and a little bit more than one for every Roman.¹⁵⁶ If we take into consideration that a poor family could live on 5 *solidi* a year,¹⁵⁷ the quantity of gold coinage circulating in these major cities must have been quite considerable before the debasement crisis.¹⁵⁸ At the other end of the period, the rich archival documents of Byzantine Apulia register thousands of prices in coins and monetary transactions against about ten payments in kind.¹⁵⁹ Nonetheless, the monetary economy certainly dwindled and at least one key element accelerating the circulation of coinage was lost in the final decades of Byzantine control in the northern Imperial territories, namely the dual system of monetized taxes and salaried public administration. At the other end of the monetary system,

in former Imperial territory. These coins certainly did not appear in the area after the demise of Byzantium, even if their use could have been more frequent in absence of official copper coins production.

152 *MIB*, no. 253, Heraclius trampling a prostrated enemy.

153 Morrisson, "Monnaies en plomb".

154 Cosentino, "Ricchezza e investimento", p. 429.

155 Morrisson/Sodini, *The Sixth-Century Economy*, pp. 172–173.

156 16000 *solidi* of rents after taxes in the first case (Cosentino, "Ricchezza e investimento"); 25000 in the second case (Prigent, "Un confesseur de mauvaise foi").

157 Carrié, "*Nihil habens*", pp. 88–100.

158 Clearly, the reality was not as clear-cut because obviously the coins were not redistributed, but the facts remain impressive.

159 Martin, "Economia naturale", p. 213.

small change certainly experienced the most drastic drop in availability, as its production cost became unbearable and the eventual demise of the fiscal system lowered its value for the state. Even in 11th-century Byzantine Apulia no monetary transaction involving a payment worth less than 1/288th of the *solidus* (that is the value of a *folles*) was possible, whereas under Justinian I, it was possible to buy with a one-*nummus* coin any object worth 1/11520 of *solidus*. This forty-fold difference measures the gap between late antique and middle Byzantine monetary economy.

Bibliography

- Arslan, E.A., "La moneta in argento dei Re Longobardi. Un'emissione inedita di Ariperto I", *Quaderni Ticinesi, Numismatica e Antichità Classiche* 31 (2002), 327–344.
- Arslan, E.A./Morrisson, C., "Monete e moneta a Roma nell'alto medioevo", in *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente* (Settimane CISAM, 49), Spoleto 2002, pp. 1255–1302.
- Arslan, E.A., "Produzione e circolazione dei nominali inferiori in rame nel VI secolo in Italia, tra Longobardi e Bizantini. Il complesso di Brescello (RE)", *Travaux et Mémoires* 16 (2011) (= *Mélanges Cécile Morrisson*), 1–34.
- Arslan, E.A., *Repertorio dei ritrovamenti di moneta Altomedievale in Italia (489–1002)* (CISAM, Testi, Studi, Strumenti 18), Spoleto 2005, with regular updates on line on the author's website.
- Barrandon, J.-N., "Modélisation de l'altération de la monnaie d'or", *Revue numismatique* 30 (1988), 7–26.
- Bendall, S., "An Eighth-Century Hoard at Dumbarton Oaks – An Appendice", *Coin Hoards* 1 (1975), 63–65.
- Bendall, S., "Western Type C Anonymous Folles", *Numismatic Circular* 97 (1989), 290–291.
- Bompaire, M., "Le mythe du besant ?", *Travaux et Mémoires* 16 (2011) (= *Mélanges Cécile Morrisson*), 93–116.
- Bonini, R., "Caduta e riconquista dell'Impero Romano d'Occidente nelle fonti legislative giustiniane", *Felix Ravenna* 111–112 (1976), 293–318.
- Bourgey, S., *Les trésors monétaires en Italie aux V^e et VI^e siècles*, PhD dissertation, Paris IV – La Sorbonne, 1982.
- Brenot, Cl., "Deux monnaies d'argent aux noms d'Odoacre et de Théodoric trouvées en Provence (commune de Saint-Etienne-du-Grès)", *Bulletin de la société française de numismatique* 52/4 (1997), 55–59.
- Callegher, B., "La diffusione della moneta di Ravenna tra VI e metà VIII secolo", in G. Gorini (ed.), *Ritrovamenti monetali nel mondo antico: problemi e metodi* (*Numismatica Patavina*, 1), Padua 2002, pp. 273–284.

- Callegher, B., "Presenza di 'Folles anonimi' in Italia Settentrionale: un'ipotesi interpretativa", *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche* 23 (1994), 293–312.
- Callegher, B./Morrisson, C., "*Miliareni de follibus* : la trouvaille de folles byzantins de Cannes (milieu du X^e siècle)", in Cuozzo et al., (eds.), *Puer Apuliae*, pp. 105–122.
- Carrié, J.-M., "*Nihil habens praeter quod ipso die vestiebatur*. Comment définir le seuil de pauvreté à Rome ?", in F. Chausson/E. Wolff (eds.), *Consuetudinis Amor. Fragments d'histoire romaine (II^e–VI^e siècles) offerts à Jean-Pierre Callu* (Saggi di storia antica, 19), Rome 2003, pp. 71–102.
- Castrizio, D., "Emissioni monetali in oro e bronzo della zecca di Reggio sotto Basilio I e Leone VI", *Travaux et Mémoires* 16 (2011) (= *Mélanges Cécile Morrisson*), 157–162.
- Castrizio, D., "Il brebion della diocesi di Reggio e la circolazione monetale normanna sotto Roberto il Guiscardo e Ruggero I", in *Atti del XIII Congresso di Numismatica*, Madrid 2005, pp. 1059–1064.
- Cirelli, A., *Ravenna: archeologia di una città* (Contributi di archeologia medievale 2), Florence 2008.
- Conti, P.M., *L'Italia bizantina nella « Descriptio orbis romani » di Giorgio di Cipro*, La Spezia 1975.
- Cosentino, S. (ed.), *L'économie de l'Italie byzantine*, in *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 28 (2015), .
- Cosentino, S., "Ricchezza e investimento della chiesa di Ravenna tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo", in Gelichi/Hodges (eds.), *From one Sea to Another*, pp. 417–439.
- Cuozzo, E./Déroche, V./Peters-Custot, A./Prigent, V. (eds.), *Puer Apuliae. Mélanges en l'honneur de Jean-Marie Martin* (Monographies du Centre d'histoire et de civilisation de Byzance, 30), 2 vols., Paris 2008.
- De Lucca, M.A., "Un contributo al dibattito sull'introduzione del quarto di dinār e sulla sua possibile derivazione da modelli bizantini", in A. Nef/V. Prigent (eds.), *La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam*, Paris 2010, pp. 113–130.
- Denk, R., "Zur Datierung der letzten byzantinischen Münzserien aus Rom", *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 1 (1979), 139–143.
- Devoto, G., "Tecniche orafe di età longobarda", in L. Paroli (ed.), *L'Italia centro-settentrionale in età longobarda*, Florence 1997, pp. 275–283.
- DOC = Grierson, Ph., *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, vols. 2 and 3., Washington DC 1968, 1973.
- Fagerlie, J.M., "A Byzantine 'Sicilian' Hoard", in D.K. Kouymjian (ed.), *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography and History, Studies in honor of Georges C. Miles*, Beirut 1974, pp. 175–183.
- Füeg, F., *Corpus of the nomismata from Anastasius II to John I in Constantinople 713–976: structure of the issues, corpus of coin finds, contribution to the iconographic and monetary history* (Classical Numismatic Group), Lancaster PA 2007.

- Gelichi, S./ Hodges R. (eds.), *From One Sea to Another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages.*, Turnhout 2012.
- Grierson, Ph., "Monete bizantine in Italia dal VII all'XI secolo", in *Moneta e scambi nell'Alto Medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, 8), Spoleto 1961, pp. 35–55, 123–163.
- Grierson, Ph., "Two Byzantine Hoards of the VIIth and VIIIth centuries at Dumbarton Oaks-Sicilian hoard", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1966), 207–230.
- Guillou, A., *Le brébion de la métropole byzantine de Région : vers 1050*, Vatican City 1974.
- Guzzetta, G., "Per la Calabria bizantina: primo censimento dei dati numismatici", in *Calabria Bizantina, istituzioni civili e topografia storica*, Reggio Calabria 1986, pp. 251–280.
- Hahn, W., "More about the minor Byzantine gold mints from Tiberius II to Heraclius", *Numismatic Circular* 87 (1979), 552–555.
- Hahn, W./Metcalf, W.E. (eds.), *Studies in the Early Byzantine gold coinage* (Numismatic Studies, 17), New York 1988.
- Hendy, M., "On the Administrative Basis of the Byzantine Coinage c. 400–900 and the Reforms of Heraclius", *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 12 (1970), 129–154 (reprinted in id., *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage of Byzantium*, Northampton 1989, VIII).
- Johnson, T./Blet-Lemarquand, M./Morrisson, C., "The Byzantine Mint in Carthage and the Muslim Mint in North Africa – New Metallurgical Findings", *Revue Numismatique* 171 (2014), 655–699.
- Kislinger, E., "Dyrrhachion und die Küsten von Epirus und Dalmatien im frühen Mittelalter – Beobachtungen zur Entwicklung der byzantinischen Oberhoheit", *Millennium* 8 (2011), 313–352.
- Laiou, A. (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, 3 vols. (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 39), Washington DC 2001.
- Martin, J.-M., "Economia naturale e economia monetaria nell'Italia meridionale longobarda e bizantina", in R. Romano/U. Tucci (eds.), *Economia naturale, economia monetaria* (Storia d'Italia, Annali, 6), Turin 1983, pp. 181–224.
- Martin, J.-M./Peters-Custot, A./Prigent, V. (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 2. *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 461), Rome 2012.
- McCormick, M., *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900*, Cambridge 2001.
- MEC: Grierson, Ph./Blackburn, M., *Medieval European coinage. With a catalogue of the coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, vol. 1. *The early Middle Ages (5th–10th centuries)*, Cambridge 1986.
- Metcalf, D.M., "How extensive was the issue of folles during the years 775–829?", *Byzantion* 37 (1967), 270–310.
- Metlich, M.A., *The Coinage of Ostrogothic Italy*, London 2004.

- MIB: Hahn, W., *Moneta Imperii Byzantini*, vol. 3, Vienna 1981.
- MIBE: Hahn, W./Metlich, M.A., *Money of the incipient Byzantine Empire (Anastasius I – Justinian I, 491–565)*, Vienna 2000.
- MIBEC: Hahn, W./Metlich M.A., *Money of the incipient Byzantine Empire II (Justin I – Revolt of the Heraclii, 565–610)*, Vienna 2009.
- Morrisson, C., “Byzantine Money: Its Production and Circulation”, in Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium*, pp. 909–966.
- Morrisson, C., “Carthage: the moneta auri under Justinian I and Justin II”, in W. Hahn/W.E. Metcalf, *Studies in Early Byzantine Gold Coinage* (Numismatic Studies, 17), New York 1988, pp. 41–64.
- Morrisson, C., “La monnaie sur les routes fluviales et maritimes des échanges dans le monde méditerranéen (VI^e–IX^e siècle)”, in *L'acqua nei secoli altomedievali* (Settimane CISAM, 55), Spoleto 2008, pp. 631–670.
- Morrisson, C., “Le michaèlaton et les noms des monnaies à la fin du XI^e siècle”, *Travaux et Mémoires* 3 (1968), 369–374 (reprinted in ead., *Monnaie et finances à Byzance: analyses, techniques*, Aldershot 1994, v).
- Morrisson, C., *Le zecche nell'Italia bizantina: un quadro d'insieme*, in Travaini (ed.), *Le zecche*, pp. 415–425.
- Morrisson, C., “Monnaies en plomb byzantine de la fin du VI^e et du début du VII^e siècle”, *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 83 (1981), 119–132.
- Morrisson, C., “Survivance de l'économie monétaire à Byzance (VII^e–IX^e siècle)”, in E. Kountoura-Galake (ed.), *Οι σκοτεινοί αιώνες του Βυζαντίου (705–905 αι.)*, Athens 2001, pp. 376–397.
- Morrisson, C., “The re-use of obsolete coins”, in *Studies in Numismatic method presented to Philip Grierson*, Cambridge 1983, pp. 95–111.
- Morrisson, C., “Tra Vandali e Bizantini: la prosperità dell'Africa (V–VII secolo) attraverso le fonti e la documentazione monetale”, *Incontri di filologia classica* 10 (2010–2011), 145–169.
- Morrisson, C./Barrandon, J.-N., “La trouvaille de monnaies d'argent byzantines de Rome (VII^e–VIII^e siècle): analyses et chronologie”, *Revue numismatique*, 6th s., 30 (1988), 149–165.
- Morrisson, C./Barrandon, J.-N./Poirier, J., “Nouvelles recherches sur l'histoire monétaire byzantine: évolution comparée de la monnaie d'or à Constantinople et dans les provinces d'Afrique et de Sicile”, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 33 (1983), 267–286.
- Morrisson, C./Callegher, B., “Ravenne: le déclin d'un avant-poste de Constantinople à la lumière de son monnayage (v. 540–751)”, in Cosentino (ed.), *L'économie de l'Italie byzantine*, pp. 255–278.
- Morrisson, C./Popović, V./Ivanišević, V., *Les trésors monétaires des Balkans et d'Asie Mineure (491–713)* (Réalités byzantines 13), Paris 2006.

- Morrisson, C./Prigent, V., "Le monnayage byzantin en Italie au haut Moyen Âge : bilan d'un siècle d'études", *Bolletino di Numismatica* 54 (2010 [2012]), 134–161, also available on line: <http://www.bdnonline.numismaticadellostato.it/apriarticolo.html?idArticolo=3>.
- Morrisson, C./Sodini, J.-P., "The Sixth-Century Economy", in Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium*, pp. 171–220.
- Oddy, W.A., "Analyses of Lombardic Tremisses by the Specific-Gravity Method", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th s., 12 (1972), 193–215.
- Oddy, W.A., "The Debasement of the provincial byzantine gold coinage from the Seventh to the Ninth Century", in W. Hahn/W.E. Metcalf, *Studies in Early Byzantine Gold Coinage* (Numismatic Studies, 17), New York 1988, pp. 135–142.
- O'Hara, M.D., "A Find of Byzantine Silver from the Mint of Rome for the Period A.D. 631–752", *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 44 (1985), 105–139.
- O'Hara, M.D., "The Last Three 'Byzantine-Papal' Siliquae from the Find of Silver from the Mint of Rome", *Numismatic Circular* 100 (1992), 111–112.
- O'Hara, M.D., "The Thirty Second Silver Coin from the Find of Byzantine Silver from the Mint of Rome", *Numismatic Circular* 95 (1987), 4–5.
- Oikonomides, N., "The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy", in Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium*, vol. 2, pp. 974–1058.
- Papadopoulou, P., "The numismatic evidence from the southern Adriatic (5th–11th centuries): some preliminary observations and thoughts", in Gelichi/Hodges (eds.), *From one Sea to Another*, pp. 299–320.
- Piras, E., *Le monete della Sardegna dal IV sec. a.C. al 1842*, Sassari 1996.
- Piras, E., "Un ripostiglio di monete d'oro bizantine. Nuove ipotesi sulla monetazione aurea sardo-bizantina", *Acta Numismatica* 19 (1989), 93–108.
- Prigent, V., "A Striking Evolution: the mint of Ravenna during the Early Middle Ages", in J. Herrin/J. Nelson (eds.), *Ravenna: its role in earlier medieval change and exchange*, London, pp. 151–161.
- Prigent, V., "La circulation monétaire en Sicile (VI^e–VII^e siècle)", in D. Michaelides/Ph. Pergola/E. Zanini (eds.), *The Insular System of Early Byzantine Mediterranean: Archaeology and History*, (BAR International Series, 2523), Oxford 2013, pp. 139–160.
- Prigent, V., "La politique sicilienne de Romain I^{er} Lécapène", in D. Barthélemy/J.-C. Cheynet (eds.), *Guerre et société en Méditerranée (VIII^e–XIII^e siècle)* (Monographies du Centre d'histoire et de civilisation de Byzance, 31), Paris 2008, pp. 63–84.
- Prigent, V., "Le mythe du mancus et les origines de l'économie européenne", *Revue numismatique* 171 (2014), 699–726.
- Prigent, V., "Monnaie et circulation monétaire en Sicile du début du VIII^e siècle à l'avènement de la domination musulmane", in Martin/Peters-Custot/Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin*, pp. 541–576.

- Prigent, V., "Un confesseur de mauvaise foi. Notes sur les exactions financières de l'empereur Léon III en Italie du Sud", Cosentino (ed.), *L'économie de l'Italie byzantine*, pp. 279–304.
- Ricotti Prina, D., *La monetazione aurea delle zeche minori bizantine dal VI al IX secolo*, Rome 1972.
- Rovelli, A., *Coinage and coin use in Medieval Italy*, Farnham, 2012.
- Rovelli, A., "Coins and trade in Early Medieval Italy", in Rovelli, *Coinage and coin use*, VII, pp. 45–76.
- Rovelli, A., "Gold, Silver and Bronze: An Analysis of Monetary Circulation along the Italian Coasts (6th–9th centuries)", in Gelichi/Hodges (eds.), *From One Sea to Another*, pp. 267–295.
- Rovelli, A., "Monetary circulation and notarial formulas in early medieval Italy", in Rovelli, *Coinage and coin use*, III, pp. 1–30.
- Rovelli, A., "Naples, ville et atelier monétaire de l'Empire byzantin : l'apport des fouilles récentes", *Travaux et Mémoires* 16 (2011) (= *Mélanges Cécile Morrisson*), 693–712.
- Rovelli, A., "Residuality, non-residuality, and continuity of circulation: some examples from the Crypta Balbi", in Rovelli, *Coinage and coin use*, I, pp. 1–22.
- Sarah, G./Bompaire, M./McCormick, M./Rovelli, A./Guerrot, C., "Analyses élémentaires de monnaies de Charlemagne et Louis le Pieux du Cabinet des Médailles: l'Italie carolingienne et Venise", *Revue numismatique* 164 (2008), 355–406.
- Siciliano, A., "Ugento (Lecce), un rinvenimento da Specchia Artanisi. Gruppo di folles bizantini dell'XI secolo: ripostiglio «da borsellino» o di emergenza?", *Bollettino di numismatica* 54 (2010 [2012]), 162–198.
- Sophoulis, P., *Byzantium and Bulgaria, 775–831*, Leyden 2011.
- Travaini, L., *La monetazione nell'Italia normanna (Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo)*, Rome 1995.
- Travaini, L., "Le prime monete argentee dei normanni in Sicilia: un ripostiglio di khar-rube e i modelli antichi delle monete normanne", *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 92 (1990), 171–198.
- Travaini, L. (ed.), *Le zecche italiane fino all'Unità*, Roma 2011.
- Travaini, L., "Monete e circolazione monetaria nell'Italia bizantina e post-bizantina", Martin/Peters-Custot/Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin*, vol. 2, pp. 419–440.

The Venetiae, the Exarchate and the Pentapolis

Sauro Gelichi

1 Introduction

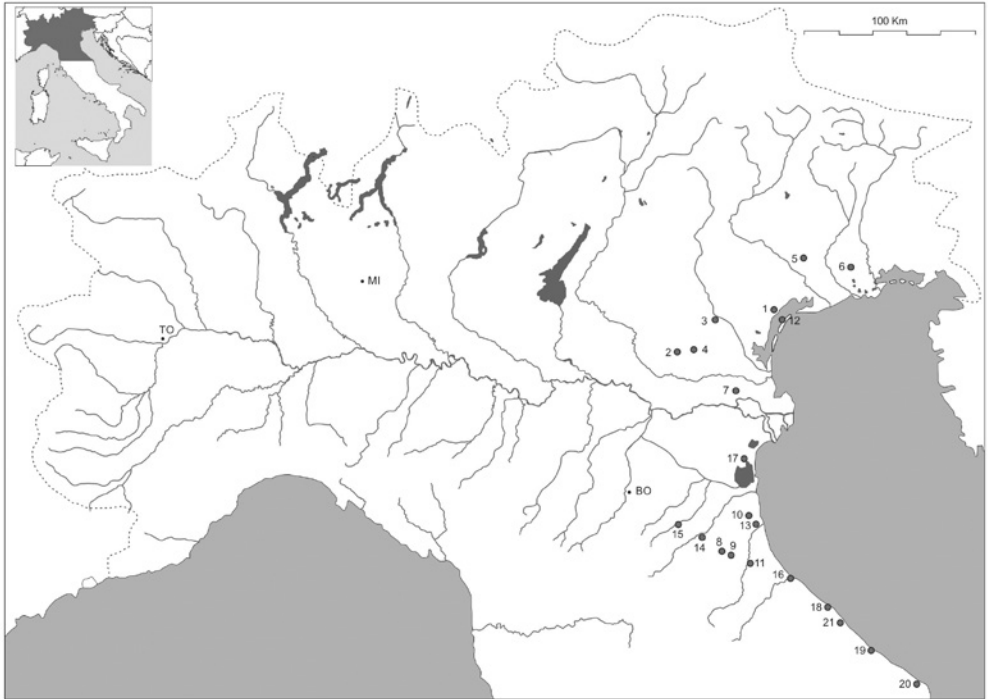
The period in which the Byzantines controlled (at least in part) a portion of the territories in northern Italy constituted an extremely important moment in the history of the Italian peninsula. Byzantine control was first exerted through the creation of two formally recognised territorial units, the Exarchate and Pentapolis,¹ and later indirectly through other political structures that governed a portion of those territories (i.e. the Venetian Duchy).² Much is known about the territorial, social and economic aspects of this historical setting,³ but many questions related to the physical characteristics of these settlements (even their typology) in both rural and urban areas remain unanswered. This is because the archaeological record is still quite inadequate and often failed to produce good general documents. Apart from the singular episodes investigated, is an archaeology rarely expendable as part of a more general historical debate.

The purpose of this paper is to fill in some of these gaps in the archaeological documentation and to provide some general interpretations of the data regarding how settlements were organised and their economic profiles. Between the 6th and 8th centuries the situation in northern Italy was highly turbulent. As will be discussed later, the region was at the centre of various social and economic dynamics with different origins. The territories in question were very important, not only because they were home to the residual areas of Byzantine power following the Justinianic age (up until the final decline of the Exarchate), but also because this area – characterised by its various ‘boundaries’ (between water and land, and between the Lombard, Frankish and Byzantine powers) – was where the most important political and economic ‘games’ concerning the northern Italian peninsula were being played during the Middle Ages.

¹ Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance*.

² Ortalli, “Venezia dalle origini a Pietro II”, pp. 339–438.

³ Diehl, *Études sur l’administration byzantine*; Guillou, “L’Italia bizantina”.



The main settlements mentioned in the text: 1 Altino; 2 Este; 3 Padova; 4 Monselice; 5 Oderzo; 6 Concordia Sagittaria; 7 Adria; 8 Forlì; 9 Forlìmpopoli; 10 Ravenna; 11 Cesena; 12 Venezia; 13 Classe; 14 Faenza; 15 Imola; 16 Rimini; 17 Comacchio; 18 Pesaro; 19 Senigallia; 20 Ancona; 21 Fano.

MAP 12.1 The Venetiae, the Exarchate and the Pentapolis: major places

© SAURO GELICHI

2 “Everything Changes So That Nothing Changes?": The Ancient Towns and Ravenna

If we observe the map devised by Ward Perkins that summarises the presence of the cities of northern Italy between the Roman time and the Middle Ages,⁴ something becomes very highly evident. Considering the ‘durability’ or ‘instability’ of the ancient towns as indicators of the absence or presence of crisis, respectively, we can see that in contrast to the territories that appeared to be substantially stable (e.g. the Po Valley) and those that appeared to be in crisis (e.g. southern Piedmont), the northern Adriatic area (from Ravenna to Istria) was marked by the occurrence of contradictory processes: many towns

4 Ward Perkins, “The towns of northern Italy”, fig. 1.

were being deserted, yet many new towns were also be founded. Thus, we might speak of a form of 'stability' that was being achieved, not through topographical persistence, but thanks to 'mobility': we might conclude that everything changes so that nothing changes – or was this not really the case?

This mobility of cities that seems to characterise the northern Adriatic arc in the early Middle Ages is a phenomenon that would surely also have been perceived by the chronicle and narrative sources that, since 1000 AD, had been striving to piece together the historical events of these territories in an attempt to provide explanations and reconstruct a new civic identity *a posteriori*.⁵ Still, recognising a phenomenon does not necessarily mean that it has been understood. Indeed, these traditional explanations were based on the principle that the repeated raids committed by barbarian tribes from the 5th century onwards would have caused the displacement of entire populations that, following their bishops, would have moved to safer coastal lagoons, where the Byzantine military forces were positioned. However, the rather 'mechanical' nature of these reconstructions tends to overlook the highly complex dynamics and chronology of events, such that the outcomes of immensely complicated processes with both social and economic implications are simply being attributed to issues of safety alone. This can be understood more clearly if we consider the late stages of some of these coastal towns that were either abandoned or in crisis.

Of these cities, Altino, traditionally considered the ancestor of Venice, plays a central role because it lies at the heart of this real 'mythographic system'. Archaeology has certainly favoured the events related to the ancient phases of the city, dismissing the final centuries of its history as predictable outcomes of an irreversible decline. However, via the careful analysis of the archaeological documentation produced from previous excavations, data has emerged that has enabled us to propose some different scenarios for such towns during the 5th through–6th centuries and, more importantly, indicate a more reassuring situation for future research. Following a period of apparent prosperity, the ancient town of Altino appears to have gone through a sort of recession, starting in the 2nd century and enduring throughout the 3rd. A variety of explanations might be given, but it actually appears to be the product of the relative lack of data sources (written, epigraphic and archaeological) rather than the actual loss of social and economic importance of the town.⁶ Nevertheless, it is in these centuries that the first signs of the crisis that will be experienced in various, ambiguous forms up until at least the 6th century can be recognised.

5 La Rocca, "Città scomparse"; Gelichi, "Le origini di Venezia".

6 Cresci Marrone/Cipriano, "Il II e il III secolo d. C.", p. 161.

In fact, a more careful reading of the archaeological sources and rare forms of written evidence seem to indicate that the city, or rather its institutions, faced difficult times, at least through the 4th and 5th centuries.⁷ An Altino bishop, one of the first from the Venetian area, is documented as early as 381 and an episcopal complex is mentioned on several occasions (although archaeology has yet to identify it).⁸ During the 4th century, Altino was chosen as the location for the enactment of some of the laws of the *Codex Theodosianus* and it was depicted in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* in relation to the same time period. Indeed, the archaeology seems to agree with this scenario. The few excavations performed in the vicinity of the city walls have revealed that significant alterations were made to these structures during late antiquity, such as those located near the northern city gate.⁹ In addition, several necropolises also dating to late antiquity have recently been excavated, while the remains of other urban and suburban buildings, that provided evidence of the rebuilding or restructuring of buildings in that period were also investigated.¹⁰ Important data has also been derived from numismatic evidence that describes the existence of circulating coins until at least the 6th century.¹¹ In brief, the archaeological data produced so far, and those studies subjected to recent reviews, seem to align the behaviour of this city with the general processes of urbanisation which occurred during late antiquity in northern Italy. Moreover, attempts to provide an updated interpretation of the town's transformation cannot evade paleoenvironmental evidence describing the slow irreversible process that was the swamping of the waterways – the vital organs of a city rightly defined as “amphibious.”¹² From this perspective, the transformation processes regarding the ancient settlement exerted their effects upon the northern lagoon complex, where, during the same period, new infrastructure was being built. This new infrastructure seemed, to a certain extent, to substitute the functions, strictly economic at first and then demographic, of the ancient town in crisis.¹³

The archaeological situations of the other cities of ancient *Venetia et Histria* engaged in such dynamics are currently less explicit than those for Altino. Nevertheless, it appears that some of these towns went into crisis between the 5th and 7th centuries. In some cases, the crisis was early and definitive; for example, *Ateste* (Este) was only re-colonised in the Middle Ages. Other cities

7 Calaon, “Altino (VE): strumenti diagnostici”.

8 Possenti, “L'età tardo antica e altomedievale”, p. 173.

9 Tirelli, *Il Museo Archeologico Nazionale*, p. 44.

10 Possenti, “L'età tardo antica e altomedievale”, pp. 174–177.

11 Asolati, “Altino tardoantica”, p. 179.

12 Mozzi et al., “Geomorfologia e trasformazione del territorio”.

13 Gelichi/Moine (eds.), “Isole fortunate?”.

experienced a (perhaps) temporary moment of decline, such as *Patavium* (Padua), in favour of new emerging settlements in the area, such as Monselice (however, this crisis does not seem to relate to the bishopric). In the meanwhile, some townships changed hands, such as *Opitergium* (Oderzo),¹⁴ which was conquered in 640 by the Lombards, as was *Concordia Sagittaria*¹⁵ a few years earlier in 615. In the case of *Opitergium*, the transition occurred through military action (a series of fortifications built to defend the city have been identified in archaeological excavations), while the transition of *Concordia Sagittaria* was ecclesiastical in nature.¹⁶ Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the predominant phenomenon occurring in this area of the Italian peninsula was the establishment of completely new settlements (discussed more in-depth later on).

On the contrary, the urban settlements situated within the Exarchate and Pentapolis were exceedingly stable. In fact, all of their major cities still exist today, although this 'persistence' does not automatically translate into precise common paradigms. Some of the cities of Exarchate, such as *Forum Popilii* (Forlì) and *Forum Livii* (Forlì) in present-day Emilia-Romagna, show strong signs that interruptions occurred in the urban structure of the settlements, losing much of the regular urban layout typical of the colonial period. An analogous situation can also be identified for *Caesena* (Cesena); however, written sources indicate an important military function of this town in late antiquity, which has also been substantiated by archaeological findings in the form of the remains of a mighty fortress on the Garampo Hill in its historical centre¹⁷ and luxury domus dating to the 6th century. The presence of a number of buildings with fine furnishings, along with the rise of important ecclesiastical nuclei (suburban churches, cemeteries, urban episcopal seats and chapels) also seems to be a common feature of the late stages of *Faventia* and perhaps *Forum Cornelii*. In a context of generalised disintegration of the urban fabric, detected here as in the rest of northern Italy, only a few residential dwellings and ecclesiastical buildings, dating to the start of the Middle Ages, bear witness to building models and construction techniques typical of the ancient world.

The principal town of the Pentapolis, namely Rimini, presents a somewhat different situation. In contrast to the other cities of the Pentapolis (Pesaro, Fano, Senigallia and Ancona),¹⁸ for which archaeology has revealed very little

14 Castagna/Tirelli, "Evidenze archeologiche di Oderzo".

15 Croce Da Villa/Di Filippo Balestrazzi (eds.), *Concordia Sagittaria*.

16 La Rocca, "Un vescovo a la sua città".

17 Gelichi et al. (eds.), *Ritmi di transizione*, pp. 59–66; Miari/Negrelli (eds.), *Ritmi di transizione 2*.

18 About Ancona, see the recent paper by Palermo/Salvini, "Le attività del porto romano".

information to date, urban excavations in Rimini have been able to describe more accurately some important stages of these phases of transition. In particular, the archaeological investigations in Piazza Ferrari provide an example that summarises all the major transformations that urban archaeology has identified in relation to these periods: the renovation of a *domus* with luxury interiors in late antiquity (6th century); the transformation of the inner-most part of the *domus* into a cemetery (7th century); an increase in the density of residential housing along the roads (7th–8th century); and finally, the conversion of inner-city areas through the construction of buildings in wood, clay and earth that were not necessarily used for residential purposes (8th–9th century).¹⁹ This sequence, when compared with the written sources regarding this area of Rimini, is sufficiently revealing of how changes in property ownership (it is probable that the assets were transferred to the nearby monastery of Sts. Tommaso and Benedetto),²⁰ could also have led to changes, at times radical, in the intended use of the spaces. The creation of a small cemetery during the 7th century that occupied a part of the ancient residential area was not accidental, nor was it the result of the impromptu recycling of space occupied by a ruined building, but the expression of a voluntary functional restructuring of an area no longer used for residential purposes. At the same time, this solution was not a lasting change in function, but it probably saw further changes following a relatively short period of time when the assets were, once again, returned to the secular landowner.²¹ The microhistory of this location is not of any obvious general historical value, but it does illustrate and explain some of the processes undertaken to varying degrees in many other cities of the Exarchate and Pentapolis (or perhaps in the northern Italian peninsula in general). Unfortunately, since the past archaeological investigations of Rimini were primarily interested in the Roman period, no other excellent examples of archaeological sequences depicting changes in land use have been revealed to date. Nevertheless, information has come to light from other historical sources (of varying quality): for example, the importance of ecclesiastical institutions and the role of an elite town that, even in the 8th–9th centuries, was using various instruments of self-representation (tombstones with inscriptions and sarcophagi).²² Equivalent use of this form of media during this period has only been identified in Ravenna and the Venetian lagoon.²³

19 Negrelli, *Rimini*.

20 Negrelli, *Rimini*, pp. 32–33.

21 Ibid., pp. 44–45.

22 Turchini (ed.), *Rimini medievale*, pp. 99–103, 170–173, 177–180, 354–359.

23 Gelichi, “Venice in the early Middle Ages”.

It now remains to examine in closer detail the urban centre of Ravenna that, from as early as the 5th century, was undoubtedly the most important centre in the whole of the northern Adriatic region. Important questions will be addressed, such as: what was the role of this great city between the 7th and 9th centuries and how did it cope with these dynamics?

The role of the Ravenna between the 5th and 7th century and the impact that this role had on its urban fabric (buildings, infrastructure, churches, and seats of power) has been the subject of intense analysis; especially when considering the large number of public buildings from that period that have survived. The 5th and the 6th century represent a moment of extraordinary prosperity for Ravenna. The transfer of the imperial seat certainly had to involve a profound transformation of the urban fabric of the city which had been in strong decline since the 3rd century. The need for new structures (and infrastructure) for the court and its functions (imperial functions at first, then royal, under the Ostrogoth domination) was first addressed in the residential area of the town. New city walls were added to the town's outer perimeter, which dated to the Republican era, greatly expanding the previously established settlement (33 hectares); the construction of the walls was completed as a single intervention and was performed in the first half of the 5th century. The majority of the new spaces were needed for the construction of structures related to power and its manifestations: first the imperial palace, followed by a circus, a porticoed road, and the provincial mint (*Moneta Aurea*). Moreover, many churches and chapels were founded within this new spaces, particularly in the first half of the 5th century, such as the *Basilica Apostolorum*, the Basilica of St. Giovanni Evangelista and the Church of Santa Croce. Thus, the urban landscape of Ravenna changed radically within just a few decades. Even in the following period, during the Ostrogothic reign, Ravenna held the title of capital. Theoderic the Great, king of the Ostrogoths, who was also buried in Ravenna, was without doubt one of the most important patrons funding the restoration and reconstruction of the ancient buildings. Indeed, a number of impressive and richly decorated churches, including St. Apollinare Nuovo (originally dedicated to Christ) and the *ecclesia Gothorum*, were constructed at his or his court's request. Furthermore, it was during this period that the seat of Arian Baptistery was built (while the ancient orthodox baptistery resided within the perimeter of the ancient city walls).²⁴ During this period an imperial port settlement (Classe) was developed south of the city. Although Classe had been the seat of the imperial fleet since the era of Augustus, *civitas classis* (as it is referred to in ancient sources), it only became a populous and active suburb

24 Christie/Gibson, "The City Walls of Ravenna"; Gelichi, "Le mura di Ravenna".

in the 5th century. This has been demonstrated thanks to excavations carried out in the port area, which revealed a series of warehouses and commercial structures arranged along a canal bank developed in this period. In these excavations, archaeologists found an impressive amount of ceramic fragments and amphoras originating from both eastern and western Mediterranean areas. These objects demonstrate the active economic role of the city in this period, certainly one of the most important ports in the Mediterranean during late antiquity, second only to Constantinople. Moreover, the flow of Mediterranean goods transiting from *civitas classis* (and therefore from Ravenna) would not only have been functional to the needs of the court and the elite, but it would have also served the surrounding hinterland. After the restorations promoted by Roman emperor Justinian I (around the mid-6th century), Ravenna maintained an important political role, becoming the seat of the Exarchate of Italy. At the same time, the power of the local church assumed increasing importance, which began to mature its intentions of autonomy. Even during the course of the 7th century, many of the city's important monuments dating to the previous period would have still been functional, such as the circus: in fact, it was in the circus that the Exarch of Ravenna, Isacius, exposed the head of the *chartularius* Mauricius,²⁵ following his capture and execution.

Beginning in the late 7th century, and continuing into the 8th century, the political situation witnessed significant change, strong repercussions of which can be observed in the urban structure. Indeed, it is indisputable that an important turning point occurred in this century – a time when the ancient city experienced profound crisis, culminating in its occupation by Aistulf and the loss of its role as a Byzantine exarchal capital.²⁶ This crisis is reflected in the town's physical structures and in those of nearby urban centres developed during late antiquity. In particular, signs of abandonment are evident in Classe, not in relation to its occupancy, but its functions as a port.²⁷ Here, from the middle of the 7th century, the great warehouses, which had lost their original function, became partially occupied by small houses, built using recycled material.²⁸ Over the course of the 8th century, what was once the great port of the capital became inhabited by a just a few dozen of people, perhaps devoted to artisan crafts:²⁹ the cessation of large international commerce is also evident from the almost complete disappearance of imported materials. Socio-political

25 Cosentino, *Prosopografia*, vol. 2, pp. 356–357.

26 Ravegnani, *I Bizantini in Italia*, pp. 134–135.

27 Augenti, A., “Nuove indagini archeologiche”; Augenti, “Ravenna e Classe”; Augenti (ed.), *La basilica e il monastero di San Severo*.

28 Augenti et al., “Case e magazzini a Classe”.

29 Augenti, “A Tale of Two Cities”.

reasons, but mostly environmental ones, would have accelerated this process of decline. In fact, in the 7th century the coastline was located only 500 meters from the town (it was almost 3 km distant by the 10th century), and the Po Delta was moving increasingly northwards.³⁰ From this perspective, it is not surprising that the cornerstone of the Po Valley's trade shifted significantly to the north, towards the lagoon of Comacchio and the coastal strip leading up to the Venetian lagoon and beyond.

However, this does not mean that the city did not retain (or regain) a prominent role at the institutional level. In fact, the end of the Exarchate had accentuated the autonomous dynamics of the episcopate, which had always represented a peculiar trait of the city's politics;³¹ at the same time, the city was still perceived as an important political centre, to the point of being chosen in the Ottonian age as a representative seat of Italy's imperial power.³²

The loss of Ravenna's function as a great emporium of maritime commerce – a role that the city (and its port) had competently performed from late antiquity until the 6th century and a good part of the 7th century³³ – brought about a socio-economic change that was not insignificant. This 'crisis' was also reflected by the systematic spoliation of the ancient city's buildings.³⁴

Yet economic damage does not necessarily imply economic crisis, it might only signify changes in the city's 'economic strategies.' As is known, since the 5th century the church of Ravenna had been accumulating an imposing amount of wealth in the form of land within the region (for example, in the Ferrara, Romagna and Bologna districts), as well as beyond the limits of the Pentapolis, as far as Istria to the north and Sicily to the south.³⁵ These constituted the new territories of the old city and its aristocracy, which had developed in the shadow of the highest ecclesiastical hierarchy. These land assets were skilfully managed by a class of local notables who were able to continue accumulating and managing wealth. Thus, even the rather large number of churches (forty-one to be exact) founded between the 8th and 10th centuries in Ravenna does not need to be explained or justified by the fact that many of these may have been simple chapels or that the majority of these churches only appear in written sources from the 10th century onwards (as described by Cirelli).³⁶

30 Cirelli, *Ravenna*, p. 163.

31 Savigni, "I papi e Ravenna".

32 Warner, "The Representation of Empire".

33 Cosentino, "L'approvvigionamento".

34 Cirelli, *Ravenna*, pp. 159–160.

35 Cosentino, "L'approvvigionamento".

36 Cirelli, *Ravenna*, pp. 149–153.

3 The New Towns: the Lagoon of Venice and Comacchio

Whilst the Exarchate (and Ravenna) were undergoing an era of crisis, as well as certain other ancient cities near the coast, two new settlements were developing, although they were of marginal significance until the end of late antiquity: the Comacchio lagoon to the south and the Venice lagoon to the north.

During late antiquity, and the early Middle Ages, at least two principal settlements of differing institutional and economic significance emerged and were consolidated in the area immediately south of the Po river – today the province of Ferrara (where the archbishop of Ravenna exercised both ecclesiastical and patrimonial control).

The first, *Vicus Habentia* (Voghenza), founded in Roman times and seat of the first bishopric of this territory (at least since the start of the 5th century),³⁷ was located more in-land with respect to the coastline, along the course of the Sandalo River. Its early medieval history remains unclear; it seems that this centre played an essentially institutional function, which, as a consequence of early crisis, was later transferred to the site that would become Ferrara.³⁸

The second settlement, Comacchio, played a very different role. Built in a newly formed lagoon near the sea, Comacchio made an abrupt appearance in a famous document that dates to the early 8th century: the so-called Capitular of Liutprand. In this document, the inhabitants of Comacchio sign a pact with the Lombards for trade on the Po river and its tributaries.³⁹ Excavations carried out in different areas of the city and its suburbs have revealed evidence of a settlement that was situated over a number of small islands, with a port located to the west and a central area where the seat of the new episcopate was located in the first quarter of the 8th century.⁴⁰ According to the few written sources, an astonishingly short amount of time was required to build Comacchio's cathedral. The Capitular of Liutprand does not indicate that any of the bishops originated from Comacchio (we are, it should be remembered, most probably in 715), while only a few years later, in 723, an inscription provides evidence of the first local bishop, Vincentius.⁴¹ If we take this epigraph as authentic, and if we especially believe that it refers to, as most scholars would like it to, a bishop (or rather, the *primus episcopus*), the fact that it also mentions Felix the Archbishop of Ravenna in the same inscription (and thanks to which we can

37 Benati, "La Chiesa di Ferrara".

38 Gelichi, "*Hodierni vero vocant Ferrariam*".

39 Hartmann, *Zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Italiens*, no. 1, pp. 123–124.

40 Gelichi (ed.), *L'isola del vescovo*; Gelichi et al., "The history of a forgotten town".

41 Gelichi, "*Lupicinus presbiter*".

date the epigraph) is of great interest. The church of Ravenna had controlled these territories for some time, exercising their intent to obtain both political and ecclesiastic domination. However, the explicit reference to Archbishop Felix may implicate that the establishment of an episcopal power in Comacchio was a direct emanation of Ravenna authority, which could be taken as symbolic of the interest that the Ravenna authorities were beginning to manifest towards Comacchio and its increasingly important economic activities.

Archaeological excavations have also revealed significant evidence dating to the late 6th century. For example, an artisan workshop (7th century) that worked metals and glass products (including precious cameos) was located on the site where the episcopal church would be built.⁴² The numerous fragments of 8th–9th century amphoras of eastern origin (especially from the Aegean Sea) confirm the fact that Comacchio was at the centre of international maritime connections (this point will be discussed in more detail later on); indeed, it must have constituted a kind of commercial hub through which Mediterranean goods (such as olive oil, wine, garum, spices and possibly textiles) were transported into Lombard territory. Thus, considering all that has been said, Comacchio was not simply an additional port for Ravenna of little significance, but one that would continue to grow outside its direct control,⁴³ although it would continue to serve the ancient capital.

However, between the Po river and the Venetian lagoon the situation regarding settlements is less clear. Here, despite its ups and downs, the dominance of Adria, an important city of the ancient world, seems to have endured.⁴⁴ The continuity of this urban centre is documented by just a few, yet important, archaeological remains: three epigraphs with references to bishops (two of which are only known about thanks to these remains)⁴⁵ dating from between the 8th and 9th centuries, and the apse of a church (discovered beneath the present cathedral dedicated to Saint Peter) decorated with frescoes, the style of which has enabled the dating of the structure to between the 9th and 10th centuries. However, although Adria remained a bishopric throughout the Middle Ages, written sources indicate that a second settlement started to compete with Adria, at least on an institutional level, from the 9th century onwards. This second settlement was *Gabellum* (Gavello), which was explicitly mentioned in the

42 Gelichi, (ed.), *L'isola del vescovo*.

43 Gelichi, "Societies at the Edge"; Gelichi, "Comacchio: A Liminal Community".

44 Casazza, *Il territorio di Adria*.

45 Canova dal Zio, *Le chiese delle Tre Venezie*, p. 81; Broggi, "8. Adria".

Carolingian period as the base for a *comitatus*.⁴⁶ No archaeological evidence is currently available in relation to this antique settlement.

Beyond the territory of Adria, we have already highlighted how a context of strong urban crisis (or apparent crisis) was underway, which was balanced by a certain vitality of the settlements in the lagoon regions (especially the lagoon of Venice). Still, research has once more focused on a series of interesting interpretative paradigms looking for highly sought-after yet improbable traces of Roman past rather than on the processes that shaped the area's population dynamics during the early Middle Ages.⁴⁷ What has nevertheless become clear is that we must abandon the idea of a lagoon that was extensively and permanently occupied during the Roman period. Archaeology has found no traces of a 'permanent settlement' (as defined by Lech Leciejewicz)⁴⁸ existing before the 5th century, except perhaps in the most northern parts of the lagoon, i.e. those close to Altino.⁴⁹ For example, the earliest sequences arising from the excavation of Olivolo (an island of this archipelago that would later become the site of medieval Venice)⁵⁰ also date back to this period, which would form the seat of an episcopate by the 8th century. Moreover, a series of waterfronts, perhaps constituting a small port, revealed in excavations on the island of San Francesco del Deserto⁵¹ also date to the 5th century; the repetitive nature of these waterfront structures bears witness to the necessity (proposed here for the first time) to contain and protect spaces and thus organise the settlement. The same undoubtedly happened on the island of Torcello, one of the most excavated islands of the Venetian lagoon.⁵² Once again, evidence of waterfronts, houses and roads provide clear signs that the settlement was no longer spontaneous and impromptu; they also indicate the presence of an established settlement well before the establishment of the episcopate (as also occurred on Olivolo), as documented from the 7th century onwards.⁵³

What could have fuelled this change in the relationship between a community and its environment that until that time, had certainly not been seen as inhospitable, but was certainly unsuitable for the site of an organised settlement? The main reasons were probably two-fold. The first, and most important

46 Casazza, *Il territorio di Adria*, pp. 162–168.

47 Dorigo, *Venezia Origini*.

48 Leciejewicz, "Italian-Polish researches".

49 Gelichi/Moine, "Isole fortunate".

50 Tuzzato, "Venezia. Gli scavi a San Pietro di Castello"; Tuzzato et al. "San Pietro di Castello a Venezia".

51 De Min, "Venezia e il territorio lagunare".

52 Leciejewicz/Tabaczyńska/Tabaczyński, *Torcello*.

53 Gelichi, "Venice in the early Middle Ages"; id., "La storia di una nuova città".

was environmental in nature: an environmental change occurred in the period between the 5th and 6th centuries, as indicated by the increased levels of *bitium* (a genus of very small sea snail), indicating that a rise in sea level occurred with its consequent invasion of the lagoon.⁵⁴ This would have created difficulties for the settlement that until then had been the most important within the lagoon complex, i.e. Altino (although the town was not yet abandoned); but, at the same time, it would have made occupation of the more internal sandbanks of the lagoon plexus more favourable. These conditions may have favoured and most likely increased salt production activities – the engine driving the economic development of such areas; as well as the construction of a series of internal support points to aid navigation within the lagoon, which until then had been used to a lesser extent than the routes over firmer ground.

The second factor which most likely drove the evolution of more organised settlements and favoured the flourishing of the lagoon between the 5th and 6th centuries was the need to reinforce the navigation route that connected Ravenna with the ports in the regions of the Adriatic located further north, thus ensuring the supply of foodstuffs from Istria to the new capital. Archaeological evidence of this flourishing (and of the increasing central role that the lagoon was to play in this period) is provided, not only by the traces of the 'stable' settlement mentioned above, but also by the discovery of amphoras and pottery of Mediterranean origin, which have constantly been found in significant quantities in all contexts excavated and studied to date.

The next phase of evolution within this habitat involved a process of selection and centralisation. Some settlements were abandoned (such as San Lorenzo di Ammiana and San Francesco del Deserto), while others were developed through a process of unification of the populations and their functions; some even became seats of institutional significance, such as Torcello (thought to be the seat of a bishopric from 639), Olivolo (where a diocese was established between 774 and 776), and Cittanova (situated on the mainland but in proximity of the lagoon and the seat of a diocese and the first seat of the duchy in the 7th century).

It appears that the northern lagoon and its neighbouring areas played an important role up until the 7th century in terms of settlements, economics and politics (roles that were potentially inherited from Altino). However, beginning in the 8th century, the relocation of the ducal seat into the southern lagoon (the site of Metamauco) indicates that something must have changed in the dynamics of these territories. In fact, this transfer could be related to the central role that the economy of the Po Valley was starting to assume in this

54 Ammerman/McClennen (eds.), *Venice before San Marco*.

period, centred around the Po river and on the commercial system created by the Lombard kings, to which the previously mentioned Capitular of Liutprand and the floruit of Comacchio provide testimony.

It is well-known that the dynamics of competition that had developed within the lagoon resulted in the final transfer of the ducal seat to Rivoalto towards the beginning of the 9th century, giving rise to the process of the construction of a city, i.e. Venice, that would be completed just one century later.⁵⁵ This transfer must have been the result of new changes occurring in the dynamics of domestic politics and economics within Venetian aristocracy, as well as changes in the directions that international economics were taking: a topic which will be discussed in more detail later on.

4 Rural Settlements and Landscapes

Transformations in the topography of the territories in question and in their population dynamics have been studied in various manners, although mainly via the analysis of written sources. These sources have revealed systems of land ownership that differ profoundly to those that would have developed in the same period in the western region of the ancient *Regio VIII*.⁵⁶ The Lombards and the Byzantines would have a marked a political boundary, which would also have had cultural and social consequences, such that even the population's diet was influenced.⁵⁷ Differences would also have been evident in the physical structures that characterise the urban landscape (towns in *Romania* would have been more city-like compared to those of *Langobardia*),⁵⁸ as well as in the organisation of how land was owned, which would have been transferred to more sparsely inhabited environments, with parish churches playing a very strong, aggregative role, if for no other reason than as a locational reference for *massae* and *fundi*.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the Exarchate and Pentapolis land estates would not have known about the curtense system of land management until much later (and even then to a limited extent only), which we know characterised *Langobardia* and a large part of central Italy, in particular from the Carolingian period onwards. In essence, the Exarchate and

55 Gelichi, "Venice in the early Middle Ages".

56 Castagnetti, *L'organizzazione*.

57 Baruzzi/Montanari, *Porci e porcari*, pp. 16–17.

58 Fumagalli, *Città e campagna*.

59 Castagnetti, *L'organizzazione*.

Pentapolis estates constituted a vast massaricio with sporadic islands that were directly managed.⁶⁰

However, these views are the result of radical interpretations that have been 'toned down' over time. Indeed, the cities of *Romania* provide evidence suggesting that the same problems and evolutionary processes occurred as in the cities of *Langobardia*.⁶¹ For example, we have already discussed how recent excavations in the major cities of the Pentapolis, such as Rimini, furnish evidence that forms of re-organisation of living spaces occurred that were not dissimilar to those of the contemporary Lombard cities:⁶² the widespread use of wood as a building material, beaten earth floors, the concentration of inhabited zones along the roadways and the rare use of the internal areas of the old islets. Even the phenomenon of the burials occurring within the confines of a city does not seem to be characterised by specific spatial variation (it occurred in Rimini and Ravenna as it did in Verona and Bologna). In essence, the signs of strong degradation, of a marked variation/decline of the old urban areas towards the rural setting seem to be rather ubiquitous processes. Thus, in order to construct a new hierarchy of the towns in the Middle Ages, we need to focus more on understanding the changes that occurred in the levels of importance held by cities in this period, and, at the same time, work towards identifying other parameters that distinguish the cities.⁶³

A similar process of reviewing the interpretative paradigms should also be applied to studies of the territory as a whole. Indeed, as a consequence of a recent re-analysis of written sources, evidence came to light indicating that it was not exactly true that the easternmost territories of northern Italy were not aware of the forms of land management used in the rest of the region.⁶⁴ Following the careful analysis of such documents, it was revealed that the manorial (curtense) system of land management was actually more diffuse than once thought.⁶⁵ Thus, the use of archaeological sources is critical in order to provide a more solid framework for the demographics described in written sources that are presented in terms of their own protocols and formalisms (which can be ambiguous and indefinite due to the use of terminologies specific to that time). However, this step should not be taken for granted. The attractive force of the plebeian institutions, for example, and their role as organizers of the habitat is clear from the very significant number of early medieval churches

60 Andreolli/Montanari, *L'azienda curtense*, p. 164.

61 Gelichi, "Note sulle città bizantine".

62 Negrelli, *Rimini capitale*.

63 Gelichi, "La città in Italia".

64 Pasquali, *Contadini e signori*.

65 Augenti et al., "L'Italia senza corti?"; Mancassola, *L'azienda curtense*.

still standing in their primitive forms, in Romagna today (a phenomenon that is found only here). Yet this phenomenon could be explained by the conservatism of these areas, which were only marginally affected by the major renovations that produced the Romanesque phenomenon. Moreover, archaeology in the churches of Ravenna has produced good results, but research has been confined to the study and investigation of individual buildings and has not addressed the rural settlement system to which these buildings are connected.⁶⁶ Finally, spatial analysis provides us with some excellent observations about the relationship between churches and settlements,⁶⁷ but these observations refer to the present-day towns and can only provide information about the central centuries of the Middle Ages (when it is sure that locational correspondence exists between current towns and those reported in written sources): in essence, it is not legitimate to apply to the context of early medieval settlements (those that essentially date to the founding of a church) a situation that may only have crystallized around the year 1000.

The archaeological approach is characterised by the almost exclusive use of surveys,⁶⁸ with all the limitations that this kind of research brings with it. Hence, it is not easy to answer the question of whether a different system of land organisation existed, particularly in the vast areas under the direct control of the church of Ravenna, or whether this organisation system led to the development of different types of settlements. The surveys conducted over large surface areas, even when compared with analogous studies performed in the west of the region,⁶⁹ have the disadvantage that the archaeological record becomes increasingly diminished over the course of a long-time scale (for example, settlements can only be detected by the presence of coarse pottery and soapstone); what is more, such surveys are unable to describe in detail, or at most provide only a brief overview, of the habitat's forms and structures: e.g. the settlement's dimensions, the number of residential buildings it contains, the presence of boundaries, how the settlement is organised, and the construction methods used.

Such studies, although performed slightly differently, have produced records that are similar in many ways, and whose salient features can be summarised as follows. After the crisis of the middle/late imperial era (2nd–3rd centuries), a marked reorganisation of settlements occurred, resulting in the total

66 Gelichi /Gabrielli, "Le chiese rurali".

67 Torricelli, *Centri plebani*.

68 Augenti et al., "L'Italia senza corti?"; Gelichi/Librenti/Negrelli, "La transizione dall'antichità al medioevo".

69 Gelichi/Librenti/Negrelli, "La transizione dall'antichità al medioevo".

abandonment of some settlements, the strengthening and transformation of others, and a radical change in the characteristics of the 'material culture.' This transformation has been associated with the loss of importance of small properties and the processes of centralisation of land, leading to the creation of the phenomenon known as *colonnate* during Late Antiquity.⁷⁰ At the same time, we also witness the persistence, but only in a few sites, of houses of better quality, with the remains of mosaic floors and wall coverings in marble *crustae*, which might indicate the presence of luxury residential dwellings even in the countryside which belonged to 5th-century elite figures closely associated with the imperial court. Even in these areas, the locational persistence of many ancient villas/farms has been archaeologically documented up until at least the 6th–7th century. However, the few published excavations indicate a number of processes from which a number of generalisations can be drawn: some of the structures of ancient settlements were either abandoned or the materials salvaged (wood and earth); a decrease occurred in the quality of the 'material culture' with a strong reduction in imported goods; ruins became frequently used as burial grounds (which may indicate changes in how functional spaces were being used or a shift in habitats, with small cemeteries being allocated to non-productive areas). Archaeological documents often appear to provide data that overlap along the temporal dimension; however, this cannot result from the continuous habitation of a settlement, since material evidence also indicates that profound changes occurred in the organisational structures of the settlements, thus they must be read as an expression of a redistribution of functions within a new network of settlements, and it is only within this new framework that its relevant explanation can be found.⁷¹

This situation, which nevertheless tends towards the prevailing stability (at least in terms of location) of inhabited locations, also documents that a change occurred, although not radical or sudden, after the 7th century. In fact from that period onwards, evidence indicates that settlements were subject to further processes of selection, with the inhabited areas of surviving settlements undergoing processes of expansion that reached a peak around the 11th century.⁷² This trend, in line with that postulated for other regions of the peninsula, appears to characterise the early Middle Ages⁷³ and must co-exist with the presence of a scattered settlements, of which traces should also exist.

70 Vera "Dalla *villa perfecta* alla villa di Palladio".

71 Loré, "Rapporti economici e sociali".

72 Augenti et al., "L'Italia senza corti?", pp. 40–41.

73 Francovich/Hodges, *Villa to village*.

5 A Problem of Scale: Communication Routes and Commerce – a Broad Perspective

For some time now, scholars have heavily debated the communication routes and the role of trade and economy in the early Middle Ages in northern Italy. The issue of archaeological visibility plays a significant role in this debate due to the difficulty in combining archaeological ‘invisibility’ with the ambiguity and scarcity of written sources. However, if we reduce this problem to its simplest form, it entails returning to an interpretation based upon the following concept pairs: local versus international; and dirigiste versus free.

We will first discuss with the system of communication routes. It has long been argued that the network of Roman roads fell into disuse during late antiquity, along with many other infrastructures of the ancient world; indeed, this was most probably the case. Poor maintenance and inadequate security are the two most plausible explanations for the loss of the central role of this system in the context of communications. This loss of ‘centrality’ concerns not only the roads that followed the coastline (for example the Via Annia), but also those heading in-land. However, this interpretation must be put into perspective. Many of these routes have certainly survived, to the point that they are still in use today (e.g. the Via Emilia), with an extremely faithful superimposition between the ancient route and modern roads in some places.⁷⁴ If we interpret the degree of survival of ancient cities along the Via Emilia as a sign of continuity (see above, section 2), we can once again notice how almost all of the ancient urban centres along this consular road have survived. We might ask ourselves how they survived, and it would be interesting to compare the cities located on the main ancient roads to those located along the rivers, to see whether any differences in survival exist between the two contexts. However, there is no doubt that many of the main roads built in the ancient world continued to be used and travelled along, even if they were not actively maintained. This does not mean that alternative routes were not also formed, or that excessive importance is placed on routes that were in reality infrequently used, as demonstrated by archaeology in some cases. However, the most striking phenomenon is the increasingly important role played by the roads running parallel to coastline and the rivers as communication routes. The first written sources of evidence referring to the Venice lagoon, also according to Cassiodorus (*Variae*, 12.24), date to the time when it was becoming necessary to supply the new capital, i.e. Ravenna, with food from Istria. Comacchio’s boom in the late Lombard age can be explained by its convenient position between the Adriatic

⁷⁴ See in this volume the chapter by Denis Sami.

Sea and the river network: a highly branched communication network heavily controlled by the extensive presence of state stations, ports and ports-of-call, providing access to many cities in the Po Valley, including its capital Pavia. Nevertheless, we are talking about a phenomenon with scarce archaeological visibility, one that can only be detected indirectly. Nothing is currently known about the early medieval boats that had to travel up river, probably due to the low preservability of wooden planking. Still, indirect evidence of this process exists thanks to the high number of monossili (boats made from hollowed-out tree trunks that were more readily preserved) exposed along the shores of rivers and in coastal lagoons. In the past, these simple boats have generally been assigned to the proto-historic era; but a more recent series of ¹⁴C analyses have shown that these boats mainly date to the early Middle Ages. Monossili were certainly not used (or at least not solely) to transport goods along the Po and its tributaries (these boats were more functional in lakes and lagoons), but their presence still provides evidence of an increase in the use of river/lake communication routes at that time.

The port structures (docks, platforms) and those constructed to contain the river banks were also made of wood (and not of stone and/or brick as in Roman times), and are therefore very difficult to detect traces of today. This applies not only to the river ports, but also to the seaports, of which all archaeological records appear to have completely disappeared.⁷⁵ A rather interesting example of how such ports may have been made is evident in Comacchio. Excavations and archaeological research on the outskirts of the town's historic centre have in fact brought to light a series of wooden infrastructures associated with warehouses, which recall the ports of northern Europe of the same period more than those of ancient times.

Finally, another indirect way to investigate these ancient communication routes is to look for traces of the goods that were transported. Yet once again, the situation is far from simple. Many products, such as foodstuffs and salt, are scarcely traceable. Fortunately, during the course of the 8th and 9th centuries, amphorae produced in the eastern Mediterranean (and in particular in the Aegean islands) continued to circulate. Used to contain wine (and maybe even oil), the remains of these vessels provide very good indicators for identifying the direction and ramifications of the trade routes in operation.⁷⁶

A second problem concerns the types of economic activities that must have characterised these areas. The well-known debate regarding whether a kind of free market existed during late antiquity continues even today. Some scholars think that the movement of goods happened mainly as part of the

75 Gelichi, "Infrastrutture marittime".

76 Gelichi/Negrelli, "Anfore e commerci"; Gelichi/Negrelli, "Ceramiche e circolazione".

annona distribution system, while others are more open to the possibility that a free market executed by merchants also existed in addition to the annona. The problem becomes more complicated as we approach the 7th–10th centuries. There is unanimous agreement that a drastic reduction in Mediterranean trade occurred, with the return of extremely small-scale commercial network: the possibility of diverse forms/models of exchange cannot be ruled out. There is the problem of the applicability of certain models to the past. It is well-known that debates about the concept of the ‘market’ have become more radical over time, with two main positions being held: that of the so-called ‘formalists’ and that of the ‘substantivists.’ The first recognises that the law of supply and demand, which regulates modern economies, may also be applied to ancient societies. In essence, the formalists consider the economies of the past as a kind of underdeveloped form of ours. Instead, the substantivists, influenced by the theories of Max Weber, argue that social conditions play a major role in shaping such phenomena, even if they might first appear to be driven solely by economic rationalism; thus, trade would also have been integrated and structured within the social context in which they developed. Moreover, societies (and moments in history) exist in which the principle of the market (as defined by the formalists) either does not exist or exists in very marginal forms with respect to trade.

Thus, the question to ask is whether a form of international trade existed within the multitude of possible trade systems in operation between the 7th and 9th centuries in northern Italy: how was it configured and through what form of economic system were these products exchanged/transported? Once again, various opinions exist. For example, some scholars have simply attributed the evidence of vigorous trade occurring between the 8th and 9th century within the Po Valley to the economic floruit of its systems at that time (that would not have been affected by international trade).⁷⁷ Luxury goods would still have been in circulation, independent of the existence of a network of trading relationships between the Adriatic and the Mediterranean. Chris Wickham sustains that the circulation of what he calls ‘bulk utilitarian commodities’ collapsed.⁷⁸ Hodges, from a wider Adriatic perspective (based, in particular, on data obtained from Butrint, Albania), is of the opinion that the dynamism of the 8th century was limited to trade of more modest dimensions,⁷⁹ adhering to

77 Balzaretti, “Cities, Emporia and Monasteries”.

78 Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*.

79 Hodges, “Adriatic Sea Trade”.

an essentially ecological interpretation of the maritime trade connections,⁸⁰ with significant developments only occurring at the dawn of the Carolingian period, when specific trade routes would have assumed greater international importance. However, Cosentino has rightly highlighted that the economic system of Ravenna would have acted independently with respect to the framework outlined above.⁸¹

From this perspective, the rise and flourish of centres such as Comacchio (in the 8th century) and the Venice lagoon (8th and 9th centuries) would seem to have occurred during episodes of 'reduced vigour'; i.e., places of power were called to fulfil a role of international trade that was, however, restricted and limited to an essentially regional area.⁸² The fact remains that cases like Comacchio (and, a little later, Venice) constitute episodes that cannot be inserted into such a picture. The archaeological records, at least in the case of Comacchio, show that the town's development was as rapid as it was unusual, with investments being made that required a certain level of commitment, such as the opening (and maintenance) of the artificial channel that connected the city to the town of Motta della Girata on the Pado Vetere (a branch of the Po river). The number of the amphoras (for which similar ones are only, unsurprisingly, found in the Venetian lagoon) also seems to follow the same trend. Thus, we are dealing with centres that were not yet part of the Mediterranean trade system and that had not yet come into contact with Mediterranean merchandise, as it was still being transported by foreign intermediaries (and perhaps, in part, by the *annona militaris*) that were nevertheless surviving at the periphery of the Exarchate (indeed, from that time onwards the Venice lagoon became increasingly autonomous).

Another important point of discussion regards the degree of autonomy that these centres held. In relation to Comacchio, its close proximity to Ravenna and its established economic network would certainly have constituted important aspects that should not be underestimated. However, it is more likely that the origins of Comacchio's *floruit* lay outside that system; at least in part and at the beginning. The fact that the archdiocese made a rather late attempt (as discussed above) to establish an episcopal seat in Comacchio (in approximately the first quarter of the 8th century) supports that this undoubtedly occurred after the time of the Capitular of Liutprand. In my opinion, it would be highly limiting to interpret this event as being solely anti-Roman in

80 Horden/Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*.

81 Cosentino, "Ricchezza e investimento".

82 Gelichi, "The eels of Venice".

its function; rather, it exposes the concern of the ecclesiastical aristocracy of Ravenna (which had only recently recovered from a serious crisis), provoking them to intervene in the affairs of a centre that had the potential to impose itself as an autonomous political player against the kingdom.

A change must have taken place in the first decades of the 9th century. The political framework had transformed: the lands held by the Byzantines were increasingly distant, and the Italian peninsula – now part of the Carolingian Empire – was less interested in Comacchio and more interested in getting the most out of places such as the Venice lagoon. Indeed, was no surprise that the Carolingians tried in vain to conquer Venice. The attempts failed and instead a truce was negotiated. After the Treaty of Aachen between the Franks and the Byzantines, the Venetian aristocracies, now living in the heart of the lagoon and endowed with a significant inheritance (all that remained of the Byzantine fleet and the know-how to equip warships), were able to present themselves as authoritative and important representatives of the new rulers. Soon after, the Venetians would begin coining silver Carolingian denarii, indicating very clearly the market they were aiming at. They continued in this expansive manner, first by liberating themselves from their now weaker competitor (Comacchio), then striving to expand their control and dominance over the northern region of the Adriatic Sea (with Istria becoming a protectorate in the 10th century). Their sudden rise in authority was due to the fact that other ships and foreign merchants could no longer reach the Adriatic coast with their products; only the Venetian merchants and ships, protected by an impressive military fleet, were able to sail the Adriatic and, before long, the Mediterranean too. It was the dawn of a new and historic era.

Bibliography

- Ammerman, A.J./McClennen, C.E. (eds.), *Venice before San Marco. Recent Studies on the Origins of the City*, Colgate 2001.
- Andreolli, B./Montanari, M., *L'azienda curtense in Italia. Proprietà della terra e lavoro contadino nei secoli VIII–XI*, Bologna 1983.
- Asolati M., “Altino tardoantica: una prospettiva numismatica”, in M. Tirelli (ed.), *Altino antica. Dai Veneti a Venezia*, Venezia 2011, p. 179.
- Augenti, A., “A Tale of Two Cities. Rome and Ravenna Between 7th and 9th century AD”, in S. Gasparri (ed.), 774. *Ipotesi su una transizione*, Turnhout 2008, pp. 175–198.
- Augenti, A., (ed.), *La basilica e il monastero di San Severo a Classe. La storia, gli scavi*, Ravenna 2007.

- Augenti, A., "Nuove indagini archeologiche a Classe", in *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale* (Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di studio sull'alto medioevo), vol. 1, Spoleto 2005, pp. 237–252.
- Augenti, A., "Ravenna e Classe: archeologia di due città tra la tarda Antichità e l'alto Medioevo", in id., (ed.), *Le città italiane tra la Tarda Antichità e l'Alto medioevo*, Florence 2006, pp. 185–216.
- Augenti, A./Cirelli, E./Marino, D., "Case e magazzini a Classe tra VII e VIII secolo: nuovi dati del quartiere portuale (scavi 2002–2005)", in G. Volpe/P. Favia (eds.), *V Congresso di Archeologia medievale*, Florence 2009, pp. 138–144.
- Augenti, A./De Brasi, G./Ficara M./Mancassola N., "L'Italia senza corti? L'insediamento rurale in Romagna tra VI e IX secolo", in G.P. Brogiolo/A. Chavarria Arnau/M. Valenti (eds.), *Dopo la fine delle ville: le campagne dal VI al IX secolo*, Mantova 2005, pp. 17–52.
- Balzaretti, R., "Cities, Emporia and Monasteries: Local Economies in the Po Valley, c. AD 700–875", in N. Christie/S.T. Loseby (eds.), *Towns in Transition. Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Aldershot 1996, pp. 213–234.
- Baruzzi, M./Montanari, M., *Porci e porcari nel medioevo*, Bologna 1981.
- Benati, A., "La Chiesa di Ferrara tra Tardo Antico e Alto Medioevo (secc. IV–VIII)", in A. Benati/A. Samaritani, *La Chiesa di Ferrara nella storia della città e del suo territorio*, Ferrara 1989, pp. 3–27.
- Broggi, M.M., "8. Adria", in S. Lusuardi Siena (ed.), "Le tracce materiali del Cristianesimo dal tardo antico al Mille", in A. Castagnetti/G.M. Varanini (ed.), *Il Veneto nel medioevo. Dalla "Venetia" alla marca Veronese*, vol. 2, Verona 1989, pp. 251–255.
- Calaon, D., "Altino (VE): strumenti diagnostici (GIS e DTM) per l'analisi delle fasi tardoantiche e altomedievali", in A. Zaccaria Ruggiu (ed.), *Le missioni archeologiche dell'Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia. V Giornata di Studio*, Venice 2006, pp. 143–158.
- Canova dal Zio, R., *Le chiese delle Tre Venezie anteriori al Mille*, Padua 1987.
- Casazza, L., *Il territorio di Adria tra VI e X secolo*, Padua 2001.
- Castagna, D./Tirelli, M., "Evidenze archeologiche di Oderzo tardo antica e altomedievale: i risultati preliminari di recenti indagini", in G.P. Brogiolo (ed.), *Città, castelli, campagne nei territori di frontiera (secoli VI–VII)*, Mantova 1995, pp. 121–134.
- Castagnetti, A., *L'organizzazione del territorio rurale nel medioevo. Circostrizioni ecclesiastiche e civili nella "Langobardia" e nella "Romania"*, Torino 1979.
- Christie, N./Gibson, S., "The City Walls of Ravenna", *Papers of the British School at Rome* 56 (1988), 157–196.
- Cirelli, E., *Ravenna: archeologia di una città*, Florence 2008.
- Cosentino, S., "L'approvvigionamento annonario di Ravenna dal V all'VIII secolo: l'organizzazione e i riflessi socio-economici", in *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale*, 2 vol. (Atti del XVII Convegno Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto medioevo), Ravenna 2005 pp. 405–434.
- Cosentino, S., *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina (493–804)*, 2 vols., Bologna 1996–2000.

- Cosentino, S., "Ricchezza e investimento della Chiesa di Ravenna tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo", in S. Gelichi, R. Hodges (eds.), *From One Sea to Another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2012, pp. 418–439.
- Cresci Marrone, G./Cipriano, S., "Il II e il III secolo d. C.: la crisi?", in M. Tirelli (ed.), *Altino antica. Dai Veneti a Venezia*, Venice 2011, pp. 161–163.
- Croce Da Villa, P./Di Filippo Balestrazzi, E. (eds.), *Concordia Sagittaria. Tremila anni di Storia*, Concordia Sagittaria 2001.
- De Min, M., "Venezia e il territorio lagunare", in *Ritrovare restaurando. Rinvenimenti e scoperte a Venezia e in laguna*, Venice 2000, pp. 15–25.
- Diehl, Ch., *Études sur l'administration byzantine dans l'exarchat de Ravenna (568–751)*, New York 1958 (1st edition 1888).
- Dorigo, W., *Venezia Origini. Fondamenti, ipotesi, metodi*, Milan 1983.
- Francovich, R./Hodges, R., *Villa to Village. The Transformation of the Roman Countryside in Italy, c. 400–1000*, London 2003.
- Fumagalli, V., *Città e campagna nell'Italia medievale. Il Centro-Nord. Secoli VI–XIII*, Bologna 1979.
- Gelichi, S., "Comacchio: A Liminal Community in a Nodal Point during the Early Middle Ages", in S. Gelichi/S. Gasparri (eds.), *Venice and Its Neighbors from the 8th to 11th Century. Through Renovation and Continuity*, Leiden 2018, pp. 142–167.
- Gelichi, S., "Hodierni vero vocant Ferrariam. Il mito delle origini antiche di una città e l'archeologia", *Annali Online di Ferrara – Lettere*, 1 (2012), 1–19.
- Gelichi, S., "Infrastrutture marittime nell'alto medioevo: una prospettiva archeologica", in *L'acqua nei secoli altomedievali* (Settimane CISAM, 55), Spoleto 2008, pp. 283–317.
- Gelichi, S., "La città in Italia tra VI e VIII secolo: riflessioni dopo un trentennio di dibattito archeologico", in A. García/R. Izquierdo/L. Olmo Enciso (eds.), *Espacios urbanos en Occidente Mediterráneo (s. VI–VIII)*, Toledo 2010, pp. 65–85.
- Gelichi, S., "La storia di una nuova città attraverso l'archeologia: Venezia nell'alto medioevo", in V. West-Harling, V. (ed.), *Three Empires, three cities. Identity, material culture and legitimacy in Venice, Ravenna and Rome, 750–1000*, Turnhout 2015, pp. 51–98.
- Gelichi, S., "Le mura di Ravenna", in *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcate*, 2 vol. (Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di studio sull'alto medioevo), Spoleto 2005, pp. 821–840.
- Gelichi, S., "Le origini di Venezia", in J.-J. Aillagon (ed.), *Roma e Barbari. La nascita di un nuovo mondo*, Milan 2008, pp. 584–587.
- Gelichi, S. (ed.), *L'isola del vescovo. Gli scavi intorno alla Cattedrale di Comacchio*, Florence 2009.
- Gelichi, S., "Lupicinus presbiter. Una breve nota sulle istituzioni ecclesiastiche comacchiesi delle origini", in G. Barone/A. Esposito/C. Frova (eds.), *Ricerca come incontro. Archeologi, paleografi e storici per Paolo Delogu*, Rome 2013, pp. 41–60.

- Gelichi, S., "Note sulle città bizantine dell'Esarcato e della Pentapoli tra IV e IX secolo", in G.P. Brogiolo (ed.), *Early Medieval Towns in the Western Mediterranean*, Mantova 1996, pp. 66–76.
- Gelichi, S., "Societies at the Edge: new cities in the Adriatic sea during the early middle ages (8th–9th centuries)", in S. Gelichi/R. Hodges (eds.), *New Directions in early Medieval European Archaeology: Spain and Italy compared. Essays for Riccardo Francovich*, Turnhout 2015, pp. 285–299.
- Gelichi, S., "The eels of Venice. The long eight century of the emporia of northern region along the Adriatic coast", in S. Gasparri (ed.), 774. *Ipotesi su una transizione*, Turnhout 2008 pp. 81–117.
- Gelichi S., "Venice in the early middle ages. The material structures and society of 'civitas aput rivoaltum' between the 9th and 10th centuries", in La Rocca, C./Majocchi, P. (eds.), *Urban identities in Northern Italy (800–1100 ca.)*, Turnhout 2015, pp. 251–271.
- Gelichi, S./Calaon, D./Grandi, E./Negrelli, C., "The history of a forgotten town: Comacchio and its archaeology", in S. Gelichi/R. Hodges (eds.), *From One Sea to Another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2012, pp. 169–205.
- Gelichi, S./Gabrielli, R., "Le chiese rurali tra V e VI secoli. L'Emilia Romagna", in *Chiese e insediamenti nelle campagne tra V e VI secolo*, Mantova 2003, pp. 245–266.
- Gelichi, S./Librenti, M./Negrelli, C., "La transizione dall'antichità al medioevo nel territorio dell'antica Regio VIII", in G.P. Brogiolo/A. Chavarria Arnau/M. Valenti (eds.), *Dopo la fine delle ville: le campagne dal VI al IX secolo* (11 seminario sul Tardo Antico e l'Alto Medioevo), Mantova 2005, pp. 53–80.
- Gelichi, S./Miari, M./Negrelli, C. (eds.), *Ritmi di transizione. Il colle Garampo tra civitas e castrum: progetto archeologico e primi risultati*, Florence 2009.
- Gelichi, S./Moine, C. (eds.), "Isole fortunate? La storia della laguna nord di Venezia attraverso lo scavo di San Lorenzo di Ammiana", *Archeologia Medievale* 39 (2012), 9–56.
- Gelichi, S./Negrelli, C., "Anfore e commerci nell'alto Adriatico tra VIII e IX secolo", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Âge* 13/2 (2008), 307–326.
- Gelichi, S./Negrelli, C., "Ceramiche e circolazione delle merci nell'Adriatico tra VII e X secolo", in *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Cerámica Medieval*, Ciudad Real 2009, pp. 49–62.
- Guillou, A., "L'Italia bizantina dall'invasione longobarda alla caduta di Ravenna", in P. Delogu/A. Guillou/G. Ortalli, *Longobardi e Bizantini (Storia d'Italia edited by G. Galasso, 1)*, Turin 1980, pp. 220–227.
- Guillou, A., *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'Empire Byzantin au VII^e siècle. L'exemple de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie* (Istituto Italiano per il Medioevo, Studi Storici, fasc. 75–76), Rome 1969.

- Hartmann, L.M., *Zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Italiens im frühen Mittelalter. Analekten*, Gotha 1904.
- Hodges, R., "Adriatic Sea Trade in an European perspective", in S. Gelichi/R. Hodges (eds.), *From One Sea to Another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2012 pp. 207–234.
- Horden, P./Purcell, N., *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History*, Oxford 2000.
- La Rocca, C., "Città scomparse in area veneta nell'alto medioevo: dati archeologici, fonti scritte e memoria storiografica", in G.P. Brogiolo/P. Delogu (eds.), *L'Adriatico dalla tarda antichità all'età carolingia*, Florence 2005, pp. 287–307.
- La Rocca, C., "Un vescovo a la sua città. Le trasformazioni tardoantiche e altomedievali di Concordia (secoli IV–X)", in Croce Da Villa, P./Di Filippo Balestrazzi, E. (eds.), *Concordia Sagittaria*, Padua 2001, pp. 287–299.
- Leciejewicz, L., "Italian-Polish researches into the origin of Venice", *Archaeologica Polona* 40 (2002), 51–71.
- Leciejewicz, L./Tabaczyńska, E./Tabaczyński, S., *Torcello. Scavi 1961–62*, Rome 1977.
- Loré, V., "Rapporti economici e sociali nelle campagne fra VI e IX secoli: i temi storiografici", in G.P. Brogiolo/A. Chavarria Arnau/M. Valenti (eds.), *Dopo la fine delle ville: le campagne dal VI al IX secolo* (11 seminario sul Tardo Antico e l'Alto Medioevo), Mantova 2005, pp. 337–338.
- Mancassola, N., *L'azienda curtense tra Langobardia e Romania. Rapporto di lavoro e patti colonici dall'età carolingia al Mille*, Bologna 2008.
- Miari, M./Negrelli, C. (eds.), *Ritmi di transizione 2. Dal Garampo al Foro Annonario: ricerche archeologiche 2009–2013*, Florence 2016.
- Mozzi, P./Fontana, A./Ferrarese, F./Ninfo, A., "Geomorfologia e trasformazione del territorio", in M. Tirelli (ed.), *Altino antica. Dai Veneti a Venezia*, Venice 2011, pp. 12–17.
- Negrelli, C., *Rimini Capitale. Strutture insediative, sociali ed economiche tra V e VIII secolo*, Florence 2008.
- Ortalli, G., "Venezia dalle origini a Piero II Orseolo", in P. Delogu/A. Guillou/G. Ortalli, *Longobardi e Bizantini*, Torino 1980, pp. 339–438.
- Palermo, L./Salvini, M., "Le attività del porto romano di Ancona tra V e VIII secolo", in Gelichi, S./Negrelli, C. (eds.), *Adriatico altomedievale (VI–XI secolo). Scambi, porti, produzioni* (Studi e Ricerche, 4), Venice 2017, pp. 159–188.
- Pasquali G., *Contadini e signori della Bassa. Insediamenti e "deserta" del Ravennate e del Ferrarese nel Medioevo*, Bologna 1995.
- Possenti, E., "L'età tardo antica e altomedievale (IV secolo d. C.–639 d. C.)", in M. Tirelli (ed.), *Altino antica. Dai Veneti a Venezia*, Venice 2011, pp. 173–177.
- Ravegnani, G., *I Bizantini in Italia*, Bologna 2004.

- Savigni, R., "I papi e Ravenna. Dalla caduta dell'esarcato alla fine del secolo X", in A. Carile (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna. Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, vol. 2/2. *Ecclesiologia, cultura e arte*, Venice 1992, pp. 331–368.
- Tirelli, M. 2003, *Il Museo Archeologico Nazionale e le aree archeologiche di Altino*, Cittadella 2003.
- Torricelli, M.P., *Centri plebani e strutture insediative nella Romagna medievale*, Bologna 1989.
- Turchini, A. (ed.), *Rimini medievale. Contributi per la storia della città*, Rimini 1992.
- Tuzzato S./Favero, V./Vinals, M.J., "San Pietro di Castello a Venezia. Nota preliminare dopo la campagna 1992", *Quaderni di Archeologia del Veneto* 9(1993), 72–80.
- Tuzzato, S., "Venezia. Gli scavi a San Pietro di Castello (Olivolo). Nota preliminare sulle campagne 1986–1989", *Quaderni di Archeologia del Veneto* 7 (1991), 92–103.
- Vera, D., "Dalla 'villa perfecta' alla villa di Palladio: sulle trasformazioni del sistema agrario in Italia fra Principato e Domicato", *Athenaeum* 83 (1995), 189–211.
- Ward Perkins, B., "The towns of northern Italy: rebirth or renewal?" in R. Hodges/B. Hobley (eds.), *The Rebirth of Towns in the West AD 700–1050*, London 1988 pp. 16–27.
- Warner, D.A., "The Representation of Empire: Otto I at Ravenna", in B. Weiler/S. MacLean (eds.), *Representation of Power in Medieval Germany 800–1500*, Turnhout 2006, pp. 121–140.
- Wickham, C., *Framing the Early Middle Ages. Europe and Mediterranean, 400–800*, Oxford 2005.

Rome and the Roman Duchy

Alessandra Molinari

The study of Rome and Latium is critical to understanding the end of the ancient world and/or its transition to the Middle Ages, and this is true in the field of archaeology as well as history. The scholarship, however, is divided into two opposing currents of thought. Some hold the view that an unmistakable regression took place in the area of Latium between late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, while others lay more emphasis on aspects of continuity and consider, rather, that the high imperial age was the real exception in the history of the settlement of this part of Italy.¹ Even in the case of Rome itself, while everyone agrees that from the second half of the 5th century the city underwent demographic decimation as compared to the previous century, some historians give particular emphasis to aspects of decline, while others focus more on conscious transformations (for example, the building of numerous churches) the continuity of some sectors of the economy and overall urban structure.² The reasons for these very divergent interpretations may often be found in the different approaches adopted by historians who are clearly divided between those who give more weight to political history, and those interested in long-term socio-economic phenomena. For instance, while the former have tended to focus, after the arrival of the Lombards in Italy, on the permanent state of war, the creation of more or less stable borders or the construction of fortifications, the latter have preferred to reflect on the structures of control and organization of the countryside, on the relationship between Rome and its surrounding territory and on economic and demographic trends. An important factor in the discussion of the phenomena under question is the debate over the gradual acquisition of public functions and powers by the popes,

1 The opposing views are expressed in Hodges/Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne* and in Moreland, "The Farfa survey". For a brief survey of the history of the scholarship see Molinari, "Siti rurali e poteri signorili".

2 For the history of Rome, especially its material aspects, I refer the reader to the main surveys: Andaloro et al., *Santa Maria Antiqua*; Arena et al. (eds.), *Roma dall'antichità*; Carbonetti Vendittelli/Carocci/Molinari, *Il medioevo nelle città italiane*; Fiocchi Nicolai, *Strutture funerarie*; Geertman (ed.), *Il Liber Pontificalis*; Krautheimer, *Rome, Profile of a City*; Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'Altomedioevo*; Paroli/Vendittelli (eds.), *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo*; Vauchez, *Roma medievale*; Wickham, *Roma medievale*.

which had to compensate the growing separation from the imperial court in Constantinople. The most recent scholarship recognizes that it was above all during the 8th century that the popes definitively assumed the total sum of public prerogatives. Finally, we need to remember how, in the view of some scholars, a source like the *Liber pontificalis* has made the non-ecclesiastical initiatives harder to detect.³

In illustrating what we know about the city of Rome and the territory of Latium from the available archaeological sources, let begin by saying that the archaeology is able by now to distinguish pretty clearly the 6th–7th from the 8th centuries, both in the city and the countryside. While the first two centuries seem to show more continuity with those that came before, elements of discontinuity are much more evident in the 8th century.

1 The City of Rome

The Einsiedeln Itinerary, a sort of guide to the monuments of Rome, derived from a text that was probably composed during the second half of the 8th century, provides an idea of the most significant monuments in the early medieval city.⁴ The great circuit of the Aurelian walls, around 19 km long, remains a fundamental reference structure, and the various routes suggested in the text all start from ten of the main city gates (only the Ostiense gate is not mentioned, possibly due to an omission in the copy) and listing in equal detail churches (in particular the great basilicas, titular churches and *diaconiae*) ancient public monuments (especially baths, basilicas, theatres, triumphal arches, but not temples). The coexistence of the old and new side by side and the continuous re-elaboration of spaces are, in fact, distinguishing features of the old imperial capital.

Elements of crisis but also of a city in transformation were obviously numerous. In the 4th century, although it was no longer the capital of the empire, Rome was a fully functioning city with a population that the most generous estimates have put at around 800,000. The Christian presence which had been barely perceptible before the time of Constantine during the 4th and 5th centuries became a widespread reality both inside the city (cathedral of Saint John in the Lateran, titular churches, great basilicas, monasteries) and outside the

3 On these topics see for example, Delogu, “The Papacy, Rome and the wider world” and Coates-Stephens, “La committenza edilizia bizantina”, as well as the essays in Geertman (ed.), *Il Liber Pontificalis*.

4 See the essay by Bellardini/Delogu in Geertman (ed.), *Il Liber Pontificalis*, pp. 205–224.

walls (basilicas and oratories dedicated to martyrs and cemeteries).⁵ The presence in the suburbs of places of special veneration represented new attraction sites that had not existed in the ancient city: the most significant examples are obviously Saint Peter's and Saint Paul's Basilicas. However, the 5th century in Rome was marked by numerous contrasting events. In addition to being sacked no less than three times, in 410, 455 and 472, the city suffered a veritable demographic collapse which accelerated between the end of the 5th century and the Gothic War. According to the most reliable estimates, the population declined to around 60,000 inhabitants and later fell even further to 20–30,000 during the Carolingian age. The picture that emerges is one rich in contradictions: at the same time as various public and private buildings were being abandoned, we also find that many churches were built, even monumental ones – for example, Saint Mary Major – along with an attempt to keep up appearances in the city through restoration projects, many undertaken by Theodoric, and even the construction of monumental facades to hide the decay lying behind them, such as in the basilica *Aemilia* in the Forum. While the senatorial aristocracy was impoverished it continued to represent the ruling elite in the city which was governed by a *praefectus urbi*.

As has been stated, the Gothic War (535–553) did much to accelerate the urban crisis, and to address this a number of specific counter measures were included in the Pragmatic Sanction (554). Systematic archaeological excavation at various sites within the urban perimeter and the suburbs, along with a re-reading of the sources, have made it possible to reconstruct a highly variegated picture of Rome between the 6th and 7th centuries.⁶ In the first place, unlike what was believed until quite recently, the city did not suddenly shrink to the area inside the bend of the Tiber, but continued to be inhabited in discontinuous patches: populated areas alternated with abandoned zones of great rubbish heaps, quarries for building materials and necropolises. The heart of the city continued to be the ancient Forum where as late as 608 a column was erected in honour of the emperor Phocas. The imperial Fora, on the other hand, suffered different fates. The Fora of Trajan and Nerva probably continued to be used and maintained while the others were soon turned into quarries or burial places. The last *venationes* were held in the Coliseum in 523 and later the building was converted to other uses (perhaps of a public nature). The imperial palace on the Palatine hill continued to be kept up though some

5 On the Christianisation of Rome see especially the survey by Fiocchi Nicolai, *Strutture funerarie* and Spera, "Le forme della cristianizzazione".

6 Archaeological and historical data on the main areas and monuments are treated exhaustively in Meneghini/Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'Altomedioevo*.

sections of it were abandoned. This was where the city's most important officials resided; the exarchs of Ravenna stayed here when they came to Rome, and even Constans II on his visit to the city in 663. Alongside these focal points of the ancient city, growth continued around the religious poles of the Lateran, where beside the cathedral the *episcopium* (the Bishop's palace, the pope's official residence) was located, and on the other side of the Tiber the area of the Vatican.

Burial customs and the cults of saints also underwent important transformations. In the suburbs, the Christians' ancient communal cemeteries, the catacombs, ceased to be used. Inside the catacombs, however, the most venerated martyrs' burial sites received special devotion with the creation of oratorios and walking itineraries to reach them (the walls are still covered with pilgrims' graffiti). From time to time churches were erected whose construction involved considerable cost and effort such as Saint Lawrence (579–590) and Saint Agnes (625–638) outside the Aurelian walls. Until the 7th century burials continued to take place in the great cemetery basilicas outside the city, though funerary epigraphs are largely absent from this period. However, beginning in the 5th century burials also began to be practiced systematically inside the urban area where once they had been strictly prohibited. Burials *in urbe*, which appear sporadically as early as the 5th century, are found between the 6th and 7th centuries in many sites within the city which were both once private or public. These are sometimes large-scale cemeteries (such as that of the Coliseum valley), but also small groups of burials or isolated internments. During this period there does not seem to have been a complete public control on funerary practices, nor were funerals fully administered by ecclesiastical institutions (as they would be later, from the 8th century on). A comparison with the period before the 5th century shows that attitudes in the matter of funerary practices and customs had changed significantly. People began living in closer proximity to the dead, who were often next door.

With regard to religious beliefs, another significant development was the conversion, rather late, of public buildings into churches. One of the most emblematic cases in the first decades of the 7th century is the transformation of the *Curia senatus*, the legendary meeting place of the Roman senate in the Forum, into the church of Saint Hadrian. As is well known a very important pagan temple to be transformed into a place of Christian worship, without however undergoing any architectural alterations, was the Pantheon which in 609 became the church of Saint Mary *ad Martyres*.

From a cultural perspective, during the centuries in question Rome forged increasingly stronger ties with the Graeco-Byzantine world. These were nourished by direct relations with Constantinople but also by migratory flows of

highly cultivated clergy fleeing areas of religious dispute or Muslim invasion. It is no coincidence that between 678 and 752 of a total of fifteen popes no less than eleven came from the east. In addition, it has recently been suggested that members of the Byzantine elite or the Byzantine government itself founded churches which, not mentioned in the *Liber pontificalis*, can be dated by various pieces of evidence to the period between 554 and 751.⁷ In particular, this category might include the many churches dedicated to the *Theotokos* or to soldier-saints who had not been previously venerated in Rome, like Saint Theodore and the Saints Sergius and Bacchus. Byzantine influences also made themselves felt in various fields of artistic and material production such as liturgical objects, but also objects of everyday use like ceramics.

Nowadays it is widely agreed that many aspects of the city's administration (for example, the maintenance of walls and aqueducts) remained in the hands of public civil authorities and had not yet been completely absorbed by the popes until the 8th century. Extremely important archaeological evidence of lay officials linked to the Byzantine government between the 7th and 8th centuries are the group of lead seals, found in the excavation at the *Crypta Balbi*, which must have been associated with documents that were possibly once kept in the nearby monastery of Saint Lawrence in *Pallacinis*.⁸ Thus, during the 7th century we begin to see that a new governing elite emerged while the old senatorial aristocracy was mostly extinct. This new group defined itself through the performance of military and civilian functions but also through its relationship with various ecclesiastical institutions.

Very little is known about the structure of dwellings in the 6th and 7th centuries, but it is very likely that people mainly continued to inhabit partly and in simpler forms the ancient *domus* and *insulae*. There is no sign yet in Rome of completely new types of buildings as may be seen in many parts of Italy. In a few isolated cases new floors were still being laid in *opus sectile* in the 7th century (one of which was found in a *domus* on the Aventine hill). It is also interesting to compare the archaeological record with what we can gather from sources such as (again) the *Liber pontificalis*. For example, multi-year excavations on the Caelian hill have shown that many aristocratic *domus* were abandoned early on, 5th–6th centuries; yet the *Liber* tells us that many popes between the 6th and 7th centuries had their residences on this very hill.⁹ As

7 See Coates-Stephens, "La committenza edilizia bizantina".

8 See Marazzi's essay in Arena et al. (eds.), *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo*, pp. 257–265.

9 See for example the essay by Santangeli Valenzani in Geertman (ed.), *Il Liber Pontificalis*, pp. 225–234.



FIGURE 13.1 The seal of *Theophylactos patrikios kai exarchos* from *Crypta Balbi* – Rome (8th c.) (after Arena et al., *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo*, p. 265)

was mentioned earlier, the urban landscape must have been marked by a patchwork of inhabited areas alternating with spaces in ruins.

With regard to economic activity, consumption, commercial exchange and artisan production the evidence paints a very contrasting picture. The archaeology shows how sizeable quantities of goods continued to arrive in Rome throughout the entire 7th century, despite the state of ongoing war. Ceramic tableware (African Red Slip Ware) and amphorae (mostly containing oil) arrived in Rome from north Africa until the late 7th century.¹⁰ Wine, on the other hand, came from the eastern Mediterranean from areas like Syria-Palestine, by now under Islamic domination, or from south Italy and Sicily. With regard to artisan production¹¹ we have the workshops discards found in an area once

¹⁰ See for example Arena et al. (eds.), *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo*.

¹¹ See Molinari et al. (eds.), *L'archeologia della produzione, passim*.



FIGURE 13.2 African Red Slip Ware from *Crypta Balbi* – Rome (7th c.) (after Arena et al., *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo*, p. 68)

occupied by the *Crypta Balbi* in the Campo Marzio. These workshops were perhaps connected to the nearby monastery of Saint Lawrence in *Pallacinis* and they produced a vast array of luxury objects such as jewels, arms, textiles, furniture and metal objects. Some of the luxury products from Rome have also been found among the grave goods buried in the Lombard cemetery of Castel Trosino in the Marche. Recent archaeological excavations carried out in the city has brought to light numerous signs of manufacturing activities that were often (though not exclusively) located in spaces that had once been public. In many parts of the central area of ancient Rome, in particular in the zone roughly between the Imperial Fora and the Theatre of Balbus, there were numerous metal workshops, especially between the 6th and 7th centuries. Some of these were remarkably large such as those situated in the ancient *Athenaeum* (in the area of today's Piazza Madonna di Loreto) interpreted as the mint of the Byzantine period in Rome. These activities almost never appear to have been temporary and they did not only work with recycled materials.

Excavations over the past thirty years have determined that monetary circulation in the city must have remained fairly steady up until around 730 and that it was based on the Roman-Byzantine three metal coinage system.¹² Numerous finds of bronze coins have suggested that money was still widely used in minor transactions.

In this extremely diversified picture of the city's economic and cultural life various scholars have pointed out how after the pontificate of Honorius I (625–638) and until that of Adrian I (772–795) a further slowdown occurred in construction activity (very few buildings were erected entirely from foundations, there were difficulties even in performing restoration) and in the production of sculptures and epigraphs.

As has already been mentioned, the 8th century represents a real watershed. The political-institutional structure of Rome and Italy changed, as well as the organization of the economy and the main features of material culture. The separation from Constantinople went hand in hand with the popes definitively assuming public powers. The economy reorganized itself on new foundations that were almost exclusively local, goods no longer arrived from the entire Mediterranean, and the use of coinage declined sharply with the Carolingian single metal coinage system in use after pope Adrian I. With regard to dwelling areas, the population was not yet concentrated in the bend of the Tiber (though this is disputed), but it was tending to concentrate in nuclei around several religious buildings.

While material evidence from the first half of the 8th century is still quite scarce, from the second half of that century in particular we find increasing signs of renewed building activity. New types of ceramic production were introduced, such as lead glazed ceramics (Forum ware) used as tableware. Liturgical marble furnishings also appear with new motifs and styles. Construction activity by the popes is discernible in both religious and public buildings, inside the city and in the countryside. For example, we can make out quite clearly the extensive restoration work on the Aurelian walls and on the four surviving aqueducts, as well as a reorganization of the rural territory with the creation of the papal estates, the *domuscultae*.

Rome would change even more over the ensuing centuries while continuing to reinterpret its material heritage. It should be clear from this that the simple word crisis does not do justice to the complexity of transformations city underwent. Indeed it always remained an extremely vital place.

12 See for example Rovelli, "Monetary circulation".

2 The Countryside

As mentioned earlier, the scholarship on rural Latium in the Byzantine age has been characterized by very different approaches that haven't always dialogued with each other. A topic very dear to historians in the 1970s and 1980s was that of borders and the growing militarization of society, a process which was thought to have greatly accelerated after the Lombards arrived in Italy. For example, while Bavant attempted to determine what the borders of the Roman Duchy were (they were actually rather stable) and its institutional structure, T. Brown reconstructed, among other things, what in his view must have been the Byzantine state's defensive strategy in this part of Italy.¹³ Inspired by pragmatism and a lack of resources it was founded principally on the use of medium to large urban centres of ancient, often pre-Roman origin, occupying naturally strong positions and with already existing fortifications. The strategic concept was that of "defence in depth", along the major roadways that still existed. The sources speak clearly of the public character of the *castra* in this period, permanently garrisoned by soldiers but also inhabited by a civilian population. It has also been observed how these large fortified centres were for the most part, or later became, the seats of bishoprics. Thus there was no clear border identifiable that was studded with fortresses. Rather, previously existing urban or semi urban centres situated along important routes and at strategic points were fortified. According to T. Brown the militarization of the territory had more general impacts on the organization of the habitat.

Unfortunately for us, in most cases the great *castra* mentioned in the sources are still inhabited centres and, in addition, the archaeological work there has been of little importance. Nonetheless, excavations of some ancient cities that were abandoned in the Middle Ages, like Ferento in the area around



FIGURE 13.3

The *Athenaeum* of emperor Adrian (Rome) transformed into a workshop (6th–7th c.) (after Serlorenzi/Ricci, "Passeggiando nella produzione", p. 161).

¹³ See Bavant, "Le duché byzantin de Rome"; Brown, *Gentlemen and officers*; Brown/Christie, "Was there a Byzantine model of settlement in Italy?"

Viterbo, and Priverno in southern Latium, have provided us with at least a partial picture of the material culture of these kind of centres at this point in the chronology. In Ferento,¹⁴ for example, the new walls enclosing approximately one fifth of the ancient city have been dated to the second half of the 6th-beginning of the 7th century. This chronology coincides exactly with the period when the city was situated along the borders of an area contested by the Byzantines and the Lombards. Ferento went over to the Lombards in the first decades of the 7th century and was abandoned only in the 12th century as a result of Viterbo's expansion. Inside the fortified area a large, probably public, building has been identified that was constructed using the same techniques as the walls. The cathedral has not been found, but a bishop of Ferento is mentioned as early as 487. Somewhat similar events seem to have involved Priverno,¹⁵ situated in the valley of the Amaseno river which flows into the sea at Terracina in the south. Here too the archaeology has shown an extensive reconstruction of the walls that absorbed within their perimeter the ancient theatre and reduced the urban area to approximately one quarter of what it had been in the previous age. Archaeologists assign a generic date of the 6th century to this large-scale work of construction. In addition, a cathedral has been extensively excavated in Priverno, which also dates from the 6th century with renovations that continued on until the middle centuries of the medieval period. Still in the south, a systematic study of Terracina's walls¹⁶ has found sizeable rebuilding activity roughly datable to the 6th century.

The written sources together with accumulating archaeological data would appear to point to a defensive strategy that was based mainly on large centres which were often something between a *civitas* and a *castrum*. In the area of the Duchy we find neither the presence of purely military fortresses (such as the *castrum* of Sant'Antonino di Perti in Liguria), nor those "strategic hamlets" that have been much discussed since the 1970s. In particular, some have thought to identify the latter on the sites of several small inhabited nuclei located over defensible positions that were discovered during archaeological surveys of the territory carried out by the British School at Rome since the 1950s. However, as we shall see, more recent dating of medieval ceramics indicates that these centres were founded much later (end of the 8th–9th century).¹⁷

More recently, various types of material evidence have been used to identify the possible impact the establishment of new borders had after the arrival of

14 See Romagnoli, *Ferento e la Teverina viterbese*.

15 See Cancellieri/Morriconi, *Privernum*.

16 See Christie/Rushworth, "Urban fortification and defensive strategy".

17 See Patterson, "Rural settlement and economy" with the preceding bibliography.

the Lombards. For example, from the second half of the 6th and the 7th century a vast area east of the Tiber was depopulated and most of the settlements in the zone were abandoned. At the same time, small, new centres arose on hilltops in an area further away from the river, later controlled by the Abbey of Farfa.¹⁸ Additionally, the ceramics that have been found in this zone to date are completely different from those from Rome. In fact, the most recent studies suggest that “slipped and combed ware”, which is quite common in Sabina, was produced in the area of Spoleto. However, in order to confirm that these changes (the abandonment of entire sections of territory and alterations in material culture) were an outcome of shifting borders we would need to examine other areas along the confines of the Roman duchy.

There is a much larger current of scholarship that prefers to look at long term phenomena, at social and economic structures without attributing any special causal value to political borders, migrations and wars. These researchers are able to draw on a rather large body of data, gathered from the above-mentioned archaeological surveys and systematic excavations carried out by the British School at Rome from the 1950s onwards. These studies which have produced quantitative data on rural settlements over an extremely long period of time (from pre-history to the Middle Ages) are subject to a process of continuous critical review.¹⁹ For instance, urban excavations in recent years have led to a more exact knowledge of all types of ceramics and this has helped clear up many chronologies and refute many interpretations. Of great importance for the history of this line of research is also the book by P. Toubert (1973) which analysed the documents of the Abbeys of Farfa and Subiaco. Although the period Toubert looks at is later than the Byzantine age, his approach to interpreting transformations in the rural world has greatly impacted studies on the countryside. Toubert maintained that with the end of the Roman empire the habitat in Latium was mainly impoverished but the area did not change structurally until the 10th century. In his opinion it was only between the 10th and 12th centuries that a veritable revolution occurred in rural settlement with the appearance of castles or fortified villages on hilltops. The core of the debate among historians and archaeologists has turned over the question of when to date the end of the ancient world and the beginning of the Middle Ages, or, to take a more “continuist” approach investigating how the transition occurred.

18 Again see Patterson, “Rural settlement and economy”.

19 One of the first and most influential surveys of this data was Potter, *The changing landscape*. For a history of the scholarship the reader is again invited to consult Patterson, “Rural settlement and economy” and Molinari “Siti rurali”.

One impressive finding of the survey carried out by the British School at Rome is that the number of settlements in the countryside north of Rome fell sharply from the 3rd century on, followed by an inexorable decline throughout the entire early Middle Ages. Scholars have debated what these numbers are supposed to mean and have adopted many different positions, including those who view them as a clear indication of unmistakable demographic decline; others suggest that a centralization of properties and/or settlements took place; and finally, there are those who consider the Roman imperial age as an anomaly due to there being too many settlements which the land can support. For the period with which we are dealing I should point out that it is from the 7th to the 9th centuries that we have the lowest number of recognizable sites, so that the question arises: where did the people, and in particular the peasants, live? The problem of the archaeological “invisibility” of the 7th and 8th centuries in the countryside is, thus, a very important one.

As is well known, during the imperial age the western portions of the empire were largely characterized by an agricultural system based on rustic villas. The transformation of these villas or their abandonment starting in the 5th century is a crucial question, at least as important as what was happening in the cities. Equally important is to know whether new forms of inhabiting and structuring the land emerged and became established, and if so when villages (fortified or not) began to appear. In relation to these issues, there is also the question of whether the territory that remained under Byzantine control continued to be organized into large landholdings compared to other zones where villages appeared earlier, as in Tuscany.²⁰ It needs to be said that more or less everywhere these issues are still very much open and depend on the quality of the archaeology being undertaken. Certainly in Latium many villas disappeared over the course of the 3rd century, but those that survived underwent profound restructuring. The recent review of data from the British School survey of the area north of Rome along the Tiber valley has shown, for example, that many sites were abandoned in the 6th and 7th centuries, but that most of those that survived were found over ancient villas or near ancient *stationes* along the main consular roads. We have seen how it was only the Sabine area east of the Tiber that underwent the most drastic transformations. In any case no village on a hilltop would appear to be datable from this period. To understand what kind of transformations occurred in the ancient villas, an excellent example is the site of Mola di Monte Gelato, in the *ager Faliscus* north of Rome, which was

20 On these topics I refer the reader to the magisterial synthesis by Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 442–518.

excavated in the 1980s.²¹ After a period of abandonment the villa was rebuilt in the 4th century without any luxury features but with stables, storehouses and workshops and, at the beginning of the 5th century, a church. In the opinion of the archaeologists who excavated the site, it remained a central place, with other settlements identified nearby that have not been intensively excavated. The centre appears to have survived into the Byzantine period until the turn of the 7th century, but in a state of increasing squalor. Before it was rebuilt again in the second half of the 8th century the human presence at Mola di Monte Gelato was almost invisible.

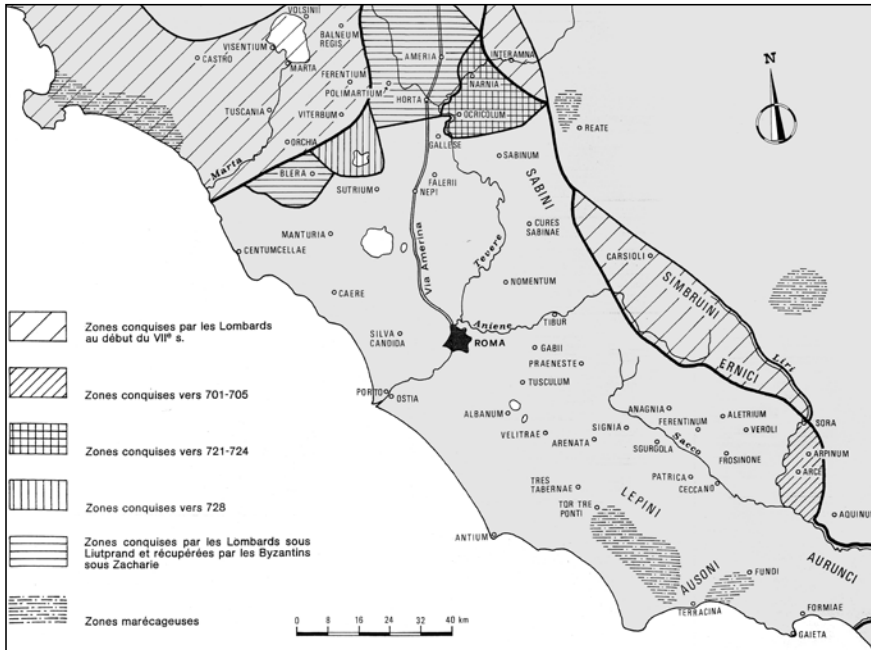
Rather different are the results of recent excavations in the large imperial villa of Villamagna²² south of Anagni in the valley of the river Sacco. It is believed that this estate remained the property of the imperial fiscal administration until the Carolingian age, when it came under papal control. From the 10th century Villamagna would appear to have belonged to the local monastery of San Peter. After being abandoned during the years of the Gothic War, the estate's core buildings underwent comprehensive restructuring (thus by initiative of the imperial treasury) exploiting part of the already existing structures. In the years following the Pragmatic Sanction (554) the slaves' quarters were rebuilt and must have continued to house dependent peasants; a *doliarum* to store wine was again set up, as well as a fairly large church. Not many years after this rebuilding took place, which would appear to indicate a "direct" form of management using slave labour, things changed drastically. The wine storehouse was demolished to make way for sunken huts. The slaves' quarters were abandoned. Based on this new type of hut and the break it represents, it is possible that the villa's new occupants could have been outsiders, perhaps Lombards, given the chronology. And yet Villamagna was located in an area that remained firmly in Byzantine hands until the Carolingian age. From the second half of the 7th until the end of the 8th century we find no trace of human presence on the site. On the basis of the material evidence towards the end of the 6th century we cannot rule out the possibility that a violent and temporary occupation occurred at that time. The site was again permanently settled from the end of the 8th century.

Just a little south of Villamagna another interesting villa complex was excavated at the end of the 1980s, Casale della Madonna del Piano near Castro dei Volsci.²³ After the spaces of the *pars urbana* were converted in the 4th century and changed to strictly productive uses, a church was built on the site probably

21 See Potter, King, *Excavations at the Mola di Monte Gelato*.

22 See Fentress et al. (eds.), *Villa Magna: an Imperial Estate*.

23 See for example Fiore Cavaliere, "La necropoli altomedievale".



MAP 13.1 The Duchy of Rome between the 6th and the 8th c. according to Bavant, "Le duché byzantin de Rome", fig. 3

between the 5th and 6th centuries. Near the church and corresponding to what had once been the *pars rustica* a cemetery was laid out during the 6th century. Excavation of this cemetery and an anthropological and chemical analysis of the bones provide an interesting glimpse of size and way of life of the peasant community connected to the church. What is particularly interesting about the necropolis is that four hundred individuals, both adults and infants, had been buried there simultaneously – one tomb alone contained 52 corpses. In the opinion of those who have studied the place, the community was stricken by an epidemic, probably the Justinianic plague in the mid-6th century. Coins of the emperors Justin and Justinian have been found on the site. The church was again rebuilt in the Carolingian age.

The case of the Casale San Donato, not far from the Abbey of Farfa, is quite different.²⁴ This site, which was excavated in the 1990s, is located in the area of Sabina and must have gone over to the Duchy of Spoleto early on. Excavations have determined that towards the end of the 6th century a small farm was occupying a very small area with structures made entirely of wood. The ceramics

24 See for example Moreland, "The Farfa survey".

that have been found are the previously mentioned “slipped and combed ware” associated with the area of Spoleto. Although this site arose completely *ex novo* during the Lombard period, it does not appear to have been an early form of fortified village as are frequently found in Tuscany, but rather an “early medieval version of a Roman villa”. In any case, it was likely the centre of an estate. Casale San Donato, which perhaps belonged to the ducal fisc, became one of the possessions of the Abbey of Farfa in the 8th century and in the central Middle Ages it became a *castrum*.

In all the cases mentioned, both in the archaeological survey and in the systematic excavations, the period between the late 7th and late 8th centuries is, generally speaking, difficult to detect or entirely missing. There are numerous possible explanations for this, but there is no question that much further investigation needs to be done. One possible theory that has been advanced (ardently supported by some) is that we are currently not able to recognize the material culture that was typical of this period. This, however, is no longer completely true thanks to the stratigraphic sequences excavated in urban areas. It therefore looks as if we cannot rule out the possibility of further demographic decline. It may also be the case that the scarce presence of the aristocracy in the countryside meant that simpler ways of life were being followed, making wider use of more perishable and less detectable materials like wood.

Starting from the second half of the 8th century, while the number of known sites still remains very low, the presence of humans and human intervention becomes easier to find in the territory of Latium. The public role definitively assumed by the popes together with the loss of their possessions in southern Italy and the political break with Byzantium led to a renewed and more efficient organization of the countryside.²⁵ The reorganization of church property on the model of the *domuscultae* is also detectable archaeologically through the discovery, for example, of important complexes like the site of Santa Cornelia²⁶ (the main centre of the *domusculta Capracorum*), the building or rebuilding of rural churches, the types of ceramics in circulation, etc. It is only from the end of the 8th and in the 9th century that sites on hilltops begin to be permanently occupied. In any case, up until the end of the 10th century the old and the new continued to coexist in the countryside of Latium.

25 On these topics see for example Paroli/Delogu (eds.), *La storia economica di Roma* and Marazzi, *I patrimoni Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae*; Prigent “Les empereurs isauriens”.

26 See Christie (ed.), *Three South Etrurian Churches*.

Bibliography

- Andaloro, M./Bordi, G./Morganti, G. (eds.), *Santa Maria Antiqua tra Roma e Bisanzio*, Milan 2016.
- Arena, M.S./Delogu, P./ Paroli, L./ Ricci, M./ Saguì, L./ Vendittelli, L. (eds.), *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo. Archeologia e storia nel Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi*, Milan 2001.
- Bavant, B., "Le duché byzantin de Rome. Origine, durée et extension géographique", *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Moyen Âge, Temps modernes* 91, (1979), 41–88.
- Brown, T.S., *Gentlemen and officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy; A.D. 554–800*, Rome 1984.
- Brown, T.S./ Christie N.J., "Was there a Byzantine model of settlement in Italy?", *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, 101 (1989), 377–399.
- Cancellieri, M./ Morricone, M.L., *Priverum*, vol. 1. *La topografia, i mosaici, le sculture*, Rome 1996.
- Carbonetti Vendittelli, C./Carocci, S./Molinari, A., *Il medioevo nelle città italiane*. Roma, Spoleto 2017.
- Christie, N. (ed.), *Three South Etrurian Churches: Santa Cornelia, Santa Rufina and San Liberato*, Rome 1991.
- Christie, N.J./Rushworth, A., "Urban fortification and defensive strategy in fifth and sixth century Italy: the case of Terracina", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 1, (1988), 73–88.
- Coates-Stephens, R., "La committenza edilizia bizantina a Roma dopo la riconquista", in A. Augenti A. (ed.), *Le città italiane tra la tarda antichità e l'alto Medioevo*, Florence 2006, pp. 299–316.
- Delogu P., "The Papacy, Rome and the wider world in the seventh and eighth centuries" in J.M.H. Smith. (ed.), *Early medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in honour of Donald A. Bullough*, Leiden 2000, pp. 197–220.
- Fentress, E./Goodson, C./ Maiuro, M./Andrews, M./ Dufton J.A. (eds.) *Villa Magna: an Imperial Estate and its Legacies: Excavations 2006–2010* (Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome, 22), London 2016.
- Fiocchi Nicolai, V., *Strutture funerarie ed edifici di culto paleocristiani di Roma dal IV al VI secolo*, Vatican City 2001.
- Fiore Cavaliere, M.G., "La necropoli altomedievale di Casale Madonna del Piano (Castro dei Volsci). Notizie preliminari", *Archeologia medievale* 19 (1992), 507–521.
- Geertman H. (ed.), *Il Liber Pontificalis e la Storia Materiale* (Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome, 60–61), Rome 2003.
- Guidobaldi, F./ Guiglia Guidobaldi, A. (eds.), *Ecclesiae Urbis*, Vatican City 2002.
- Hodges, R./ Whitehouse, D., *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Pirenne thesis*, London 1983.

- Krautheimer R., *Rome, Profile of a City: 312–1308*, Princeton NJ 1980.
- Marazzi F., *I "Patrimonia Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae" nel Lazio (IV-X secolo). Struttura amministrativa e prassi gestionali*, Rome 1998.
- Meneghini, R./ Santangeli Valenzani, R., *Roma nell'Altomedioevo: topografia e urbanistica della città dal V al X secolo*, Rome 2004.
- Molinari A., "Siti rurali e poteri signorili nel Lazio (secoli X–XIII)", *Archeologia medievale* 37 (2010), 129–142.
- Molinari, A./Santangeli Valenzani, R./ Spera, L. (eds.), *L'archeologia della produzione a Roma. Secoli V–XV*, Rome-Bari 2016.
- Moreland J.F., "The Farfa survey: broadening our perspective", in F. Coarelli/H. Patterson (eds.), *Mercator Placidissimus: the Tiber Valley in Antiquity*, Rome 2008, pp. 859–868.
- Paroli, L./ Delogu, P. (eds.), *La storia economica di Roma nell'alto medioevo alla luce dei recenti scavi archeologici*, Florence 1993.
- Paroli, L./Vendittelli, L. (eds.), *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo*, vol. 2. *Contesti tardoantichi e altomedievali*, Milan 2004.
- Patterson H., "Rural settlement and economy in the middle Tiber Valley: AD 300–1000", *Archeologia medievale* 37, (2010), 143–162.
- Potter T.W., *The Changing Landscape of South Etruria*, London 1979.
- Potter, T.W/ King, A.C. (eds.), *Excavations at the Mola di Monte Gelato: A Roman and Medieval Settlement in South Etruria*, London 1997.
- Prigent, V., "Les empereurs isauriens et la confiscation des patrimoines pontificaux d'Italie du sud", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome Moyen Âge* 116–2, (2004), 257–594.
- Romagnoli G., *Ferento e la Teverina viterbese. Insediamenti e dinamiche del popolamento tra il X e il XIV secolo*, Viterbo 2006.
- Rovelli A., "Monetary circulation in Byzantine and Carolingian Rome: a reconsideration in the light of recent archaeological data", in J.M.H. Smith (ed.), *Early medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in honour of Donald A. Bullough*, Leiden 2000, pp. 85–99.
- Sagui, L., "Roma, i centri privilegiati e la lunga durata della tarda antichità. Dati archeologici dal deposito di VII secolo nell'edera della Crypta Balbi", *Archeologia medievale* 29, (2002), 7–42.
- Serlorenzi, M./Ricci G., "Passeggiando nella produzione: un excursus diacronico (VI–XIV secolo) attraverso gli indicatori della produzione provenienti dagli scavi della Metro C (piazza Venezia, piazza Madonna di Loreto, via Cesare Battisti)", in A. Molinari/R. Santangeli Valenzani/L. Spera (eds.), *L'archeologia della produzione a Roma (secoli V–XV)*, Rome 2016, pp. 153–172.
- Spera, L., "Le forme della cristianizzazione nel quadro degli assetti topografico-funzionali di Roma tra V e IX secolo", *PCA. Post classical archaeologies* 1, (2011), 309–348.

- Toubert P., *Les structures du Latium médiéval: le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IX^e siècle à la fin du XII^e siècle*, Rome 1973.
- Vauchez, A. (ed.), *Storia di Roma dall'antichità ad oggi. Roma medievale*, Rome 2001.
- Wickham C., *Framing the early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800*, Oxford 2005.
- Wickham C., *Roma medievale: crisi e stabilità di una città, 900–1150*, Rome 2013.

Byzantine Naples and Gaeta

Federico Marazzi

1 Naples between Late Antiquity and the Beginning of the Middle Ages

Classical Age Naples was never the main urban centre of the southern part of the Augustan Region of *Latium-Campania*. The old Greek colony had its supremacy stolen by *Puteoli*, a city placed some eleven kilometres north of Naples, which became the main commercial harbour in the Late Republican period and which maintained this position all through the Early and Middle Empire. *Puteoli* worked as the main terminal for the delivery of Mediterranean goods whose final destination was Rome, through Capua and the roads leading north, such as the *via Appia* and the *via Latina*.¹ Still, during the early Empire Naples was not entirely overshadowed by its powerful neighbour. Rather like what happened on the coast of *Latium* between *Portus* and *Ostia*, the destiny of the old *Parthenope* was to become the main centre of a coastal strip where rich Romans built lavish leisure villas and perhaps used their mansions also as a base for a closer control over the lands that they owned in the fertile plain behind the city. The archaeological evidence suggests a city that flourished in the Middle Imperial period, and this picture has been reinforced by discoveries recently made during the construction of the new underground line along the ancient waterfront.²

With the administrative changes decided by Diocletian and Constantine, Italy was divided into a number of provinces, and Naples fell within the boundaries of Campania, whose perimeter coincided broadly with that of the old Augustan *Regio* 1 and whose chief town remained Capua.³ Despite its secondary administrative rank, during the 4th century the city gained visibility and prosperity. Its privileged position among Campania's cities grew further during the 5th century and Odoacer's decision to send Romulus Augustulus, the last emperor of the West, to exile in Naples may actually have been

¹ Arthur, *Naples*, p. 147.

² Cavalieri Manasse/Von Hesberg, "Dalle decorazioni architettoniche ai monumenti romani"; Giampaola, "Il paesaggio costiero di Neapolis".

³ Savino, *Campania tardoantica*.



MAP 14.1 Naples and its surroundings
DRAWN BY PHOTO GOOGLE EARTH

influenced by a calculation that the deposed ruler might enjoy a more comfortable stay there. The relative prosperity of late Roman Naples was probably determined by the increased relevance of local agricultural production in the food supply of Rome, after Africa fell to the Vandals in around AD 430.⁴ Written sources attest that some outstanding families of the senatorial aristocracy owned conspicuous properties in Campania and this must have helped the whole area – and Naples in particular – to maintain a certain degree of economic vitality. The favourable conjuncture persisted until the destructive Vesuvian eruption of AD 472, which caused extensive damage to the city's hinterland (although apparently not to Naples itself) and created serious problems for agricultural production.⁵ Nonetheless, the role played by Naples as the main harbour of Campania – after the decline of *Puteoli* – must have helped it to remain lively. The aforementioned archaeological discoveries associated with the new underground line, have revealed, outside the section of the city walls that faced the seashore – refurbished under Valentinian III –,

4 Arthur, *Naples*; Savino, "L'area vesuviana in età tardoantica".

5 De Simone et al., "Apolline project 2007".

an uninterrupted sequence of occupation dating between the 5th and the 6th centuries, apparently related to harbour activities.⁶ A significant presence of goods imported from all over the Mediterranean also emerged.⁷ A reflection of the city's prosperity throughout the entire late antique period may be seen in the development of the episcopal quarter, situated in the north-eastern part of the area enclosed by the old Greek walls, with its grand churches and baptistery.⁸ The fact that a Neapolitan *basilica* is listed among the churches endowed by Constantine, together with the other churches he founded in Rome and its suburbs, indirectly testifies to the relevance not just of the local Christian community, but of the city itself. The prestige of the local episcopal see was certainly boosted by the transfer, during the first quarter of the 5th century, of the body of saint Januarius from Puteoli into the catacombs situated on the hills behind the city. The late antique history of the local Christian community is characterised by frequent interactions with Africa. Naples is known in this period for having been the landing place for several African clerics, and this flow intensified after the Vandal conquest of the northern African shore in the early thirties of the 5th century. Some of the most popular saints worshipped in Naples and its hinterland since Late Antiquity are in fact of African origin, although recent research has somewhat scaled down their number.⁹

In Ostrogothic times Naples was the see of a Gothic *comes*, and therefore we must assume that it was considered to be the main regional military stronghold. Nonetheless, the *comes*' competences apparently also included control over city markets and 'foreign' merchants operating within them, whereas it is still uncertain whether or not he also exercised control over the city government of the whole province of *Campania*, since we lack evidence for the existence in this period of the provincial governor who, during the Late Empire, used to reside in Capua.¹⁰

The strategic relevance of Naples clearly emerges during the Gothic Wars. The city was the first real obstacle for the Byzantine army during its journey northwards from Sicily. General Belisarius besieged it, and Procopius' account for it is rich in details both on the urban fortifications and on how local

6 Martin, "Le fortificazioni dal secolo V al XIII".

7 Arthur, *Naples*, pp. 122–131; Giampaola et al., "Napoli, trasformazioni edilizie e funzionali"; Carsana/D'Amico, "Piazza Bovio. Produzioni e consumi". It should not be forgotten that the abundance of imported goods revealed by late antique archaeological layers in Naples is mirrored by findings of similar relevance made in the nearby island of Ischia, that probably acted as a secondary port of call for boats coming from Africa and aiming to sell and buy goods in Rome and in Campania (D'Agostino / Marazzi, "Notizia preliminare"; Peduto, "Aspetti d'indagine comparata").

8 Ebanista, "Le chiese tardoantiche e altomedievali".

9 Otranto, "Per una storia dell'Italia tardoantica", pp. 391–398; Liccardo, "Napoli antica".

10 Tabata, *Città dell'Italia*.

populations reacted to the presence of the Imperial army. The Byzantine commander had experienced difficulties in convincing the Neapolitans to surrender and since the city walls seemed to be impenetrable, Belisarius apparently managed to get in only thanks to the fact that one of his soldiers discovered the tunnels of the old aqueducts.¹¹ Recent archaeological research has established that walls were refurbished after the city came under Byzantine control,¹² but it is possible that further restorations took place after Naples was under direct threat from the Lombards, at the end of the 6th century. The defence system could also count on some outposts located outside the main wall, identifiable with the small island of Castel dell'Ovo (the so-called *castrum Sancti Salvatoris*) and, directly above it, the hill of *Paleapolis* (presently known as Pizzofalcone and named *Castrum Lucullanum* in the ancient sources).¹³

The arrival of the Lombards drastically changed the geopolitical framework of the old province of Campania. It was only between 590 and 600 that the Lombards managed to establish their control over Capua and the plain around it. Thanks to its sheltered position, Naples became the pivot of Byzantine defensive strategy against the new invaders. It soon became evident that the hills around the city to the north and to the west, and Vesuvius that enclosed it to the east, formed a sort of natural boundary between two different areas of the territorial entity formerly called Campania.¹⁴ At the end of the 6th century, when the military confrontation on the ground began to calm down, Naples remained at the centre of a small territory, including the shore that stretched westwards as far as the old Greek colony of Cuma and – to the east – reached the mountainous peninsula of Sorrento. Its extension would have remained substantially unaltered until the beginning of the 12th century, when Naples eventually lost its independence to the Normans.

At the end of the 6th century, nearly all we know about Naples comes from the letters of Pope Gregory the Great (590–604). They show a rather interesting situation: the city hosted both the head of the civil (the *iudex Campaniae*) and of the military authority (the *magister militum*), but they do not seem to be the only figures who played a role of relevance within the local government. An evident outstanding social position was held both by the bishop and by the administrator of the lands locally owned by the Roman church (the so-called *rector patrimonii*). But, along with them, Gregory's letters document the

11 Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, 8,5–8 and 21–29.

12 Giampaola et al., "Napoli, trasformazioni edilizie e funzionali".

13 Martin, "Le fortificazioni dal secolo V al XIII".

14 Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine*, pp. 272–276.

existence of other magistrates, such as the *maior populi* (also named as *patronus civitatis*) flanked by a group of *seniores* or *principales*. The *maior* had competence over the city gates and over the tolls that were collected there. From one letter we learn that one of the *seniores* took care of the city aqueduct and apparently this group of people also had the job of collecting taxes from the islands of the gulf of Naples.¹⁵

Judging from this evidence, we could draw the conclusion that Neapolitan society maintained several features typical of the Late Roman period, despite nearly twenty years of military instability caused by the arrival of the Lombards. Although whether a proper *curia* was still operational can be debated, civil magistracies were active and in charge of significant tasks and, in order to fulfil them, they could apparently count on a budget of their own, deriving from the revenues of lands located in the islands nearby. Thomas Brown's explanation for this 'persistence' of these Late Roman features of Neapolitan society at the dawn of the 7th century was based on the fact that the city "possessed a sizable population (including many wealthy Jews), preserved the Roman system of guilds, and it remained a favoured residence of senatorial aristocrats".¹⁶ It does not seem therefore that the militarisation of Neapolitan society was already a *fait accompli* at the beginning of the 7th century, but I shall return to this point later.¹⁷ What also emerges from Gregory's letters is that, as one could expect, the church already exercised a vast power within the city and apparently tried hard to enlarge it at the expense of the civil magistracies. In particular, the *rector patrimonii Campaniae*, i.e. the administrator of pontifical properties (perhaps also thanks to the remarkable financial resources he had at his disposal), appears often as someone who could act in favour of the urban population and as a mediator when conflicts arose among them or among the representatives of the local clergy.¹⁸

As Salvatore Cosentino has pointed for the entirety of Italy, reassessing the point of view previously stated also by other scholars, like Guillou, Brown and Haldon, Naples too was involved in the changes of the Byzantine state's structure that took place gradually in the course of the 7th century.¹⁹ The eclipse of the praetorian prefecture seems the main reason for the delivery into the hands of military commanders of a number of functions previously held by

15 Tabata, *Città dell'Italia*, pp. 220–227.

16 Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, p. 19.

17 Feniello, *Napoli. Città ed economia*, p. 325.

18 Martin, "*Militia et exercitus*", pp. 26–28.

19 Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, pp. 138–141; Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance*, pp. 149–178; Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*; Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*.

civil magistrates hierarchically at the orders of the prefect.²⁰ This change should have implied the birth of local territorial districts, called “duchies” in the sources, at whose head we see *duces* directly appointed by the central government. In Naples, that became the centre of one of these new territorial entities, the first *dux* we know of is a certain Basil, who appears to be in charge in 661. This change determined another deep transformation within the structure of the Byzantine state: it implied the formation of a new type of army. Its effectives were increasingly recruited among the local population and their wages were apparently paid mainly with allotments of public land, whose products and revenues would have made it possible for soldiers to buy their own equipment and would have granted their families the wherewithal for survival.²¹

This reorganisation of the army created a new type of aristocracy, whose members were those in charge of the single units and garrisons distributed between towns and their territories. Neapolitan society experienced the same transformation and, when in the 8th century written sources again became sufficient, we see that nearly all its most prominent members bear military titles, such as *tribunus*, *comes* and similar.²² In the lands at the heart of the Byzantine Empire, this reorganisation led to the formation of an army that managed to protect its frontiers effectively. But, in more peripheral areas, such as the peninsular Italian provinces, it perhaps contributed to forming a sentiment of self-sufficiency among local aristocrats that progressively led towards the search for independence.

2 Towards Independence from Byzantium (c. AD 750–840)

The emancipation of Naples from the central Byzantine authority was not accomplished in a day. As is well known for Rome and Ravenna, for example, during the late 7th and early 8th centuries Italian provinces gained a certain degree of self-administration, but no one there would have imagined a future outside the circle of the imperial *oikoumenē*. Things changed quickly after 730 AD, though. Ravenna was cut off from Byzantium by aggressive Lombard military policy, culminating in the exarchal city's conquest in 751, while papal claims to legitimate inheritance of imperial power led Rome away from Byzantine obedience. Naples followed a different path: as of the second half of the

20 Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, p. 139.

21 Martin, “*Militia et exercitus*”, pp. 24–42.

22 Feniello, *Napoli. Città ed economia*.

8th century, its aristocracy managed to run the appointment of the local *duces* independently, choosing them among its members. But all this did not imply the breaking of ties with the Empire. Although basically autonomous in the exercise of their power, the dukes never cut their ties with the empire, seeking recognition of their appointment from the *stratēgos* of Sicily (who was the highest imperial representative in Italy, after the fall of Ravenna) and dating documents according to the years of reign of Byzantine emperors. This meant the Neapolitans still declared themselves subjects of the Empire. During the last decades of the 8th century and the first years of the 9th, Naples remained a privileged observatory used by Byzantine diplomats for keeping an eye on the evolution of the Italian political situation after the Frankish conquest of the Lombard kingdom.²³

This attitude may be better understood if we consider the particular geopolitical context into which Naples fits. The city and its territory were surrounded by the Lombards of Benevento, who, in the period between c. 780 and c. 840, repeatedly tried to conquer it. Therefore, the possibility should not be excluded that the decision to keep themselves formally within the boundaries of the Empire might have stemmed from the consideration that this could have helped prevent them from being isolated and facing their closest enemies alone. It is also plausible that links with the heart of the Byzantine Empire kept their economic relevance, considering that recent archaeological excavations in the city centre demonstrate the persistence of early medieval commercial ties with the Eastern Mediterranean.²⁴ But it was during the final phase of the struggle against the Lombards that the Neapolitans began to show their skill at forging ties with the other main characters acting within the Mediterranean scenario: the Arabs. It was in the mid-thirties of the 9th century, when Naples was besieged by prince Sichard of Benevento, that duke Andrew asked for military help the Arabs, who were engaged in the conquest of the northern shores of Sicily. From then on, the Neapolitans became involved in a close political relationship with the Sicilian emirate at least down to the ninth decade of the century (as we shall see below), repeatedly offering shelter to Arab fleets and armies.

As has already been stated, the exercise of political power was in the hands of local families from the mid-8th century. Between then and the mid-9th century, dukes came from different families, although during the second half of the 700s the family of duke Stephen attempted to monopolize supreme authority. Stephen personally held the duchy between 755 and 766 and was then chosen

23 Von Falkenhausen, "La Campania fra Goti e Bizantini", pp. 21–22.

24 Carsana, "Produzione e circolazione".

by his fellow citizens as bishop. He held this post until his death in 800 AD, but meanwhile he ensured that his son Gregory succeeded him as duke. When he died in 794, after holding the regency for a few months, Stephen managed to ensure the succession for his son-in-law Theophylact, who reigned until 801.²⁵ It is no longer believed that Stephen's regime can be interpreted as a sort of a local version of the so-called Byzantine "caesaropapism", but at the same time it is evident that Stephen's family could exercise control both over secular and religious power without any real hindrance from outside, i.e. from the central Byzantine government, which apparently did not intervene in the choice of either. Unfortunately, we do not know much about the origins of Stephen's family, but it is reasonable to suppose that it was one of those that had formed the body of the local *militia*. Since there is no evidence for struggles over Stephen's accession to power nor over the transmission of the ducal office to his relatives, we must also assume that the Neapolitan aristocracy accepted the possibility that supreme power could be exercised by a single family and transmitted among its members.

After Theophylact's death and until the accession of Sergius, in 840, the duchy was held by a series of characters (Anthimus, 801–818; Stephen III, 821–832; Bonus, 832–834; Leo, 834; Andrew, 834–840; Contardus, 840) who, with the possible exception of Bonus and Contardus, all apparently came from the same social aristocratic *milieu*. It is worth recalling, though, that in the years between 818 and 821 Naples was not ruled by dukes "elected" by its own inhabitants, but by officers chosen by the Sicilian *stratēgos* in order to hold the post. This detail makes us think that the process of detachment from direct Byzantine rule was not guided by a direct claim for independence, but must have rather been the result of a more complex process of mediation between Naples and the imperial administration.

Another relevant detail here is given to us by the *Gesta* of Neapolitans bishops written by John the Deacon.²⁶ He says that when the second of the officers sent from Syracuse was eventually deposed and chased away by the Neapolitans, replacing him with a new local duke, Sico, the Prince of Benevento, "moved by envy", decided to attack the city to subjugate it. The Lombard historian Erchempert informs us that Sico had previously re-established a good relationship with the Frankish emperor.²⁷ This might have given him the opportunity to present himself as the legitimate representative of the imperial power in

25 Cassandro, "Il ducato bizantino", pp. 243–244.

26 *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, 53.

27 Erchempertus, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, 10 ed. Waitz, in *MGH, SS. Lang. et Ital.*, Hannover 1878, pp. 231–264.

Southern Italy. It is likely that, after the rejection of the “Byzantine” duke by the Neapolitans, he considered the newly elected one a usurper, and therefore that his invasion of their territory was legitimate. If this interpretation is correct, we can better understand how ambiguous the status of Neapolitan “independence” vis-à-vis the Byzantine Empire still was in those years.

3 The Apogee of the “City-State” (AD 840–1030)

Things must have changed quite rapidly after Sicily began to fall under Arab rule. After the Arabs had landed on the western end of the island in 827, it took them nearly four years to seize Palermo. During the thirties they managed to extend their conquest all along Sicily’s north shore, although it was only in 843 that they got Messina under their control. They reached this goal thanks also to the help of the Neapolitan fleet, according to a later Arab source. Considering how friendly the relationship was between Naples and the Arabs of Sicily since the mid-thirties (when the Arabs came to rescue the city from the Lombard siege), this unique source seems trustworthy. If the Neapolitans decided to sue the Arabs for help with city defence, and then reciprocated by aiding in the capture of Messina, this must have derived from a drastic shift of their position towards the Byzantine Empire. Perhaps it had become clear that the imperial fleet’s control of the Tyrrhenian sea had ended, and therefore it was vital to seek new alliances among those who had taken its place ruling the waves.²⁸

Meanwhile, things had also changed on the side of the old enemies of the Neapolitans: the Lombards of Benevento. After having resisted prince Sichard’s attack, in 836 Duke Andrew signed a treaty with him where the Beneventans acknowledged Neapolitan independence and gave them freedom to pursue all trading activities within the territory of the Principality of Benevento: only the capture of Lombard free men and women and their sale as slaves overseas was prohibited. In 839, Sichard was murdered and his crown was contended between his younger brother Sichonolf – who set up his headquarters in Salerno – and the “Beneventan candidate” Radelchis. A bloody civil war lasting ten years broke out among the two pretenders and the Arabs quickly took advantage of the situation. Troops from Sicily landed in Calabria in 840, stripped the city of Taranto from the Lombards and made it into a base for further expansion inland. The two Lombard princes started using them as mercenaries, but soon some of their chiefs became confident enough to lead an independent policy of conquest of Southern Italian lands.

28 Marazzi, “*Ita ut facta videatur Neapolis*”; Di Branco/Wolf, “*Terra di conquista?*”.

As we have seen, the Neapolitans came to terms with this new political situation by aligning with the Arabs. But shortly after the political disintegration of the Beneventan Principality, there is a clue that they perhaps also tested other possibilities. The *Gesta* of Neapolitan bishops report that just before Prince Sichard was murdered, Duke Andrew of Naples sent ambassadors to emperor Lothar.²⁹ Andrew asked him to persuade Sichard (who, as his father had been, was somehow considered the representative of imperial authority in Southern Italy) to stop acting against Naples, since he had just signed the peace treaty mentioned above. In 840, the emperor sent a legate, a certain Contardus, who discovered that Sichard had been murdered by the time he arrived in Naples. Despite this, Andrew asked him not to leave Naples and offered him an association with power by marrying his daughter. Apparently, Contardus soon found out that Andrew did not intend to uphold his promise and therefore organised a plot and got him murdered. Immediately after, he married Andrew's daughter and proclaimed himself as *consul* of Naples. The *Gesta* claim the Neapolitans reacted against him at this point and, after a fierce battle inside the episcopal palace – where Contardus had found refuge – he, his wife and his fellows were all slaughtered.

It seems pretty obvious that what duke Andrew had tried to do was to protect himself from the Beneventan threat. The emperor responded by sending an emissary to Naples whom Andrew tried to yoke to his power. Did Andrew seek to give a new twist to Naples' ongoing political re-positioning by establishing a closer and direct link with the Frankish empire? Had he considered the possibility of profiting from the breakup of Beneventan principality and bypass the influence that the papacy exercised over Frankish policy towards Southern Italy? It is hard to judge, considering our limited evidence, but the dramatic end met by Contardus soon after he had taken Andrew's place suggests that Neapolitan society (or, rather, its more powerful families) saw no advantages in moving from subjects of the Byzantine Empire (whose grip on Italy seemed to be in decline) to subjects of the Frankish one, which was then much closer and influential within the Italian scenario.

What happened between 820 and 840 makes it clear that Neapolitan aristocrats were then able to make decisions concerning their political future and to reset alliances, without having to ask permission from any superior authority.³⁰ In an aphorism we could say that they had not sought political independence, but they had found out that they could be autonomous.

29 *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, 57.

30 Cassandro, "Il ducato bizantino", p. 263.

The crisis of 840 was solved with the appointment of a certain Sergius as chief of the town: his family would have reigned over the city and its territory for nearly three centuries. The *Gesta* of the Neapolitan bishops uses alternatively the terms *consul* and *magister militum* to describe his office.

Before examining Sergius' political action, a few words describing the society and the environment of which he was part are worthwhile. What we know about his life before he had become *consul* is that he held a military post as commander of the fortress of Cuma, the old glorious Greek city that was then reduced to a little fortified settlement guarding the north-western corner of the territory still under control of Naples. Beyond his military skills, he also had some diplomatic experience, since he had led embassies to the prince of Salerno and had been personally in contact with the emperors Lothar and Louis II and with Pope Gregory IV.³¹ The same source also relates that he could read, speak (and presumably also write) both Greek and Latin fluently, and so did his son Gregory, who succeeded him when he died in 864. These details can perhaps help us to understand why he was chosen as the new *magister militum* by his fellow citizens, and they certainly show us that, in those days, a Neapolitan aristocrat was not only educated as a man-at-arms, but was also equipped with a certain degree of culture, a political awareness to help him keep in touch with the world outside the narrow boundaries of his small city-state. We know from other textual and epigraphic evidence that the knowledge of Greek was not at all exceptional among Neapolitans in this period.³² This may also give us a hint that contacts between the city and the heart of the Byzantine Empire remained frequent, but it seems unlikely that this would have been possible without the existence of people who went back and forth from there (see the evidence collected by McCormick.)³³ And, again, considering that in those days Naples was no longer functionally integrated within the body of the Empire, we must assume that these travellers moved around for reasons other than bringing dispatches to a far-flung province. In fact, this connects with the long-debated question of the role played by the city within commercial networks that linked the Eastern and Southern Mediterranean with its Northern and Western half. More recent historiography has quite reasonably stressed that it would have been rather incongruous to imagine for Naples less commercial overseas involvement than that known for neighbouring cities like

31 *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, 57; *Vita et translatio S. Athanasii Neapolitani episcopi* (BHL 735 e 737), sec. IX, 2 ed. A. Vuolo (Fonti per la Storia dell'Italia Medievale. Antiquitates, 16), Rome 2001.

32 Delogu Fragalà, *Chiesa e vescovo*, pp. 47–62; Cavallo, "La cultura greca".

33 McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*.

Amalfi and Gaeta.³⁴ Careful sifting of the scanty evidence dispersed among written sources and revealed by recent (and less recent) archaeological investigations has helped to build up a picture of Naples' early medieval harbour.³⁵ It extended along the steep strip of land that divided the city walls from the shore. Charters reveal the existence, in this area, of shops and workshops and of a fish market. Between the 10th and the 11th centuries, it became more and more built up and populated: in other words, it slowly became a real suburban addition to the old walled city that dominated from above. Another precious and quite early attestation to harbour facilities comes from the chronicle of the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno: at the end of the 9th century, a few years after 881, when the abbey was ravaged by a raid led by Muslim warriors sent by the duke of Naples, the monks were offered docks "in the harbour of Naples", plus a number of houses and cellars within the walls.³⁶ These docks were located slightly further away from the main harbour: as a consequence of the raid on the abbey, the monks had perhaps been obliged by the Neapolitans to establish there the operational base of a good deal of their overseas commerce, presumably so that it could have been put under the direct control of local operators.³⁷

Speaking of merchants, Feniello notes that, quite paradoxically, despite the details they give on buildings, docks and streets, written sources are less generous when it comes to telling us who lived there. Indeed, we have few mentions of sailors and merchants and they nearly all date to the latest period of existence of the Neapolitan duchy.³⁸ This silence has led scholars to the conclusion that the Neapolitans were not particularly involved in sea commerce, but rather were more interested in the land behind the city than in the sea before it.³⁹ This interpretation may simultaneously contain an element of truth and something false. As we have just seen, the harbour and its facilities were quite developed and active throughout all the early medieval period, and this makes sense only if we admit that there were people using them for activities focused on sea travel. But people who used the harbour were not necessarily just (or mainly) Neapolitans. Charters reveal that, at least as of the mid-10th century, Naples was a hub used by merchants from Amalfi,⁴⁰ whose involvement

34 Vitolo, *Tra Napoli e Salerno*, pp. 133–139.

35 Feniello, *Napoli. Società ed economia*, pp. 164–172.

36 *Chronicon Vulturnense*, pp. 25–30 (*Il Chronicon Vulturnense del monaco Giovanni*, ed. V. Federici [Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, 58–60], 4 vols., Rome, 1925, 1938 and 1940).

37 Marazzi, "The Early Medieval Alternative".

38 Feniello, *Napoli. Società ed economia*, pp. 167–172.

39 Russo-Mailler, *Momenti e problemi*, pp. 141–154.

40 Feniello, *Napoli. Società ed economia*, pp. 173–178.

in Mediterranean commerce is well attested since the 9th century.⁴¹ Naples offered what their native city could not: space and easy connections with the densely populated region behind it, which provided goods such as wine and other agricultural products, flaxen clothes and, mainly, slaves.⁴² Gradually, Amalfitan families got involved in the economic and social life of Naples, buying properties in the city and making gifts to its ecclesiastic institutions. Less profusely attested (but perhaps of no lesser importance) is the presence in town of people from Gaeta. But we should not forget that, at least in the 9th century, Naples' harbour hosted a remarkable Islamic presence.

In an attempt to draw some conclusions, we can assume that the Neapolitan aristocracy concentrated mainly on the management of the complex network of trading routes that crossed the city, apparently making their contribution to it by selling the products of their estates to merchants. To keep all this going required a certain degree of military skill, in order to protect the "free trading space" the city had become.⁴³ The changes in the nature of Neapolitan aristocracy that took place between the 7th and the 8th centuries, within the wider transformation of Byzantine society, helped the city to reorganize itself as an organism that was able to survive for nearly four more centuries within a very unstable geopolitical context. A great help towards this goal was the high degree of stability within home affairs that the Neapolitan state had enjoyed since Sergius I access to power. Also helpful was Naples' special flexibility when dealing with foreign affairs. Throughout the second half of the 9th century, the heirs of Sergius I swung without problems from supporting Louis II's campaigns against the Arabs in Southern Italy to making deals with the latter, when the emperor's fortunes began to dwindle. What was crucial for those who held power in Naples was preventing anyone in the neighbourhood from growing too powerful, which of course entailed avoiding any of the "superpowers" establishing a stable presence in the region.

What remained constant in Neapolitan politics from this period onwards, was the effort against the possibility that one of the Lombard states (Capua, Benevento and Salerno) prevailed over the others, thus resurrecting the dangerous situation of the late 8th and early 9th century, when a strong and united Beneventan principality called into question Naples' independence. This direction is well represented by Athanasius II who, after having held the episcopal see of Naples since 872, in 878 also assumed the control of the supreme

41 Goitein, "The Mediterranean Mind"; Citarella, "La crisi navale araba"; Schwarz, *Amalfi nell'Alto Medioevo*.

42 Arthur, "Il particolarismo napoletano"; id., *Naples*, pp. 109–144.

43 Russo-Mailler, *Momenti e problemi*, p. 75; Galasso, *Le città campane*, pp. 118–128.

political power after blinding his brother, the duke Sergius II, and kept the post until his death in 898. He was a master in the art of swinging alliances, but his consistent goal was to keep pressure on Capua, a city that, in previous decades, had proven to be Naples' most dynamic and dangerous competitor. Exploiting the eclipse of the imperial presence in Southern Italy after Louis II's death in 875, Athanasius started a ten-year war against Capua, trying to expand his domain at her expense.

The conflict between the two cities had not always been so open and radical. Between 780 and 940 Naples signed four treaties with the Lombards, whose most interesting feature is perhaps represented by the shared control over the strip of land – the so-called Liburia – that formed the border between the two states. The pacts stated that peasants who lived there had to pay their rents both to the Prince of Capua and to the duke of Naples. This very peculiar regime derived perhaps from the original fiscal status of those lands, recognised for different reasons from both sides: by the Neapolitans, because they might have formed part of the allotments endowed to the city *militia*, and by the Lombards because they fell under their control following a war action.⁴⁴

Around 970 Naples was faced again with the nightmare of a powerful and unified Lombard state. Prince Pandulf Ironhead of Capua-Benevento supported emperor Otto I's project to reassert western imperial authority over Southern Italy at the expense of the Byzantine empire, considering it an opportunity to extend his own personal influence over the region, acting as the local representative of the Saxon king. Duke Marinus II of Naples decided for obvious reasons to side with the Byzantines and for this reason had to endure Otto's and Pandulf's two (unsuccessful) sieges.⁴⁵ Pandulf's death in 981, followed two years later by the death of Otto II (son of Otto I), afforded Naples a period of relative calm that lasted some forty years, until a new threat from Capua arrived.

4 A City Besieged: the Arrival of the Normans and the End of the Independent Duchy (1030–1137)

In the mid-twenties of the 11th century, one of Pandulf Ironhead's descendants – Pandulf IV – embarked on a rather risky (and eventually unsuccessful) attempt to establish Capua's hegemony over all the Southern Italian states. Since the effectiveness of western Imperial presence had vanished with the death

44 Cassandro, "La Liburia e i suoi *tertiatores*".

45 Russo-Mailler, *Momenti e problemi*, pp. 80–81.

of Otto III (1002), Pandulf sided with the Byzantines who had meanwhile launched a series of military campaigns in Northern Apulia, hoping to enlarge their territories at the expense of the Beneventans. This meant that, when Naples came into Pandulf's sights, it could not rely on Byzantine protection. When Pandulf presented himself under the walls of Naples in 1027 and placed it under siege, something quite unexpected happened: the Neapolitans rioted against their duke Sergius IV and obliged him to flee to shelter in Gaeta. For the first time in centuries, Naples had opened its gates to a foreign conqueror, although its defences had not been taken by force of arms.⁴⁶ Sergius managed to recover his position in 1029, but that traumatic experience revealed that many things were changing within the Neapolitan microcosm. First of all it is evident that ducal authority was challenged at least by a faction in Naples, although the sources do not explain who exactly were "those from the city" who had plotted against their duke and opened the city gates to the enemy. Like his predecessors, Sergius bore the title of *consul*, *dux* and *magister militum*. These words do not form a mere sequence of honorary titles, issued by the Byzantine court; quite the opposite, they designate the essence of Sergius' authority over his people, as defined by the changes in the organisation of the Byzantine state which occurred from the mid-7th century onwards, since they meant that Sergius exercised both military and civil power over the territory of which he was in charge.

Bearing this in mind, it is not inappropriate to consider the pact signed by Sergius "with the Neapolitans" around 1030, in order to define the conditions for his comeback to power, as a deep change in the nature of the city's two-century-old regime.⁴⁷ In this document it is stated, among other things, that in the future, before engaging in war (and before signing a truce or a peace treaty), Sergius should seek consent from "the most nobles among the Neapolitans". By signing the pact, Sergius was also obliged to recognise that he could not act anymore at his own pleasure on a number of other relevant matters (such as inflicting punishments, confiscating or damaging private property and interfering with the organisation of city markets), but must obtain prior advice and consent from "as many noblemen as he could". In short, although we do not know exactly how effective this agreement was, it clearly implied a shift from what we might call an "absolute" monarchy to a "constitutional" one.

46 *Storia de' Normanni di Amato di Montecassino*, 1.40 ed. V. De Bartholomaeis (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, 76), Rome 1935; Gay, *L'Italia meridionale e l'Impero bizantino*, p. 409.

47 *Monumenta ad Neapolitani Ducatus historiam pertinentia*, ed. Capasso, vol. 1., Naples 1881, pp. 177–178 (new edition by R. Pilone, 5 vols., Naples 2008).

In the same period family names appear in documents, suggesting the formation of more recognisable noble lineages.⁴⁸ This detail suggests that a number of families had reached a rather high level of self-awareness regarding their status and were eager to play a more active role within the city government; they probably recognised Pandulf's attack against the city as an opportunity to shake Sergius' monopoly over it.

Sergius' defeat and exile apparently gave way to a further weakening of ducal power. He was not left free to return from Gaeta without acknowledging his benefactors from that city and he had therefore to issue a privilege that released them from paying any toll when coming to Naples for trade.⁴⁹ More or less in the same period the two cities in the furthest corner of the Neapolitan state – Sorrento and Pozzuoli – became *de facto* autonomous from its centre.⁵⁰ Both were controlled by families that were not ramifications of the Neapolitan ducal lineage, as for instance we shall see happening in Gaeta in the same period. But while Sorrento expressed a more pronounced detachment from Naples, Pozzuoli apparently remained more closely linked to it because of the widespread presence of lands owned by the main Neapolitan monasteries.⁵¹

In 1030, the same year he signed the pact with the Neapolitans, Sergius IV made another decision that, in retrospect, changed the destiny of Southern Italy for good. Aiming to protect the duchy's northern frontier from Capua's further threats, he granted the Norman chief Rainulf Quarrel-Drengot the *casalis* of Aversa and, in order to strengthen their reciprocal relationship, made him marry his sister. It is well known that, starting from there, the Normans quickly expanded throughout the Northern Campanian plain and in 1062 eventually got rid of the Lombard prince of Capua.

There is no point here in going through all the events that turned the Normans into the lords of all of Southern Italy. But it is worth remembering that, before its final collapse in the mid-1070s, it was the principality of Salerno that used Norman help, between c. 1040 and 1052, to gain an ephemeral regional hegemony by adding to its domain the territories of Capua, Amalfi, Gaeta, and Sorrento.⁵² In particular, the loss of Sorrento represented a first but significant amputation of the territory of the Neapolitan duchy, stable since the days of the Lombard conquest of Southern Italy at the end of the 6th century.

48 Feniello, *Napoli. Società ed economia*, pp. 61–65.

49 Cassandro, "Il ducato bizantino", pp. 429–430.

50 Sangermano, "Il ducato di Sorrento"; Feniello, "Il castrum Puteoli".

51 Martin, "Les aristocraties des duchés tyrrhéniens".

52 Gay, *L'Italia meridionale e l'Impero bizantino*, pp. 414–431.

The new duke of Naples, John v (son of Sergius iv, who meanwhile had retired to a monastery) tried to seek help from the Byzantines by going personally to Constantinople, but came back empty handed. Despite this, at the end of the 11th century the Normans were still far from forming a unified political entity. Two main "clans" – the Hauteville in Apulia and Sicily and the Quarrel-Drengot in Campania – shared (not always peacefully) political supremacy over all the conquered lands, but they did not always have a firm grip over the local chiefs who formed their armed clientele. This meant that the Neapolitans could hope for the survival of their political independence, although within a completely different geopolitical scenario from what it had been until fifty years before. In 1071, for instance, Duke Sergius v of Naples took part in the inauguration of the new church of Montecassino, together with all the most prominent Norman aristocrats and with the survivors of the old Lombard ruling class. Faithful to the tradition that considered the closest enemy most dangerous, Sergius v adopted a discreet but consistently hostile policy towards the princes of Capua, siding with the leader of the Hauteville faction, Robert Guiscard. But perhaps he did not know that Robert and his "rival", Prince Richard of Capua, around 1075 had already agreed to share the spoils of Naples and Salerno. Luckily for Sergius and the Neapolitans, Richard died in 1078 and his son Jordan was less well inclined towards the Hauteville family.

In the following decades Naples tried to preserve its independence by weaving between Drengot and Hauteville and meanwhile trying to strengthen its ties with the Byzantine empire. But all these plans were doomed: the duke of Sicily, Roger II of Hauteville, launched his project to turn the unstable mosaic of Norman Italy's military lordships into a monarchy. From his perspective Naples appeared the main anomaly to be eradicated. In 1135 the city was besieged by Roger's army, because Sergius VII, the last duke, in a desperate attempt to head off the inevitable, had made the choice to side with count Rainulf of Alife, Roger's brother-in-law, who had become the leader of those who opposed the king's plans. The city's defences resisted for two years but in 1137, when the German emperor Lothar II withdrew from an alliance with Roger's opponents, Sergius found any further resistance pointless. He decided to submit to Roger who obliged Sergius to follow him to Apulia to fight a battle against Rainulf. Roger expected this to be the decisive encounter with those who did not accept his supremacy. But things went otherwise: Rainulf won the battle, Roger was put to flight and Sergius lost his life on the battlefield, fighting against the man – Rainulf of Alife – who alone might have saved his throne and Naples' freedom. After Sergius' death, the Neapolitans did not choose a

successor and the city was ruled for a couple of years by an assembly of its most noble citizens (*primores*) with the participation of its bishop.⁵³ Two years later Rainulf died and the Neapolitans bowed to Roger, delivering the city into his hands. The Duchy of Naples had ceased to exist and, with this, we can say that the history of early medieval (and, in particular, of Byzantine) southern Italy had finally reached its conclusion.

5 Gaeta: an “Emporium-State” or a Family Business?

The territory of Gaeta was the heir of the Roman city of *Formiae*.⁵⁴ During the Early Middle Ages it experienced a most peculiar political and institutional development. As Paolo Delogu has pointed out,⁵⁵ it remains very much a mystery why, at the end of the 6th century, the Lombards, having acquired the lands of northern Campania, did not pursue the conquest of the strip of land between the Garigliano river, the Tyrrhenian sea, and the mountains that separated the coast from the area around Montecassino. It is relevant, however, that this area's status also within the administrative partition of Byzantine Italy, remained suspended between Rome and Naples. Thus it is unclear which of the two towns had jurisdiction over it, although some evidence seems to indicate that in the earlier days it had closer ties with the old Imperial capital rather than with Naples.

For example, at the beginning of the 8th century, on his trip back from Byzantium, Pope Constantine (708–715) disembarked at the *portum Gaiete* for a short stay, before heading to Rome. What is interesting is that the text of the *Liber pontificalis* notes that there he was welcomed by “priests and by a large crowd of people from Rome”.⁵⁶ Documents dating to the 8th century also offer substantial evidence for the survival and functionality of the administrative structure of the vast Gaetan patrimonies of the Roman church, whose existence went back into Late Antiquity.⁵⁷

Things perhaps began to change after the popes gradually broke their ties with the Byzantine empire and moved towards an alliance with the Franks. When Pope Gregory II (715–731) reacted against Leo the Isaurian's confiscation of pontifical properties in Sicily and in Calabria, the Byzantine reprisal

53 Russo-Mailler, *Momenti e problemi*, p. 101.

54 Frecentese, *Studi e ricerche sul territorio di Formia*.

55 Delogu, “Il ducato di Gaeta”, pp. 191–192.

56 *Le « Liber Pontificalis »*. *Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Duchesne, vol. 1, Paris 1888, p. 391.

57 Delogu, “Il ducato di Gaeta”, p. 191; Marazzi, *I “Patrimonia Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae”*, p. 131.



MAP 14.2 Gaeta and its surroundings
DRAWN BY PHOTO GOOGLE EARTH

involved occupying Terracina, with the implication that Gaeta would follow, suffering the same treatment.⁵⁸ This conflict must have caused loss of control over the properties the Roman church owned in and around Naples, but did not affect permanently the availability of those placed in the area between *Minturnae*, *Formiae*, Gaeta and Fondi. They had certainly fallen from Roman control only in the mid-760s, when Pope Paul I asked the Frankish king Pippin III to help him persuade people from *Caieta* to return them to the Roman church.⁵⁹ Later documents, dating to the first half of the 9th century (I shall discuss these later), demonstrate that the lands in question were again at the popes' disposal.

Papal documents concerning these lands also reveal that part of them formed an administrative entity called *patrimonium Caietanum*, thus revealing that around the mid-8th century Gaeta had become a settlement of some relevance, and not only a base for the management of papal properties. This

⁵⁸ Marazzi, "Il conflitto fra Leone III Isaurico e il papato"; id., "Proprietà pontificie"; Prigent, "Les empereurs isauriens".

⁵⁹ *Codex Carolinus*, 37.

hypothesis is reinforced by what is reported in a letter sent in 778 Charlemagne by Pope Hadrian. There Hadrian complained about the attitude of the inhabitants of Gaeta and Terracina, stressing that they were trying to escape from papal control and submit to the Byzantines. The situation looked particularly worrying since the *stratēgos* of Sicily in person had just elected Gaeta as his operational base.⁶⁰ In this text Gaeta is called *castrum* (castle), which means that it worked as a garrison for a maritime port of call that hosted facilities capable of welcoming a pope and a high ranking Byzantine officer, both with a retinue. In 779 or 780 the pope was still concerned about this situation, since he urged Charles to recruit an army from Tuscany, Spoleto and Benevento for a military expedition whose target should have been the capture of Terracina and Gaeta.⁶¹

Some ten years later, at the end of 787 (a few months after Charlemagne had paid his only visit to Southern Italy) things had changed substantially, since the pope was now getting help from Gaeta to keep an eye on Adelchis' moves.⁶² The son of the deposed last king of the Lombards had in fact landed in Italy and, with Byzantine support, was trying to rescue his realm. What interests us in this letter is that Hadrian says that his referent in Gaeta was the local bishop (*episcopus civitatis Caietanae*). This means that the old episcopal see of Formia had moved to Gaeta long enough before so that the bishop bore the title *Caietanus* instead of *Formianus*. Only a century later would sources definitively abandon mentions of the old city of *Formiae* as the bishopric's legal see, but it is clear enough that already in the final decades of the 8th century the fortified harbour of Gaeta had become the main settlement within its neighbourhood.⁶³

Despite this, at the dawn of the 9th century Gaeta's institutional status remained still quite amorphous. It seems that the territory still gravitated mostly towards Rome. At the time of Pope Leo III (795–816) a new settlement was created not far from the old (and perhaps then completely deserted) city of *Minturnae*.⁶⁴ It was called *Leopolis*, in honour of the founder pope, and charters name it a *civitas* in 830 and a *castrum* in 839.⁶⁵ In this latter year, it was also the residence of a bishop who proclaimed himself head of the diocese

60 *Codex Carolinus*, 61.

61 *Codex Carolinus*, 64.

62 *Codex Carolinus*, 80.

63 Frecentese, *Studi e ricerche sul territorio di Formia*, p. 125; von Falkenhausen, "Tra Roma e Napoli", p. 21.

64 It remains doubtful whether the site of *Leopolis* coincided with that of *Traiectum* (i.e. modern Minturno) or of *Castrum/Mons Argenti*, a small promontory protruding into the Tyrrhenian sea near Minturno, where traces of a medieval settlement have been found (see Ciarrocchi, "Dal 'Mons Garelianus' al 'Castrum Argenti'").

65 *Codice diplomatico Gaetano*, nos. 2 and 5.

of *Minturnae* and *Leopolis*. In 841,⁶⁶ the officer in charge of the management of pontifical properties bore the title of *rector patrimonii Gaetani*, whereas charters from the following two decades inform us of the existence of a *patrimonium Traiectanum*, taking its name from the city of *Traiectum*, perhaps the same place as *Leopolis* (but this identification remains still under scrutiny).⁶⁷ Delogu thinks that this can be interpreted as a sign of a change in the balance of power inside Gaeta, where local families who had defended the castle and operated the harbour were beginning to claim far more autonomy from Rome.⁶⁸ It is difficult to say whether they had also got their hands on papal lands closer to Gaeta. The outstanding members of the families who, in first half of the 9th century held a prominent position within the city, all bore the typical military title of *comes*. This may lead to the conclusion that we are looking at a group of people who had had something to do with the defence of the fortress, perhaps since the times when the Byzantines still had some kind of control over it, that is to say not later than the 770s. They must have therefore formed a group of honourable people who exercised some kind of shared primacy within the local community. If all this is true, a process not different to the one seen in Naples was under way, although on a smaller scale, considering that Gaeta never had the function of a provincial chief town. Among the big men we see two (father and son) who bear the higher title of *hypatos* (corresponding to the Latin *consul*), and they seem to have a leading responsibility for the city, since in a charter dating to 866 they define themselves *hypati* of the castle of Gaeta.⁶⁹ The older of the two, a certain Constantine, had appeared in another charter dating to 839, where he already boasted the title of *hypatos* and declared himself as the son of a *comes*.⁷⁰ What is most interesting, though, is the fact that Constantine avows the authenticity of what the charter says not just with the name of God, but also of the Byzantine emperor, the *stratigòs* of Sicily and the duke of Naples.

These documents show that something was changing in Gaeta during the central decades of the 9th century. Its more prominent representatives were striking up closer ties with Naples and, through it, with the Byzantine Empire. In light of this, it is worth noting that the two charters make mention of ships going to and from Naples and the earlier one lists, among the witnesses, a ship owner and a merchant.

66 *Codice diplomatico Gaetano*, no. 6.

67 Ciarrocchi, "Dal 'Mons Garelianus' al 'Castrum Argentum'".

68 Delogu, "Il ducato di Gaeta", p. 195.

69 *Codice diplomatico Gaetano*, no. 11.

70 *Codice diplomatico Gaetano*, no. 4.

It is tempting to conclude that, without completely cutting its ties with Rome, in these decades Gaeta was turning to Naples because of the growing commercial opportunities offered by its harbour. Charters from this period show a close network of marriages between members of the aristocracy of the two towns.⁷¹ But we should not forget that just behind Gaeta there was Montecassino, whose splendour and economic prosperity had reached a zenith in those days and which owned properties along the valley of the Garigliano river where the surpluses coming from the core of its estates could be loaded onto sea-going ships.

During the last thirty years of the 9th century charters and chronicles reveal the actions of a man called Docibilis, who determined a further development in the history of early medieval Gaeta.⁷² He was already a character of some respect in the late 860s, but ten years later he was the only *hypatos* in charge. Perhaps he was related to the first two *hypatoi* and this would help us understand his apparently uncontested political rise.⁷³ In 875 he was *rector* of the pontifical lands around Gaeta and, a few years after, he was also charged by Pope John VIII with running the patrimony of *Traiectum*. Apparently Docibilis had been clever enough to obtain this concession with the promise to cut his ties with the Arabs who, as we have seen in the preceding treatment of Naples, in those years ravaged the Tyrrhenian coast.⁷⁴ Docibilis had many good reasons for keeping on good terms with the Arabs, since Gaeta was presumably involved in overseas commerce as much as Naples and Amalfi. In fact, Docibilis was responsible for letting the Arabs settle by the mouth of the Garigliano where they built a fortified camp used both as a base for inland raids and for trading activities.⁷⁵ The most significant raid by this Muslim colony was the sack of Montecassino in 883, and it is plausible that Docibilis himself used the Arabs against the abbey for the same reasons that had persuaded the bishop-duke of Naples to act likewise against San Vincenzo al Volturno two years before.⁷⁶

We can have a better idea of Docibilis' personal background reading the text of the testament he wrote in 906.⁷⁷ We do not know how long before his death it was written. The *hypatos* was surely not alive in 914, when his son John had taken his place and associated his son Docibilis (II) at the helm in Gaeta.

71 Skinner, *Family power in Southern Italy*, pp. 41–50.

72 Schwarz, "Docibile".

73 Skinner, *Family power in Southern Italy*, pp. 30–33.

74 Engreen, "Pope John the Eighth"; Marazzi, I *"Patrimonia Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae"*, pp. 132–133; Wolf, "Gli hypati di Gaeta".

75 Pesiri, "Per una definizione"; Di Branco/ Matullo/Wolf, "Nuove ricerche".

76 Dell'Omo, "Le relazioni tra Gaeta e Montecassino".

77 *Codice diplomatico Gaetano*, no. 19.

Docibilis' will provides a clear window onto his family and wealth. He owned a good number of houses in Gaeta, some of which were near the harbour. Some of them had towers, gardens, ovens, warehouses and mills. Docibilis also owned a remarkable patrimony outside Gaeta that included vineyards, orchards and arable land, with animals and servants looking after them.

But Docibilis was also a benefactor of local churches, some of which he had founded himself. He provided their clergy with money for building and repairs, and gave gifts and rents so that they could assist poor people and pilgrims.

The document shows that Docibilis also owned sizeable amounts of cash and precious metal, such as gold and silver, but also silken cloths. It is reasonable to believe that they derived from his own and his family's engagement in commerce, although unfortunately this activity is not openly mentioned.

As we have seen, when Docibilis died, his son John took his place as *hypatos* of Gaeta, apparently without having to face any opposition. From then on, their family would hold supreme power for nearly a century and a half, keeping this small territory within the Byzantine commonwealth, gaining an autonomous position vis-à-vis the more powerful Neapolitan state but – as we shall see – deriving legitimacy from territorial concessions issued by the popes.⁷⁸ When in 915 John joined the league organised by Pope John X to eradicate the Muslim colony established at the mouth of the Garigliano, he bargained for the definitive transfer to himself of pontifical lands around the city of Fondi, to the north, and those to the south forming the old *patrimonium Traiectanum*.⁷⁹ This move can be considered the masterpiece of Gaeta's foreign policy, as it enlarged considerably the area under its direct control. It also provided Docibilis' heirs with a consistent landed patrimony, which became the basis for a further reinforcement of the family's power.

When Docibilis II died shortly after 950, the consulate was transmitted to his son John II, associated with his father's office since 933. But, at the same time, another son named Marinus was bequeathed the territory of Fondi, at the northern end of Gaeta's dominion. When John died, his brother Gregory replaced him. Gregory had three children, but when he left power after only two years it was his brother Marinus, count of Fondi, who was installed as the new *hypatos*. He in turn eventually associated his son John (III) with himself in office. During Marinus' reign a very important document was issued.⁸⁰ In 999, a dispute between Gaeta and the abbey of Montecassino was debated in the presence of emperor Otto III. The monks claimed rights over some lands that

78 For Docibilis' complete descent see Skinner, *Family power in Southern Italy*, fig. 1.1.

79 Arnaldi, "Le fasi preparatorie"; Pesiri, "Per una definizione".

80 P. Corbo / M.C. Corbo, *Gaeta*.

they considered to be their own and that Marinus had therefore usurped.⁸¹ During the trial, Marinus (who was recognised as *consul et dux* of Gaeta) stated that he was the legitimate lord of this territory because it had been granted by a Pope John, whose identity is unfortunately not better specified, but who can be tentatively identified with the tenth bearing this name.⁸²

After Marinus' death, the structure of power changed considerably. Each of his sons received a slice of Gaetan territory, thus forming a mosaic of small lordships centred, beyond Gaeta itself, on the cities of Fondi, Traetto, Suio and *Castrum Argenti*. Each heir built a number of fortified settlements to protect their land.⁸³ From then on, each branch of the family maintained its own autonomy, while recognising a sort of political primacy to the lineage residing in Gaeta (whose representative from the end of the 10th century bore the title of duke) and keeping their reciprocal links tight and alive through marriages among their members.⁸⁴

This situation persisted until the beginning of the second quarter of the 11th century, when in 1032 Gaeta fell first under the rule of the Lombard prince of Capua, Pandulf IV and then under the prince of Salerno, Guaimar IV. From then on the local dynasty lost its supremacy, but its members did not lose their grip on local affairs and kept their control over the smaller settlements, although Lombard aristocrats (from Capua and Southern Lazio) and Montecassino gained land and power in the area, mainly through marriages with members of local families and donations to the abbey.⁸⁵ This situation persisted until 1063–1064, when the Normans who had captured Capua in 1062 extended their control over Gaeta. In the following years, prince Richard of Capua dismembered the territory of the old duchy granting individual castles and settlements to his own clientele.

Using only documents issued in Gaeta and in its hinterland it is difficult to evaluate the city's involvement in long distance commerce. We have clues about the commercial activities of people from Gaeta in Naples, and learn about people from Rome coming to Gaeta to buy pepper, cotton and silk.⁸⁶ Written

81 *Codice diplomatico Gaetano*, no. 101.

82 Guiraud, "Le réseau du peuplement", p. 492. This charter had been previously dated to 982, and therefore attributed to emperor Otto II. But Otto II was never in Gaeta during that year, whereas it is attested that his son Otto III was there in 999. Moreover, the year 982 does not correspond to the twelfth indiction, which instead fell either in 984 (when Otto II had died and his son Otto III was too young to chair a court) or in 999 (*Codice diplomatico Gaetano*, vol. 2, no. 167).

83 Skinner, *Family power in Southern Italy*, pp. 170–173.

84 Delogu, "Il ducato di Gaeta", pp. 205–212.

85 Martin, "Structures familiales".

86 Delogu, "Il ducato di Gaeta", p. 217.

sources also speak of merchants from Gaeta operating in Constantinople since the 10th century and in the same period we are also informed of their presence in Pavia, the capital of the kingdom of Italy.⁸⁷ It seems quite clear then that Gaeta played a role of some relevance in early medieval commerce between the East and Italy, although perhaps its merchants did not display an organisation comparable with that of Amalfi.⁸⁸

The end of Gaeta's political independence did not end mercantile activity, as the history of the Caboto family, who ran one of the most important Italian naval enterprises of the Late Middle Ages, clearly shows.⁸⁹

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Codex Carolinus, ed. W. Gundlach, in *MGH*, III, *Epp.*, vol. 1, Berlin 1892, pp. 469–657.

Codice Diplomatico Gaetano, ed. S. Riciniello, 10 vols., Gaeta 1987–2019.

Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum auctore Johanne Diacono, ed. G. Waitz, in *MGH*, SS. Lang. et Ital., Hannover 1878, pp. 424–435.

Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, ed. D. Comparetti, *La Guerra Gotica di Procopio di Cesarea* (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, 23–25), 3 vols., Rome, 1895–1898.

Secondary Literature

Arnaldi, G., “La fase preparatoria della battaglia del Garigliano del 915”, *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia di Napoli* 4 (1955), 123–144.

Arthur, P., “Il particolarismo napoletano altomedievale: una lettura basata sui dati archeologici”, *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Age* 107/1 (1995), 17–30.

Arthur, P., *Naples. From Roman Town to City State* (The British School at Rome Archaeological Monographs, 12), London 2002.

Brown, T.S., *Gentlemen and Officers. Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554–800*, London 1984.

Carsana, V., “Produzione e circolazione della ceramica medievale a Napoli alla luce dei recenti scavi”, *Napoli Nobilissima* 5th s., 5 (2004), 21–34.

Carsana, V./D'Amico, V., “Piazza Bovio. Produzioni e consumi in età bizantina: la ceramica dalla metà del VI al X secolo”, in D. Giampaola (ed.), *Napoli. La città e il mare. Piazza Bovio: tra Romani e Bizantini*, Naples 2010, pp. 69–80.

87 Corbo/Liguori Mignano, *Navi e mercanti*, vol. 1, pp. 163–175.

88 An overall sketch of the available data in Figliuolo, “La struttura economica”, pp. 133–144.

89 Corbo/Liguori Mignano, *Navi e mercanti*, vol. 2.

- Cassandro, G., "La Liburia e i suoi *tertiatores*", *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 65 (1940), 197–268.
- Cassandro, G., "Il ducato bizantino", in *Storia di Napoli. Storia politica ed economica*, vol. 1, Bari 1975, pp. 213–520.
- Cavalieri Manasse, G./von Hesberg, H., "Dalle decorazioni architettoniche ai monumenti romani", in D. Giampaola (ed.), *Napoli. La città e il mare. Piazza Bovio: tra Romani e Bizantini*, Naples 2010, pp. 27–50.
- Cavallo, G., "La cultura greca. Itinerari e segni", in G. Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), *Storia e civiltà della Campania. Il Medioevo*, Naples 1992, pp. 277–294.
- Ciarrocchi, B., "Dal *Mons Garelianus* al *Castrum Argenti*. Lo sviluppo dell'insediamento di Monte d'Argento (Minturno, LT) in età post-antica (IX–XVI secolo)", in F. Redi/A. Forgione (eds.), *VI Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, Florence 2012, pp. 327–335.
- Citarella A.O., "La crisi navale araba del sec. VIII e l'origine della fortuna commerciale di Amalfi", in *Amalfi nel Medioevo*, Salerno 1977, pp. 193–214.
- Corbo, P./Corbo, M.C., *Gaeta, la storia. Tra Bisanzio e Roma. Dalle origini ai primi decenni del Mille*, vol. 1, Gaeta 1995.
- Corbo, P./Liguori Mignano, V. (eds.), *Navi e mercanti di Gaeta nel Mediterraneo tra VIII e XV secolo*, 2 vols., Formia 2011.
- Cosentino, S., *Storia dell'Italia bizantina (VI–XI secolo). Da Giustiniano ai Normanni*, Bologna 2008.
- D'Agostino, M./Marazzi, F., "Notizia preliminare sullo studio di materiali tardoantichi e altomedievali da Lacco Ameno (Ischia – NA)", *Archeologia Medievale*, 12 (1985), 611–625.
- Dell'Omo, M., "Le relazioni tra Gaeta e Montecassino nel Medioevo e oltre", in M. D'Onofrio/M. Gianandrea (eds.), *Gaeta medievale e la sua cattedrale*, Roma 2018, pp. 41–48.
- Delogu, P., "Il ducato di Gaeta", in G. Galasso/R. Romeo (eds.), *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, vol. 2/1, Rome 1995 (reprint of the 1st edition issued in 1989), pp. 189–236.
- Delogu Fragalà, L., *Chiesa e vescovo nella Napoli ducale. Per la storia dei rapporti tra chiesa e stato a Napoli nel periodo ducale*, Naples 1968.
- De Simone, G.F./Macfarlane, R.T./Lubrano, M./Bartlett, J.L./Cannella, R./Martucci, C.S./Scarpati, C./Perrotta, A., "Apolline Project 2007: il sito romano di Pollena Trocchia in località Masseria De Carolis", in G.F. De Simone/R.T. Macfarlane (eds.), *Apolline Project vol. 1. Studies on Vesuvius' North Slope and the Bay of Naples*, Naples 2009, pp. 207–239.
- Di Branco, M./Matullo, G./Wolf, K., "Nuove ricerche sull'insediamento islamico presso il Garigliano", in E. Calandra/G. Ghini/G.Z. Mari (eds.), *Lazio e Sabina 10. (Atti del convegno "Decimo incontro di studi sul Lazio e la Sabina")*, Rome 2014, pp. 273–280.

- Di Branco, M./Wolf, K., "Terra di conquista? I musulmani in Italia meridionale nell'epoca aghlabita (184/800–269/909)", in M. Di Branco/K. Wolf (eds.), *Guerra santa e conquiste islamiche nel Mediterraneo (VII–XI secolo)*, Rome 2014, pp. 125–166.
- Ebanista, C., "Le chiese tardoantiche e altomedievali nella Campania: vecchi scavi, nuovi orientamenti", *Postclassical Archaeologies* 1 (2011), 383–418.
- Engreen, F., "Pope John the Eighth and the Arabs", *Speculum* 20 (1945), 318–330.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "La Campania tra Goti e Bizantini", in G. Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), *Storia e civiltà della Campania. Il Medioevo*, Naples 1992, pp. 7–36.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Tra Roma e Napoli: Gaeta nel primo Medioevo", in M. D'Onofrio/M. Gianandrea (eds.), *Gaeta medievale e la sua cattedrale*, Roma 2018, pp. 21–30.
- Feniello, A., "Il castrum Puteoli (secc. X–XII)", in id. (ed.), *Napoli nel Medioevo*, vol. 2. *Territorio e isole* (Le città del Mezzogiorno medievale, 4), Lecce 2009, pp. 55–68.
- Feniello, A., *Napoli. Società ed economia (902–1137)* (Nuovi Studi Storici, 89), Rome 2011.
- Feniello A., "Poteri pubblici nei ducati tirrenici", in J.M. Martin/A. Peters-Custot/V. Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 2. *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 461), Rome 2012, pp. 325–342.
- Figliuolo B., "La struttura economica delle città del mezzogiorno nel secolo precedente l'istituzione della monarchia normanna", in Centro di Cultura e Storia Amalfitana (ed.), *La conquista e l'insediamento dei Normanni e le città del Mezzogiorno italiano*, Amalfi 2019, pp. 121–144.
- Frecentese R., *Studi e ricerche sul territorio di Formia*, Minturno 1996.
- Galasso, G., "Le città campane nell'alto medioevo", in id., *Mezzogiorno medievale e moderno*, urin 1975, pp. 61–137.
- Gay, J., *L'Italia meridionale e l'Impero bizantino. Dall'avvento di Basilio I alla resa di Bari ai Normanni (867–1071)*, Florence 1917 (French edition, Paris 1904).
- Giampaola, D., "Il paesaggio costiero di Neapolis fra Greci e Bizantini", in ead. (ed.), *Napoli. La città e il mare. Piazza Bovio tra Romani e Bizantini*, Naples 2010, pp. 17–27.
- Giampaola, D./Carsana, V./Febbraro, S./Roncella, B., "Napoli: trasformazioni edilizie e funzionali della fascia costiera", in G. Vitolo (ed.), *Le città campane fra Tarda Antichità e Alto Medioevo*, Salerno 2005, pp. 219–248.
- Goitein, S.D., "The Mediterranean Mind in the High Middle Ages (950–1250). As reflected in the Cairo Geniza Documents", in *Amalfi nel Medioevo*, Salerno 1977, pp. 177–192.
- Guillou, A., *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'empire Byzantin au VII^e siècle. L'exemple de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie* (Studi Storici, 75–76), Rome 1969.
- Guiraud, J.F., "Le réseau du peuplement dans le duché de Gaète du X^e au XIII^e siècle", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 94 (1982), 485–511.

- Haldon, J.F., *Byzantium in the Seventh Century. The Transformation of a Culture*, Cambridge 1990.
- Liccardo, G., "Napoli antica", in S. Tanzarella (ed.), *Dizionario storico delle diocesi della Campania*, Palermo 2010, pp. 374–388.
- Marazzi, F., "Il conflitto fra Leone III Isaurico e il papato (725–731) e il 'definitivo' inizio del Medioevo a Roma", *Papers of the British School at Rome* 59 (1991), 231–257.
- Marazzi, F., *I patrimoni Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae nel Lazio (secoli IV–X). Struttura amministrativa e prassi gestionali* (Nuovi Studi Storici, 37), Rome 1998.
- Marazzi, F., "Ita ut facta esse videatur Neapolis Panormus vel Africa. Luoghi e tempi della presenza islamica nei domini di Napoli, Gaeta, Salerno e Benevento nel IX secolo", *Schede Medievali* 45 (2007), 159–202.
- Marazzi, F., "Proprietà pontificie lungo il litorale tirrenico laziale (secoli VIII–X)", in M.G. Lauro (ed.), *Catolporziano III. Campagne di scavo e restauro 1987–1991*, Rome 1998, pp. 33–38.
- Marazzi, F., "The Early Medieval Alternative. Monasteries as Centres of non City-based Economic Systems in Italy between Eighth and Ninth Century A.D.", in B. Marin/C. Virlouvet (eds.), *Nourrir les cités de Méditerranée*, Paris 2004, pp. 739–768.
- Martin, J.M., "Militia et exercitus. Les institutions militaires du duché de Naples et de la Longobardia Minor", in id., *Guerres, accords et frontières en Italie méridionale pendant le haut Moyen Âge*. Pacta de Liburia, Divisio principatus Beneventani et autres acts (Sources et Documents d'Histoire du Moyen Âge publiées par l'École Française de Rome, 7), Rome 2005, pp. 23–74.
- Martin, J.M., "Le fortificazioni dal secolo V al XIII", in A. Feniello (ed.), *Napoli nel Medioevo*, vol. 1, *Segni culturali di una città* (Le città del Mezzogiorno medievale, 4), Lecce 2007, pp. 21–40.
- Martin, J.M., "Les aristocraties des duchés tyrrhéniens (X^e–XII^e siècle): parcours varies de Byzance à l'Occident", in J.M. Martin/A. Peters-Custot/V. Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 2, *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 461), Rome, pp. 585–604.
- Martin, J.M., "Structures familiales, vocabulaire de la parenté, devolution du patrimoine: les duchés de Gaète et d'Amalfi", in J.M. Martin/A. Peters-Custot/V. Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage Byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 2, *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 461), Rome 2012, pp. 117–139.
- McCormick, M., *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce, AD 300–900*, Cambridge 2001.
- Otranto G., *Per una storia dell'Italia tardoantica cristiana* (Biblioteca Tardoantica, 3), Bari 2009.

- Peduto, P., "Aspetti di indagine comparata: strutture, reperti, problemi per Ischia al tardo-medievale", in S. Monti/M. Mello (eds.), *La tradizione storica e archeologica in età tardo-antica e medievale: i materiali e l'ambiente*, Salerno 1989, pp. 33–56.
- Pesiri G., "Per una definizione dei confini del ducato di Gaeta secondo il *praeceptum* di papa Giovanni VIII", *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo* 107/2 (2005), 169–192.
- Prigent, V., "Les empereurs isauriens et la confiscation des patrimoines pontificaux de l'Italie du Sud", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 116/2 (2004), 557–594.
- Russo Mailler, C., *Il Medioevo a Napoli nell'età ducale (sec. VI–1140)*, Salerno 1988.
- Russo Mailler, C., *Momenti e problemi della Campania alto-medievale*, Naples 1995.
- Sangermano, G., "Il ducato di Sorrento", in G. Galasso/R. Romeo (eds.), *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, vol. 2/1, Rome 1995 (reprint of the 1st edition issued in 1989), pp. 323–340.
- Savino, E., *Campania tardoantica (284–604 d.C.)* (Munera, 20), Bari 2005.
- Savino, E., "L'area vesuviana in età tardoantica: modalità insediative e strutture produttive", in G.F. De Simone/R.T. Macfarlane (eds.), *Apolline Project*, vol. 1. *Studies on Vesuvius' North Slope and the Bay of Naples*, Naples 2009, pp. 240–246.
- Schwarz, U., *Amalfi nell'alto medioevo*, Amalfi 1985.
- Schwarz, U., "Docibile", in *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani* 40, Rome 1991, pp. 344–346.
- Skinner, P., *Family power in Southern Italy. The duchy of Gaeta and its neighbours, 850–1139*, Cambridge 1995.
- Tabata, K., *Città dell'Italia nel secolo VI* (Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei – Memorie, ser. IX, vol. XXII, fasc. 1), Rome 2013.
- Vitolo, G., *Tra Napoli e Salerno. La costruzione dell'identità cittadina nel Mezzogiorno medievale*, Naples 2001.
- Wolf, K., "Gli *hypati* di Gaeta, papa Giovanni VIII e i Saraceni: tra dinamiche locali e transregionali", *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo* 116 (2014), 25–59.
- Zanini, E., *Le Italie bizantine. Territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia* (Munera, 10), Bari 1998.

Byzantine Calabria

Ghislaine Noyé

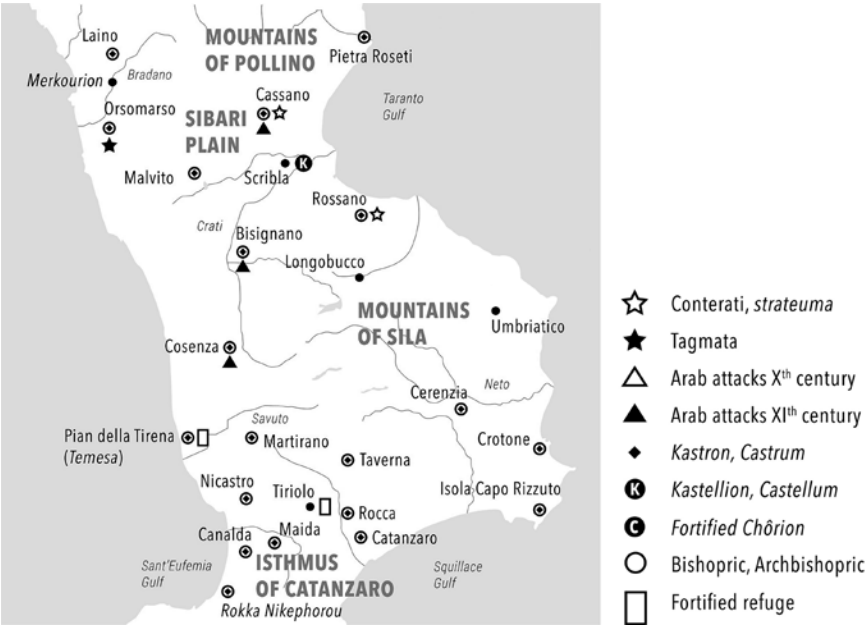
There are two features of Calabria which are original when compared to the rest of the peninsula. The first is the continuity of Byzantine rule: five centuries for studying long-term phenomena such as the economic and social evolution in a province of the western margins of the Empire. The second is the scarcity of written evidence. This latter characteristic is not specific but is strongly marked in this case: until the 10th century there are only Greek and Latin narrative sources, some correspondence and a few hagiographies. The oldest fragments of cartularies only go back to the 11th century, and it is the same for land management documents such as the famous *Brebion* of the metropolis of Reggio.¹ Furthermore, the unattractive geography of Calabria was enough to convince of her reduced political interest the historians who only recognized the region as a strategic road to Sicily: indeed, its historiographical misfortune is the vicinity of the island. Nevertheless, archaeology that developed in southern Italy from the late 1980s has changed the image of the province.

Scholars traditionally underestimated the wealth of mineral resources and woodlands, as well as the existence of vineyards and grain growth in Calabria, while the extent of its coastline opened the region to the Mediterranean trade. The perennial nature of the Byzantine domination is owed to the perfect awareness of this potential, which incited Constantinople to restructure the taxes and the defence whenever the opportunity arose due to the situation of the eastern frontline; the study of settlement reflects the way Constantinople controlled and protected the province.

The three extensive mountainous areas which dominate the Calabrian landscape (about three-quarters of the surface) became a large fiscal *saltus* after the Roman conquest;² from the 4th to the 6th century the major part was offered to the Roman church by the emperors and the rich owners who had usurped it, so that the public land was reduced. The *massa* of Tropea covered the southern part of the Tyrrhenian Coastal Range, where the high forests could still provide

¹ *Le brébion de Région*, ed. Guillou.

² For all references on the early medieval economy, see Noyé, "L'économie de la Calabre", pp. 327–329.



MAP 15.1 *Byzantine Calabria (9th–11th century): (top) northern part; (bottom) southern part.*
CLAUDIA LAMANNA, GHISLAINE NOYÉ

beams for the major Roman basilicas,³ and also the Poro's headland that was dedicated to grain farming. North-east of the region, the huge mountainous mass of the Sila, which largely formed the homonymous *massa*, maintained its copious pitch and wood reserves, while its margin slopes were cultivated. Finally, the vineyards of the *massa Nicoterana*,⁴ on the hills bordering the river Mesima, supplied Rome with wine through the *annona*. In the field of construction, Byzantium came into competition with the papacy early on for the needs of the local fleet which was armed in Calabria and Sicily after the mid-7th century,⁵ and restored a hundred years later;⁶ an arsenal was still working at Rossano in the 10th century and, with other port cities of the *thema*, had to build a number of *chelandi* as a tax obligation.⁷

The period from the 4th to the 6th centuries had also been, for the great *possessores* and for the local churches, a time of amassing lands, slaves, jewels and treasures of all types. The best testimonials are the luxurious *villae* flanked by kilns for wine amphoras and private *vici*, and the episcopal complex that developed in the public thermal baths of Sibari/*Thurii* from the 4th to the 6th century. When the Byzantines arrived, towns were very scarce in Calabria so that only half the bishoprics were urban, the others being installed either in rural sites, in aristocratic and public *stationes/praetoria*, or in the management centres of the pontifical estates. During and after the Gothic War, Justinian fortified cities which were previously unvalled, as in the most of southern Italy, and he founded others.⁸ This campaign involved ports on both coasts to ensure relations with Constantinople (Taranto, Crotone and *Scolacium*) and Rome (Reggio, *Vibona*, Salerno, Naples). The cost could be partly supported by the province itself which had suffered damage only in limited areas, such as around the few cities which had been under siege (the *phrourion*, i.e. castle of *Thurii* which had already abandoned the coastal plain to the inland heights, Crotone and Reggio).⁹

There were three types of urban fortification: the citadel which stood in the centre or on the margin of the habitat, as in Reggio¹⁰ where it was, however, later

3 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 9.125–128.

4 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 6.40.

5 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, 78, p. 344.

6 Noyé, "L'économie de la Calabre", pp. 369–370.

7 *Vita Nili*, 60.

8 For the late antique and early medieval fortified cities: Noyé, "Les villes des provinces" pp. 97–120; ead., "Le città calabresi dal IV al VII secolo", pp. 510–515; ead., "L'espressione architettonica del potere", pp. 415–420; ead., "The still Byzantine Calabria".

9 For *Thurii* and Rossano: Noyé, *Aristocrazia, «Barbari», guerra*; ead., "Les thermes".

10 Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, 3.37: the wall or *peribolos* includes only a part of the urban centre, which Procopius refers to as *φρούριον*, followed by the place name (ἐν Φηγύτῳ).

supplemented by a peripheral wall; the second type of defence safeguarded all the citizens.¹¹ But the most sophisticated pattern was the double enclosure as at Otranto,¹² a fortification which in Calabria and in Campania (see Salerno) often took the form of an acropolis, protected by the steep rocky slope and by its own retrenchments which were connected to the walls of the town located below. This *praetorium/praitōrion*, first in the upper part of the city, developed into the founding element for the creation of a city in Byzantine Italy, and the process is described in the life of the hero *Tauros* – widely inspired by the figure of Constans II¹³ – which is inserted into the hagiography of Saint Pancratius of Taormina and probably dates to the end of the 7th-beginning of the 8th century.¹⁴ Despite of a biblical and pseudo-classical chronology, the hagiography offers reliable evidence on the topography and settlements of early medieval Calabria.

The acropolis of the Byzantine *Scolacium*, the only one excavated so far,¹⁵ was settled on a strategic promontory which dominated the whole Gulf of Catanzaro and would be the last stronghold taken by the Normans,¹⁶ who had conquered it shortly before they occupied the abandoned *Vibona*, which was also able to control a large area.¹⁷ The organisation of the citadel strictly kept to the precepts of the military architecture treatises, taking advantage of natural defences and making use if possible of the oldest fortified vestiges to strengthen the new stronghold while reducing its cost.¹⁸ The sophistication of the Squillace barrage to the hinterland suggests the involvement of architects from Constantinople: a two meters large wall, an outer wall and a moat, four flanking U-shaped towers, two of which sit on either side of the main entrance, and a walkway based on pointed stone arches and large pillars also used as buttresses. The building site, only in the excavated area, operated a lime kiln and ten basins for the disposal of quicklime and mix mortar; as with the homogeneity of masonry, it seems to indicate that the achievement of the construction had been rapid, with public funds authorizing the intervention of a large workforce. Transportation of materials was provided by a tax burden imposed on

11 Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, 3.39.

12 Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, 3.6 and 10: a citadel existed inside the wall.

13 Noyé, "L'Économie de la Calabre", pp. 335–342.

14 Bibliography in Noyé, "L'Économie de la Calabre", pp. 335–342; *Vita Pancratii* ed. Veselovski (more recent Angiò, "La Vita di Tauro").

15 Noyé, "Les recherches archéologiques".

16 Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii*, 1.34.37, p. 24.

17 Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii*, 1.19, p. 19.

18 The *castrum* of Squillace was founded on the 4th-century AD *muris pristinis* which had given its name to the *mons Castellum*, where Cassiodorus founded the homonymous monastery.

the inhabitants of the surroundings, probably the future citizens.¹⁹ As is stated in the life of *Tauros*, the infrastructures of communication (a port constructed below),²⁰ water supply and grain storage in silos were emphasized.²¹

The 6th-century fortifications took place within an urbanization campaign, the city being the seat of religious and public authorities. Indeed the acropolis of Squillace included two large edifices, one of which was composed of a vestibule and a rectangular hall, probably dedicated to administration and justice. A basilica, which stretched over 40 meters in length, had been dedicated in 603 while the *castrum*, a few years later, offered a refuge for the clerics and the treasures of the Calabrian churches during the Lombard invasion.²² Many sepulchral empty graves, parallel to the lateral walls, were dug into the bed-rock, inside the basilica, as well as a large baptismal font. Other burials were located outside, against the masonry.

The Church, who had an interest in participating in the fortification movement, provided the land, and soon transferred the ancient episcopal sees to the new sites, another founding act of the city: as at the *castrum* of Gallipoli, built inside the homonymous pontifical *massa*,²³ the new *Scolacium* stood in a monastic land. Gregory the Great also encouraged the *rustici*, grouped by the public force within the walls they had to guard, not to flee and he ordered some traditionally itinerant bishops to reside permanently in the *castra*.²⁴ The compulsory transfer of population was common in Calabria throughout the Byzantine period for military, demographic or politico-cultural reasons: the inhabitants of Patras were settled in the Reggio district to evade the Avar invasion²⁵ and in the 7th century, the Lombard border was reinforced by some Hellenized groups. The concentration of the rural population was essential to prevent it from being captured by enemies, but also to keep it under fiscal control; this situation also facilitated officials' abuses and complicated farmers' access to their fields. For the Church, it was vital to save Christians and the money which would serve for their ransoms: the disappearance of the

19 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 9.206–207 (about the *rustici* oppressed by the tribune of Otranto before 599, probably on the occasion of the building site of the Gallipoli *castrum*).

20 Noyé, "Scavi medievali"; Gatta et al., "Scavi medievali in Calabria", pp. 503–520.

21 *Vita Pancratii*, p. 107.

22 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 8.32 and 14.9.

23 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 9.206 (in 599).

24 Because of the largely scattered settlement: Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 6.40 for the *massa Nicoterana* and 6.23 for Amalfi.

25 *Cronaca di Monemvasia*, p. 12, l. 93.

sacred vessels and silver, and of the faithful, meant the end of cults, charities and religion.²⁶

However, the urbanization of southern Italy was not yet complete in 592, a fact which could explain, together with the scarcity of local garrisons, the disaster caused by the Lombard invasion. Indeed the Byzantine military system was based on the aristocracy of Late Antiquity, which had taken the defence head of the cities from the mid-6th century, but this social group had been weakened by the Gothic War, while out of the few towns the *coloni* were not armed or willing to fight. Furthermore, some Lombard groups had probably been installed by the Byzantines themselves towards the end of the war in the hilltop villages north-west of *Bruttium*, or had infiltrated from Benevento the area that controlled the way south. The Lombards also conquered the river Crati valley with part of the northern Calabrian silver mines which were probably one objective of the invasion; that of Longobucco at east would be taken later by Romuald I in the 680s.

Indeed, Calabrian precious metal deposits, as well as those of iron and copper, were known from Greek antiquity.²⁷ There were two other mining districts on the eastern slopes of the Serre mountains and in the southern part of the Aspromonte massif: the first area was probably exploited by small units of manpower, managed by the *possessores* and controlled by the Ostrogoths;²⁸ in the 6th–7th centuries goldsmith workshops as that of Siderno produced Hellenized *bratteate* or disc-shaped fibulas of gold-plated silver.²⁹ The precious metals also ensured the wealth of the aristocratic residences and, through donations, of the ecclesiastical settlements.³⁰

When they invaded *Bruttium*, the Lombards first followed the western coast of the region, and the south-eastern one from Reggio and the Strait where the numerous and vulnerable *villae/stationes* and rural bishoprics were mostly abandoned after being looted.³¹ They stopped at Crotona, whose hinterland included public properties: indeed, north of the city, the coast was marked by necropolises which could be related to fortified rural settlements held by an

26 *Ministeria* (sacred vessel) were a major concern of Pope Gregory the Great: Noyé, "L'économie de la Calabre", p. 327.

27 Noyé, "L'économie de la Calabre", p. 327.

28 Ibid., p. 347: Cassiodorus ordered mining explorations in the province, probably near his estates of *Scolacium*.

29 Found in the graves of the higher social class in the 6th–7th centuries Ionian necropolises: Noyé, "Economia e società nella Calabria bizantina", p. 590 with bibliography.

30 *Myria* for example: Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 5.9 and 7.35.

31 As indicate the letters of Pope Gregory the Great which make it possible to track the progression of the invaders: Noyé, "L'économie de la Calabre", pp. 324–332.

embryonic *militia*. Consequently, Constantinople kept only the South of the province and the territories around the strongholds of *Scolacium* and *Vibona*,³² which protected both pontifical *massae* of Tropea and Nicotera. Then began a war of attrition, with some characteristics of an economic conflict for the ownership of the mines.³³

The invasion redistributed the wealth for the benefit of the Benevento Palace and of the Lombard aristocracy; the other social recipient was the small rural property which got its legal independence back: the only surviving *vici* were those not related to a great *villa*. Constantinople adjusted its conduct on this new context: the most striking manifestation of this political choice was the construction of a new type of retrenchment, the “high great enclosures”,³⁴ installed on some of the inland mountain peaks that were defended by steep rocky slopes and sections of wall built only on critical sides. These fortifications controlled large tracts of the landscape and served as a point of support to military units, and as a refuge for the people of the nearby *chōria*. Tiriolo, which commanded both Ionian and Tyrrhenian coasts in the middle of the Catanzaro isthmus, was composed of three juxtaposed parts: the main one perhaps reused a Brettian wall, which supported two halls for the housing people, probably soldiers. This new territorial control system, largely spread across the Western Byzantine Mediterranean, was later named *kastron* or *kastellion*.³⁵

The 7th and 8th centuries form a unitary phase: the periodic or definitive loss of oriental mining territories as Cilicia, Thrace or Anatolia,³⁶ and of the Egyptian and later African cereals, reinforced the capital's need for Italian resources in metals and wheat. In the first half of the 7th century Constantinople relied on Sicilian grains, which it would have absorbed fully, in such a way that the contribution of Calabria became essential for the supply of imperial local armed forces³⁷ and also for the supply of Rome. Indeed Constans II certainly increased the *annonacapita* or grain levies³⁸ of all the papal *massae* which had to provide this latter requirement, and were soon forced to solicit tax breaks: the Emperors proved to be lavish in granting them as long as Rome

32 Georgius Cyprius, *Descriptio orbis romani*, ed. H. Gelzer, Leipzig 1890, pp. 28–29 and 90–91 (in 591–603); Honigsmann, *Le Synekdémos d'Hieroclès*, pp. 51–52; *IP* vol. 10, pp. 9–11 and 118. The appellation is still *Brittiōn* or *Brettania*.

33 It can be compared with some contemporary conflicts between Constantinople and the Persian: Vryonis, “The question of the Byzantine mines”, p. 5.

34 Noyé/Raimondo/ Ruga, “Les enceintes et l'église du Monte Tiriolo”, pp. 431–471.

35 Ibn Idari, vol. 2/2, p. 218; Noyé, “Puglia e Calabria dall'888 agli anni 960”, pp. 203–206.

36 Pitarakis, “Mines anatoliennes”.

37 Noyé, “L'économie de la Calabre”, pp. 361–363.

38 Dating back to Late Antiquity and not a new property tax in kind.

was included in the Byzantine politics,³⁹ but at the end of the 7th century the military and economic crisis increased the competition for southern Italy's resources and led to the recovery, by Leo III, first of direct tax collection in the papal *massae*, then of the Saint-Peter patrimonies themselves.

As regards the metals, Heraclius recovered the Sicilian *possessores'* gold coins thanks to the *adaeratio* of the taxes while the *coemptio* of the grains was paid with counter-marked *folles*.⁴⁰ Then Constans II seized the bronze he found in Rome to be melted down again for coinage and the weaponry, and confiscated the precious metals of the southern churches, which were hoarded in the *ministeria*.⁴¹ He thus succeeded in increasing the minting of gold in Sicily considerably,⁴² also fed by fresh metal⁴³ from the island and from Calabria.⁴⁴ The exploitation of the southern Calabrian deposits was intensified: in the 7th–8th centuries, Reggio owed its wealth to gold and silver⁴⁵ and housed the minting workshop of Syracuse from 879.⁴⁶ The copper of the hinterland and the tin perhaps imported from *Temesa* also fed, from the 4th to the 8th century at least, a public bronze industry which Byzantium inherited directly;⁴⁷ it produced fibulae, weapons and pieces of armour.⁴⁸ In the nearby area of the probably re-founded city of Locri, the *praetorium* of Quote San Francesco was still occupied, and the mining fostered a group of settlements inhabited by civil or military officials.⁴⁹

The site of *Temesa*, at the mouth of the Savuto river was famous for its silver, tin and copper deposits, exploited from pre-Roman times.⁵⁰ This high plateau housed an imperial workshop, the pivot of a large-scale mining district which was similar to the Egyptian 5th–6th century large high site of Bir Umm Fawakhir, only defended by its steep slopes and two guard posts.⁵¹ Finally the

39 In the 680s: *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, 83, p. 366 and 85, pp. 368–369.

40 Prigent, "Le rôle des provinces d'Occident".

41 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 346.

42 Prigent, "Le rôle des provinces d'Occident", p. 288; Morriison/Prigent, "La monetazione in Sicilia", pp. 427–434.

43 Morriison, "Byzantine money", pp. 909–966.

44 Prigent, *La Sicile byzantine*, pp. 967–972 (the coins included more than one kind of gold).

45 *Vita Pancratii*, pp. 103–105.

46 Morriison, "Le zecche nell'Italia bizantina", pp. 415–425; Castrizio, "La zecca bizantina di Reggio", pp. 859–861.

47 The Justinian Code on the mining legislation is strictly taken up from the Theodosian one: Vryonis, "The question of the Byzantine mines", p. 2; Matschke, "Mining", p. 115.

48 *Vita Pancratii*, pp. 103–105.

49 Noyé, "Le città calabresi dal IV al VII secolo", pp. 512–515.

50 Noyé, "L'économie de la Calabre", p. 347.

51 Meyer, "A Byzantine Goldmining Town", pp. 192–224.

ore of the chalcopyrite deposits was worked in the fortified settlements of the Catanzaro isthmus and on the southern coast of the province, a continuity that is confirmed by the similar situation of the eastern Mediterranean. Thus Calabria sent wheat shipments towards Rome and maybe also Constantinople, and participated in the intense exchanges between the two parts of the Mediterranean basin.

Constans II, once defeated by the Lombard army, was aware of the threat posed by the union of Benevento with the northern *regnum*. He created the duchy of Calabria and certainly recaptured the western part of the region when he made his way from Naples to Sicily. One of his major works was the creation of a local fleet which allowed him immediately to regain the south-east coast of the peninsula up to Crotona,⁵² and later to counter the resumption of Beneventan expansion. On land, Constans II's position was largely defensive: he completed the fortified border through the isthmus of Catanzaro, where the great high enclosures of Amantea⁵³ and Pian della Tirrena/*Temesa* can be attributed to his reign or around that time.⁵⁴ In this case the urbanisation, with miners and metalworkers, probably included the transfer of a Hellenized population: indeed, the bishop of *Temesa* spoke Greek in 679–680.⁵⁵

Towards the mid-7th century, the term Calabria began to designate the southern part of the province, which remained under Byzantine rule,⁵⁶ while *Bruttium* or *Brettia* was reduced to the Beneventan part only. This double appellation that appears in 680,⁵⁷ first political then geographical, reflected exactly the results of the second Lombard campaign.⁵⁸ The reversing of the economic situation must be assigned then to depletion and population decline created by an almost permanent state of war, with forced recruitment including marine, and an increased tax burden. The crisis culminated with the last wave of the so-called "Justinian" plague in 742:⁵⁹ most rural settlements of

52 The interpolation of Georges of Cyprus, dated 650–680, takes his military Calabrian campaigns into account (Honigmann, *Le Synecdémos d'Hieroclès*, 600, p. 53).

53 Noyé, "L'économie de la Calabre", pp. 340–341.

54 For *Temesa*, see ACO 2, *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum*, ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin 1984, p. 142, l. 31.

55 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, 81, p. 350.

56 The name of Calabria is used for the first time with this specific meaning in 650 (Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, 2079 [1608]; Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 5.11; see also *Cronaca di Monemvasia*, p. 12, l. 93).

57 Minasi, *Le chiese di Calabria*, p. 111; Russo, *Regesto vaticano*, 83, p. 43.

58 Including the conquest of the Gulf of Taranto and of the plain of Sibari: Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 6.1 (p. 164).

59 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 422.

Late Antiquity were then abandoned and the population of some urban sites such as the acropolis of *Scolacium* was reduced drastically.

The dismantling of the aristocratic autopraxy and the fluctuations of the border necessitated a census of the taxable population under both Constans II⁶⁰ and Leo III.⁶¹ Indeed, a military campaign took place in the first half of the 8th century as is illustrated by the name of *Nikopolis* which was given to the city of Santa Severina.⁶² It ended with the stabilisation of the border along the Crati river and the *phorous kephalikous* were then probably raised in the territories recently recovered from the Lombards, which perhaps housed a third of the *laou*.⁶³ The reconquest was combined with the progressive takeover of the papal estates that was initiated soon after 732–733.⁶⁴ These measures financed a major restructuring of the settlement and defence and furnished the wood and pitch for the restoration of the fleet.

Constans II had initiated a rebirth of urbanization in the southern part of the province: the campaign concerned *Tauriana*, which was probably “re-founded”,⁶⁵ and some mining sites. The 8th century building works mainly involved the new Lombard border and the former papal *massae*: walled *kastra* were built on eyries, a little inland because of the first Arab expeditions.⁶⁶ Some of them, such as Nicotera, were *ex-chōria* which then moved to defensive sites⁶⁷ or high great enclosures, thus “re-founded”, such as Amantea.⁶⁸ Towns were managed by a bishop attached to the Patriarchate of Constantinople⁶⁹ and by some Greek officials, sometimes commanding a unit of elite mercenaries;⁷⁰ the Hellenization was achieved through immigration from the Balkans.

60 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, 78, p. 344.

61 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 410.

62 Prigent, “Les évêchés byzantins”, pp. 939–42; Botricello, south of the Sila, was destroyed: Corrado, *Alle origini della Chiesa calabrese*, p. 5.

63 These *phoroi kephalikoi* of Leo III could correspond to the personal tax (Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, pp. 132 and 141–44), which had perhaps already been introduced in the Roman *massae* where the other two thirds of the population lived (Noyé, “L’économie de la Calabre”, pp. 368–69).

64 This is the only way to justify the situation of Santa Severina in the 730s (see *infra*).

65 *Vita Phantini*, fol. 197v, l. 194 ff.; *Vita Pancratii*, p. 107; Noyé, “Economia e società nella Calabria bizantina”, p. 599.

66 At the very beginning of the 9th century: *Vita Phantini*, fol. 207r; letter of Pope Leo III, in *MGH, Epp.*, vol. 5, Berlin 1899, pp. 85–104: p. 98.

67 Noyé, “The still Byzantine Calabria”, n. 336.

68 Prigent, “Les évêchés byzantins”, p. 936.

69 Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatum*, pp. 229–245; id., “Listes épiscopales du concile de Nicée”, pp. 62–66; Kountoura, “New fortresses and bishoprics”, pp. 279–290.

70 Prigent, “Topotèrètes de Sicile et de Calabre”, pp. 145–158.

A large amount of recovered public lands were distributed to the elite and also provided the remuneration of the *militia*, loyal to Constantinople. Aristocrats were another vector of Hellenization and the *praitōrion* included their palaces.⁷¹ The case of *Nikopolis*, located on a height of the Sila, is emblematic: in 736, the *chōrion* was re-founded as an episcopal *kastron* and the bishop, together with a Greek official given the high dignity of *spatharocandidat*, promoted some works in the cathedral;⁷² this symbolic place, taken from the Lombards and from the papacy, was soon promoted to an archdiocese. The houses with walls of earth and wood, resting on flashings of clay-related stones, were flanked on one side by the *praitōrion* and its little church, and on the other by the episcopal group. There were small settlements often with semi-troglodyte structures, such as *Hagia-Kyriake* which was installed on a narrow rocky spur: but the whole constituted a frame which was intended to guide the re-colonization of the territories.

Despite the failure of the 788 Byzantine expedition, Benevento turned towards the north and Campania, and furthermore was plagued by a civil war that led to the creation of the principality of Salerno in 849. When the invasion of Sicily began in 827 the naval forces of the theme, gathered in Syracuse, protected the southern part of Calabria which could thus experience a demographic growth and economic development. Thanks to the hydraulic technics introduced by the Arabs, cereal farming was developed in the Saline valley.⁷³ A surplus was soon available: in 901–902, Reggio's stores were full of flour⁷⁴ and in 947, the *stratēgos* Krenites requisitioned the local wheat resources for resale at exorbitant prices to the Sicilian Saracens, starved by a war against Cyrenaica.⁷⁵ Agricultural production was rebalanced with less wine but more oil which was previously absent and remained important in the 11th century.⁷⁶

Over half of the *chōria* known in the 11th century⁷⁷ had already been mentioned in the 9th.⁷⁸ They multiplied on carefully selected sites, mostly low hills situated along the roads and rivers, between the coast and the high fortified

71 *Vita Pancratii*, p. 103; in 860, the pope accused the *basileus* of distributing the heritage of Saint Peter to his *familiares* (IP, vol. 10, 13).

72 Prigent, "Les évêchés byzantins", pp. 939–947.

73 For the 9th century: Noyé, "Byzance et l'Italie méridionale", pp. 234–235.

74 Ibn al-Atir, p. 402.

75 Ibn Idari, p. 231; Skylitzes, *Historia*, pp. 265–266; for the date: Zuckerman, "Squabbling *protospatharioi*".

76 Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 2195; Noyé, "Looking at the society of Byzantine Italy".

77 See the villages quoted in the cartulary of *Hagia-Agathè* bishopric: *La Theotokos de Hagia-Agathè*.

78 *Vita Eliae Spelaeotae*, *passim* (14 examples).

refuges, so they could watch the Moorish pirates. Each one was located in the centre of its farmland, halfway between the fields and vineyards, and the mountains which were also cultivated; but when inhabited by pastors, the habitat could be perched on high reliefs such as the rock of Armo.⁷⁹ Such villages, which are often described as large, seem to be conglomerations of buildings and not groups of scattered hamlets;⁸⁰ many of them consisted of caves converted into dwellings, with stables and barns set around a hill, and one or several sanctuaries.⁸¹ They usually housed farmers, a priest, some merchants, and notables who had at least a domestic slave and received overseas imports.

The same demographic growth can be observed in the cities; new habitat structures developed inside the *kastra* of Rossano, Santa Severina and Gerace, or on their outskirts. The many documented houses of *Tauriana* surrounded the cathedral and the square situated in the upper part of the town. Since the 8th century, notables with Greek names, holding dignities and/or public offices and linked to a numerous hierarchical clergy, lived in the cities where some of their graves have been excavated. They formed a council assistant to the *archon/eparch* in charge of the administration with his notary, and their residences housed a large *familia* including servants. The urban activities were not limited to the fields: movements of money were based on written documents and the presence of Jews and Syrian merchants and usurers is well attested in the written sources. On the acropolis of *Scolacium*, the 10th century dwellings are larger than the older ones; in the flanking towers of the perimeter wall, the ground floor was used for storage and cooking, and the upper floor for housing.⁸² The *kastra* were surrounded first by a belt of cultivated plots, then by the pastures and the oaks and chestnuts; such concentric arrangements⁸³ subsisted at least until the mid-11th century.⁸⁴

In the northern part of the province, the situation was rather different: from 847–848, the Saracens who had abandoned the Apulia and Taranto invaded the valley of the Crati river as far as the episcopal city of Amantea, which became the seat of an emirate, and then penetrated into the Sila massif, entrenching in Santa Severina while another group occupied Tropea.⁸⁵ These fortresses

79 *Ibid.*, p. 855 C.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 884 E (*megalon chōrion*).

81 Coscarella, *Insedimenti bizantini in Calabria*.

82 Noyé, "Les recherches archéologiques".

83 *Vita Phantini*, pp. 40–42.

84 *La Theotokos de Hagia-Agathè*, nos. 59, 182, and 185; Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii*, 1. 24, p. 20; 2. 26, pp. 38–39.

85 Noyé, "Byzance et l'Italie méridionale", p. 231.

were recovered only in 885 by the Empire,⁸⁶ which however did not return the ex-Lombard territories to their former owners. The struggle of the reconquest and generally the slave trade⁸⁷ had depleted the country and Christianity had to be restored: Santa Severina, promoted to a metropolis with three Silan suffragans,⁸⁸ was repopulated thanks to Armenian troops and freedmen from Peloponnese. Hellenization was also assured by Sicilians who began to migrate northwards together with people from southern Calabria, and settled in the Laos river and Merkourion region as well as in Lucania, led by monks and attracted to hermits, who as for bishops and clergy were imperial agents.

The capital had repeatedly sent significant troops, but as it did not maintain this military effort, the local fleet failed in defending the coasts alone. The strategy of Muslims, who coveted the Calabrian wheat and gold, changed at the beginning of the 10th century: they now preferred a border war, much more profitable than the conquest. The raids from Arab Sicily and Africa were regularly directed to Reggio, where they could find huge amounts of precious metals, as in 901, and to Gerace, located at the heart of the mining area; that confirmed the maintained prosperity of the South. The Arabs had no interest in destroying the metal production structures, but they captured slaves and took booty; only the North could be devastated by some raids such as the expedition of Ibrahim II up to Cosenza in 902.⁸⁹ Finally a *ġizya* of 22,000 gold coins was negotiated by the *stratēgos* Eustathios on behalf of Constantine VII after the disastrous victory of the Bulgarians.⁹⁰ It was definitely a symbol of submission but above all a way for the Muslims to rationalize the draining of precious metal, so that any suspension of payment would be followed by a raid for recovery.⁹¹ The agreement negotiated by Constantine VII with Africa

86 Ead., "Puglia e Calabria", pp. 184–185 and n. 108.

87 *Chronicon Salernitanum. A critical Edition with Studies on Literary and Historical Sources and on Language*, ed. U. Westerbergh (Studia Latina Stockholmensia, 3), Stockholm 1956, c. 93, p. 94; *Vita Eliae Spelaeotae*, pp. 845, 889; Erchempertus, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, in *MGH, SS. Lang. et Ital.*, Hannover 1878, pp. 231–265: c. 16, p. 241; *Vita Eliae iunioris*, 55 and 57; *Vita Phantini*, pp. 70–71.

88 *Notitiae episcopatum*, notice 7, p. 283.

89 Ibn al-Atir, p. 142; Noyé, "La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands" pp. 91–100.

90 Skylitzes, *Historia*, p. 263.

91 *Chronica Minora* (so called *Cronaca Siculo-Saracena*), p. 337; *Chronique de Cambridge* in Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, vol. 2, pp. 103–104; Ibn Idari, *ibid.*, p. 217; Nuwayri, *ibid.*, p. 231.

around 924–25 followed the same logic: the Muslims helped themselves in the half theme that the emperor no longer controlled.⁹²

The accumulation tax/ *ġizya* created a potentially explosive situation, comparable to that which ended with a rebellion of the Slaves in the Peloponnese in 934–35.⁹³ Moreover, their marginal situation provided a degree of impunity for officials so that local administration was execrable: the most striking case was John Byzalon in 921–922,⁹⁴ who inflicted a tax increase for his own profit; killing him and refusing to pay the *ġizya*, the Calabrians rebelled against a power which did not protect them. In 901, part of the population supported an anonymous leader probably of local origin who usurped the function of *stratēgos*.

This brief episode highlighted the power of a clearly militarized aristocracy, which was able to manage the administration and gather the *stratiōtai*⁹⁵ while the attempt reflected a desire for autonomy more than for independence. From 921–922 the elite often took arms,⁹⁶ supported by the Lombards of Salerno – called by the Latins of the Crati river plain – and were eager to recover their territory.⁹⁷ This situation obviously blocked economic expansion for a few decades, but also had repercussions on the society and on the organization and morphology of the settlements. Each city began to ensure its own defence and administer its own territory, and the aristocracy built private castles.⁹⁸ When Constantinople again started to send troops to southern Italy from the mid-10th century, their arrival triggered a civil war.

The indispensable reorganisation of the continental defence system was undertaken by Nicephorus II and continued under the leadership of the *stratēgos* Basile Boiohannes in the early 11th century. The *kastroktisia* financed a last campaign of urban foundations first at the eparchy of *Merkourion* and Bova, then at Catanzaro and Oppido. The process had not changed since the 6th–8th centuries, but the architects in charge of site selection were now accountable to the *basileus*⁹⁹ and they referred to Roman times for names and plans. The

92 Liutprandus, *Antapodosis*, 2.45, in *Liutprand de Crémone. Oeuvres*, ed. F. Bougard (Sources d'histoire médiévale publiées par l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, 41), Paris 2015, p. 164.

93 Zuckerman "Squabbling *protospatharioi*".

94 *Vita Eliae Spelaeotae*, p. 870 A; Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, p. 263.

95 *Vita Eliae junioris*, 64, p. 100.

96 Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, p. 263; the rebellion lasted until 925; *Chronica Minora* (*Cronaca Siculo-Saracena*), p. 337; Ibn Idari, p. 217.

97 Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, p. 263.

98 See below.

99 See E. Caspar, "Die Chronik von *Tres Tabernae* in Calabrien", *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 10 (1907), pp. 1–56: p. 36 (the inhabitants of the

ancient walls of Reggio and *Scolacium* were also restored and most cities were equipped with a fortified *praitōrion* or *castellum*, which included at Stilo in 1071 a *hospitium*, a church and a prison. The *strateia* tax was introduced and the central army, represented especially in the main *castra* of the east coast as Rossano, Crotone and Squillace, was also present west (Mesiano); a large garrison housing has been excavated near the city walls.¹⁰⁰

Big investments and public initiatives were reflected in the intervention of architects specialized in military art, that brought sophisticated planimetric models, such as large flanking towers and techniques using a huge amount of mortar. A new type of high refuge was defended on all sides by a high surrounding stone wall; a fortress, built to reinforce the old enclosures, rose at the highest point. Thus Rocca Sant'Aniceto and Calanna formed, with the new *kastron* of Bova, a sort of *limes* in front of Sicily, and north, the eparchies of *Merkourion* and *Latinianon* were provided with *kastellia*. The territory was also fortified by rural *praitōria* and stone towers or *pyrgoi* built in some *chōria*. These measures were effective: apart from a few raids, Calabria, protected by Cassano and the theme of Lucania against Muslim attacks now mainly directed from the north, was safe.

But the previous disasters had repercussions on the society, with the emergence of a local Hellenized elite, fond of public dignities and a reservoir of officials and clerics. This aristocracy of notables formed dynasties attached to their own interests with a strong spirit of autonomy; some of the rival clans would be used by the Normans. Their influence was mainly based on the city they led and contributed to shaping with their *palatia*, but the *praitōrion* could also be the fulcrum of their political rise. They had appropriated large parts of the *chōria*; furthermore, many *kastra* or *kastellia*, such as Petra-Kaukas, Pentedattilo or Pietra-Pertusa in Lucania, were open villages on mountainous platforms dominated by a private fortress built inexpensively around a peak. This "occidental" castle made concrete the control of the elite over rural people seeking protection; another model was the *exōkastellion*, a private fortified enclosure serving as a refuge for the surrounding populations.¹⁰¹

Around the mid-10th century a recovery in production and trade is noticeable on the archaeological sites with uninterrupted stratigraphy, as well as in the written sources. The habitat remained structured in clustered *chōria*:

nearby *chōria* are still grouped in the new city: ... *omnia casalia quae circum quaque diffusa erant, in loco, qui Catanzuarium vocabatur, coadunari praecepit et ibi civitatem, quae usque modo est, aedificavit*).

100 Noyé, "Les recherches archéologiques".

101 F. Trinchera, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum*, Naples 1865, n. 15.

11 *exkoussata* are mentioned among the *ktēmata* of the metropolis of *Region* in the mid-11th century. Cereals and vineyards occupy an important place and the cultivation of mulberry trees, recently introduced thanks to the province being part of the Empire, flourishes throughout the south of the province; in a context of self-sufficiency, some great *chōria* practice specialized agriculture for commercial purposes.¹⁰² But the greatest asset of Calabria was still the precious metal,¹⁰³ perhaps managed by landowners; the iron could be produced by dependent peasants in some *proasteia*, and most operations took place immediately after extraction near the mines, as is suggested by the references to rural furnaces near Stilo.¹⁰⁴ Such a system could be linked to the dispersed settlements which appear again in the written sources, *praitōria*,¹⁰⁵ and *kathedra* (houses), isolated in the countryside while long lease holders seem to live in *proasteia*.¹⁰⁶

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Chronica Minora*, ed. P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 1. *Einleitung und Text* (CFHB, 12/1), Wien 1975, pp. 326–340.
- Chronique de Cambridge* in Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, pp. 99–106.
- Cronaca di Monemvasia*. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e note, ed. I. Duičev (Istituto di studi bizantini e neoellenici. Testi e monumenti. Testi 12), Palermo 1976.
- Gregorius 1, *Registrum epistularum*, ed. D. Norberg, 2 vols. (Corpus Christianorum, Series latina, 140–140 A), Turnhout 1982.
- Ibn al-Atir, in Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, pp. 129–162.
- Ibn Idari, Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, pp. 214–219.
- Le Synecdémus d'Hieroclès et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre*, ed. E. Honigmann, Bruxelles 1939.
- Jaffé, P., *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum MCXCVIII*, 2nd edition by G. Wattenbach/F. Loewenfeld/F. Kaltenbrunner/P. Ewald, Leipzig 1885–1888.

102 Speculation which can be attributed to a few big ecclesiastical owners such as the metropolis of Reggio.

103 *Benzo von Alba, Sieben Bücher an Kaiser Heinrich IV*, ed. H. Seyffert (MGH, Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum, 65), Hannover 1996, pp. 268, 278, 316, 638.

104 *Le brébion de Région*, pp. 22 and 165.

105 *Ibid.*, pp. 179–80, 194.

106 *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 44–45, 82–83, 171.

- La Theotokos de Hagia-Agathè (Oppido) (1050–1064/1065)*, ed. A. Guillou (CAG, 3), Vatican City 1972.
- Le brébion de la métropole byzantine de Règion (vers 1050)*, ed. A. Guillou (CAG, 4), Vatican City 1974.
- Le "Liber Pontificalis". Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols., Paris 1886–1889.
- Vita Eliae iunioris*, ed. G. Rossi-Taibbi, *Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane*, Palermo 1962.
- Vita Eliae Spelaeotae*, in *AASS, Septembris*, vol. 3, Antwerp 1750 (reprinted Brussels 1970), pp. 848–887.
- Vita Nili*, ed. G. Giovanelli, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ Ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νείλου τοῦ Νέου*, Badia di Grottaferrata 1972.
- Vita Phantini*, ed. V. Saletta, *Vita S. Phantini confessoris a codice Vaticano Graeco n. 1989*, Rome 1963.
- Vita Pancratii*, ed. A.N. Veselovsky, "Iz istorii romana i povesti. II. Epizod o Tauri Menii apokrificeskom zitii sv. Pankrahtija", *Sbornik otedelenija russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti*, 40 (1886), 73–110.
- Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris sui eius auctore Gaufrido Malaterra monacho benedictino*, ed. E. Pontieri, in *RIS* 5,1, Bologna 1927.
- Notitiae episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, texte critique, introduction et notes*, ed. J. Darrouzès (Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, 1), Paris 1981.
- Nuwayri, in Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, pp. 229–235.
- Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. L. Bethmann/G. Waitz, in *MGH, SS. Lang. et Ital.*, Hannover 1878, pp. 12–187.
- Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, ed. O. Veh, *Prokop Gotenkriege* (Tusculum-Bücherei, Prokop, 11), Munich 1966.
- Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. H. Thurn (CFHB, 5), Berlin 1972.
- Theophanes, *Chronografia*, ed. C. de Boor, vol. 1, Leipzig 1883.
- Vasiliev, A.A., *Byzance et les Arabes*, vol. 2/2. *Extraits des sources arabes*, trans. H. Grégoire / M. Canard (Corpus Bruxellense historiae byzantinae, 2/2), Bruxelles 1950.

Secondary Sources

- Angiò, F., "La Vita di Tauro dall'anonima Vita di S. Pancrazio di Taormina", *Sileno*, 20 (1994), 117–143.
- Castrizio, D., "La zecca bizantina di Reggio dopo la conquista araba di Siracusa", in B. Kluge/B. Weissner (eds.), *XII. Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress Berlin 1977. Akten*, 11, Berlin 2000, pp. 859–861.
- Corrado, M., *Alle origini della Chiesa calabrese. La Basilica di Botricello*, Reggio Calabria 2014.
- Coscarella, A., *Insedimenti bizantini in Calabria: il caso di Rossano*, Cosenza 1996.

- Darrouzès, J., "Listes épiscopales du concile de Nicée (787)", *Revue des Études byzantines*, 33 (1975), 62–66.
- Gatta, G./Maiorano, M./Noyé, G./Raimondo, C./Spadea, R., Vori, P., "Scavi medievali in Calabria, B: castello di Squillace. Rapporto preliminare", *Archeologia Medievale*, 20 (1993), 503–520.
- Haldon, J.F., *Byzantium in the Seventh century. The Transformation of a Culture*, Cambridge 1990.
- Kountoura, E., "New fortresses and bishoprics in the 8th century Thrace", *Revue des Études byzantines* 55 (1997), 279–290.
- Matschke, R.P., *Mining*, in A. Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh to the Fifteenth Century*, vol. 1 (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 39) Washington D.C. 2002, pp. 115–120.
- Meyer, C., "A Byzantine Goldmining Town in the Eastern Desert of Egypt: Bir Umm Fawakhir", *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 1992–1993 (1995), 192–224.
- Minasi, G., *Le chiese di Calabria dal quinto al duodecimo secolo*, Napoli 1896.
- Morrisson, C., "Byzantine money: its production and circulation", in A. Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh to the Fifteenth Century*, vol. 1 (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 39) Washington D.C. 2002, pp. 909–966.
- Morrisson, C., "Le zecche nell'Italia bizantina: un quadro d'insieme", in Travaini (ed.), *Le zecche italiane*, pp. 415–425.
- Morrisson, C./Prigent, V., "La monetazione in Sicilia nell'età bizantina", in Travaini (ed.), *Le zecche italiane*, pp. 427–434.
- Noyé, G., "Scavi medievali in Calabria, A: Staletti, scavo di emergenza in località Panja", *Archeologia Medievale* 20 (1993), 499–501.
- Noyé, G., "Les villes des provinces d'Apulie-Calabre et de *Bruttium*-Lucanie du IV^e au VI^e siècle", in G.P. Brogiolo (ed.), *Early Medieval Towns in the Western Mediterranean (Documenti di archeologia, 10)*, Mantua 1996, pp. 97–120.
- Noyé, G., "Les recherches archéologiques de l'École française de Rome sur la Calabre médiévale", *Comptes rendus [de l']Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (novembre-décembre 1997 [1999]), pp. 1069–1100.
- Noyé, G., "Byzance et l'Italie méridionale", in L. Brubaker (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?*, Aldershot 1998, pp. 229–243.
- Noyé, G., "La Calabre entre Byzantins, Sarrasins et Normands", in E. Cuzzo/J.-M. Martin (eds.), *Cavalieri alla conquista del Sud. Studi sull'Italia normanna in memoria di Léon-Robert Ménager*, Rome 1998, pp. 90–116.
- Noyé, G., "Economia e società nella Calabria bizantina (IV–XI secolo)", in A. Placanica (ed.), *Storia della Calabria medievale*, vol. 1. *I quadri generali*, Rome 2001, pp. 577–655.
- Noyé, G., "Le città calabresi dal IV al VII secolo", in A. Augenti (ed.), *Le città italiane tra la tarda Antichità e l'alto Medioevo* (Biblioteca di Archeologia medievale, 20), Florence 2006, pp. 477–517.

- Noyé, G., "L'espressione architettonica del potere: *praetoria* bizantini e *palatia* longobardi nell'Italia meridionale", in J.-M. Martin/ A. Peters-Custot/ V. Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 2. *Les institutions publiques* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 461), Rome 2012, pp. 389–451.
- Noyé, G., "Puglia e Calabria dall'888 agli anni 960: Longobardi, Arabi e bizantinità", in M. Valenti/ C. Wickham (eds.), *Italy, 888–862, A turning point* (Seminario internazionale del Centro interuniversitario per la storia e l'archeologia dell'alto Medioevo, 4), Turnhout 2013, pp. 169–214.
- Noyé, G., "L'économie de la Calabre", *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes*, 2 (2014), 322–377.
- Noyé, G., "Aristocrazia, « Barbari », guerra e insediamenti fortificati in Italia meridionale nel VI secolo", in C. Ebanista/M. Rotili (eds.), *Aristocrazie e società fra transizione romano-germanica e alto medioevo*, Naples 2015, pp. 125–146.
- Noyé, G., "The still Byzantine Calabria, a case study", in S. Gelichi/R. Hodges (eds.), *New directions in Early Medieval European Archaeology: Spain and Italy compared. Essays for Riccardo Francovich* (Collection Haut Moyen Âge, 24), Turnhout 2015, pp. 221–266.
- Noyé, G., "Les thermes de Copia Thurii dans l'histoire de la ville", *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia*, V s., III, 2018 (2019), 185–242.
- Noyé, G., "Looking at the society of Byzantine Italy in a new light", in J. Howard-Johnston (ed.), *Transformation of Byzantium Project. International Workshop III: Social Change in Town and Country*, forthcoming.
- Noyé, G./Raimondo, C./Ruga, A., "Les enceintes et l'église du Monte Tiriolo en Calabre", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, 110 (1998), 431–471.
- Pitarakis, B., "Mines anatoliennes exploitées par les Byzantins: recherches récentes", *Revue Numismatique*, 153 (1998), 41–185.
- Prigent, V., "Les évêchés byzantins de la Calabre septentrionale au VIII^e siècle", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, 114 (2002), 931–953.
- Prigent, V., *La Sicile byzantine (VI^e–X^e siècle)*, PhD diss. Université de Paris IV, Paris 2006.
- Prigent, V., "Le rôle des provinces d'Occident dans l'approvisionnement de Constantinople (618–717). Témoignages numismatique et sigillographique", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, 118 (2006), 269–299.
- Prigent, V., "Topotérètes de Sicile et de Calabre aux VIII^e–IX^e siècles", *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, 9 (2006), 145–158.
- Russo, F., *Regesto vaticano per la Calabria*, vol. 1, Rome 1974.
- Travaini, L. (ed.), *Le zecche italiane fino all'unità*, 2 vols., Rome 2011.
- Vryonis, S., "The question of the byzantine mines", *Speculum*, 42 (1962), 1–17.
- Zuckerman, C., "Squabbling *protospatharioi* and other administrative issues from the first half of the tenth century", *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 72 (2014), 193–233.

Byzantine Apulia

Paul Arthur

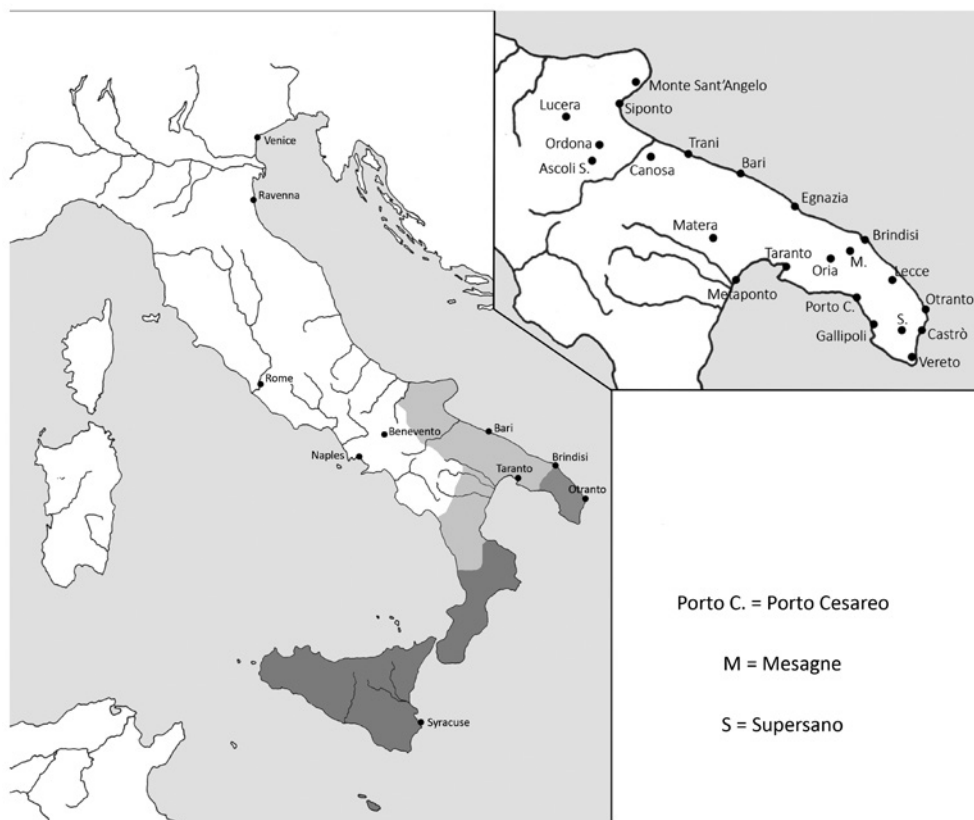
Apulia (It. Puglia), the south-eastern region of Italy, stretches NW-SE for almost 360 kms and fronts the Adriatic for its entire length, with the southernmost straits of Otranto effectively controlling also access to and egress from the Ionian Sea. It can be closely identified with the ancient Roman provinces of *Apulia* and *Calabria* (*Regio II*), the latter having once been the southernmost part of the present region. The term Calabria was gradually used to identify the modern region of that name (originally *Bruttium*) from the later 6th century, when a Duchy of Calabria was created by the Byzantine authorities to administer southern Italian territories that had not succumbed to the Lombard invasion of Italy. Apulia's port of *Brundisium* (mod. Brindisi) had been used since Roman Republican times as the most direct route from Rome to the East, being the terminal of the *via Appia*. At Benevento the *via Appia* split into two. The main road headed south to the port of *Tarentum* (Taranto) and then crossed the Salentine peninsula to *Brundisium*. A second road, the *via Traiana*, reached the Adriatic at *Barium* (Bari), and thence followed the coastline down to *Brundisium*. From there, after a sea crossing of 90 nautical miles, it was possible to engage with the *via Egnatia* at *Dyrrachium* (mod. Durres, Albania), to cross the southern Balkans and reach Constantinople. With the decline of *Brundisium* and other port towns from the 6th century the coastal route diminished enormously in role, yielding to alternative, inland, routes.¹

When Justinian launched the Gothic War to reclaim Italy for the Byzantine Empire in 535 Apulia was still a land of Roman imprint, with large and small towns, and a densely exploited countryside, dotted by countless villas and farms, cultivating wheat, olives and the vine.² Nonetheless, the geography and economy of Apulia was not uniform, with the grain lands of the north, for instance, contrasting with the olive groves of the south.³ Its wealth in late antiquity, particularly in the north around Canosa, and perhaps to a lesser extent in the south around Taranto, both areas noted for their wool, is demonstrated by a number of archaeological discoveries. One of the most spectacular is the

¹ Dalena, *Ambiti territoriali*, for instance.

² De Mitri, *Inanissima pars Italiae*.

³ See, for instance, Volpe, "Per una geografia insediativa"; Arthur, "Per una carta archeologica".



MAP 16.1 The territory of Byzantine Italy by the later 8th century (dark gray), with territorial expansion after the reconquest of Emperor Basil I in the later 9th (medium gray), by which time most of Sicily had been lost to the Arabs.
© PAUL ARTHUR

recently excavated villa at Faragola, near Ascoli Satriano (*Ausculum*) in northern Apulia, which eventual demise is to be situated in the late 6th century, when the remains were reused in a village or early medieval estate centre.⁴ In later Roman times villas and farmsteads were occasionally interspersed by agglomerated rural settlements known as *vici*. Somewhat similar to what are today known as agro-towns, they functioned as centres for agricultural processing and redistribution, and did not possess municipal status, though responding to the government, to the Church, or to wealthy *possessores*. Several are known in Apulia, although the only substantially excavated example lies at San Giusto near Lucera, presumable centre of the *saltus Carminianensis*, a

4 Volpe, Turchiano, "La villa tardoantica".

large Imperial property whose existence emphasises the command economy of the time.⁵ Others *vici* may have existed at Trani, S. Miserino (S. Donaci),⁶ and Cutrofiano, which last used the local clays to develop a thriving pottery production.⁷

In what was still a largely favourable cultural and economic context in the 5th and early 6th centuries, when Italy was first under Roman and then Ostrogothic rule, the Church made rapid inroads into both town and country. Substantial economic investment permitted the establishment of bishoprics in strategic centres of urban and rural populations throughout the length and breadth of the province. As seat of provincial government from the second half of the 4th century, Canosa, for instance, was soon appointed with monumental ecclesiastical buildings, particularly under the 6th-century bishop Sabinus.⁸ Other cathedrals and churches were built in and around towns, including the 5th-century church at Casaranello in southern Apulia with its mosaics that, despite the relative poverty of the area, were quite on a par with those at Ravenna. The urban bishoprics were supplemented by occasional rural dioceses such as the one at San Giusto (*supra*), and another at the coastal site of Trani.

From Egypt and the Levant monasticism, particularly in southernmost Apulia, seems to have arrived early. Near Giurdignano, in the hinterland of Otranto, excavations have revealed the probable monastic church of Saints Cosmas and Damian, of late 5th or early 6th-century date. Field survey of other monastic sites including S. Nicola di Casole (Otranto) and S. Giovanni Malcantone (Uggiano la Chiesa), both likewise in the hinterland of Otranto, suggests similar early dates for their foundation. Given Apulia's projection towards the East, the early spread of monasticism is not surprising. Pilgrims underline contact with the East, demonstrated by pilgrim ampullas found in Apulia and further up the Adriatic from Ostrogoth times well into the 7th century, brought back as souvenirs of their visits to eastern religious sites, particularly the monastery of St. Menas in the Fayum.⁹

Economic relations with the eastern Mediterranean were certainly routine, as is shown by imported ceramics, with tablewares from western Asia Minor far surpassing those from Tunisia, common to Tyrrhenian Italy. Amphorae, containing wine and olive oil, came from North Africa, the Aegean, Asia Minor and the Levant.

5 Volpe, *San Giusto*.

6 Lepore, "San Miserino".

7 Greco, Lapadula, "L'insediamento di età tardoromana".

8 Volpe, "Architecture and church power".

9 Anderson, "Menas flasks", pp. 231–234.

The well-being of Apulia, as many Mediterranean regions, came to an abrupt end during the course of the 6th century. The Gothic War of 535–554 exacerbated the crises of the late Empire in Italy, as Justinian's generals gradually retook the country from the Ostrogoths. Though probably experiencing limited conflict, the southern part of the region, through its ports of Brindisi, Taranto and Otranto, was the gateway for the arrival of Byzantine troops that would have supplemented those that reached Italy from North Africa and Sicily. At the beginning of the war hundreds of cavalrymen landed at Otranto to march on Rome.¹⁰ In the summer of 544 disease and famine, most likely caused by bubonic plague brought by further contingents from the eastern Mediterranean, afflicted the port-town whilst it was besieged.¹¹

Conditions had thus changed irreversibly, not only in Apulia, but in the whole of Italy, aggravated by abandoned lands and ever-increasing marshes and malaria. Attempts to re-establish order and the economy, including the *Pragmatica Sanctio* of 554, and later interventions by the Church, particularly under Pope Gregory the Great, were ineffectual or short-lived, within the more widely suffering Mediterranean context.¹² Not surprisingly, much of weakened peninsular Italy rapidly capitulated when the Lombards invaded in 568. Byzantine presence in the country endured through a series of substantial enclaves around Ravenna, Rome and Naples, as well as the islands of Sicily and Sardinia. By 571 the Lombards had reached Benevento and soon established a duchy with frontiers reaching deep into southern Italy. From Apulia the Lombard-Byzantine divide appears to have extended from Brindisi to Taranto, along the Basilicata coastlands, and across Calabria to Maratea, on the Tyrrhenian seaboard. Outlying sites may have been defended by *kastra*, such as the late 6th-early 7th fort existing at Egnazia, whilst the modern town of Castrò seems to have been a coastal bulwark, heavily sustained by neighbouring Otranto. Some scholars even envisage the existence of a physical boundary between Taranto and Otranto formed by a massive dry-stone wall known as the Limitone dei Greci, which recent excavation and radiocarbon dating has assigned to around 670–880 cal AD (95.4%).¹³ It has been claimed that close to its line, a couple of sites with standing churches, at S. Maria dell'Alto (Campi Salentina), and at Crepacore, between Mesagne and Torre S. Susanna, represent *kastra*, despite clear evidence of any military presence.¹⁴

10 Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, 6.5.1.

11 Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, 3.10.5–6.

12 See Zanini, *Italie bizantine*, esp. chap. 2.

13 Stranieri, "Un limes bizantino".

14 Lepore, "S. Maria dell'Alto", p. 267; Maruggi/Lavermicocca, *Torre Santa Susanna*.



FIGURE 16.1 The Byzantine *castrum* at Egnatia (BR)
PHOTO GOOGLE EARTH

Certainly the 7th to 8th centuries represented a moment of retrenchment and survival, accompanied by settlement reorganisation. Social divides intensified, with the elite, including government officials and ecclesiastics, residing in the few surviving central places, Otranto being first and foremost. Urban and rural settlement and market exchange declined, surely reflecting a diminishing population. Surviving towns effectively became villages, with reduced populations farming largely for subsistence. This was the case with *Herdonia*, *Rudiae*, *Veretum*, already in difficulty in late antiquity. Central areas of *Egnatia* were probably already run down in late Roman times, although the town continued to produce ceramics into the late 6th or early 7th century, before the site was damaged by fire.¹⁵

The decline of the once-fundamental gateway port of *Brundisium*, while signalling a regression in maritime commerce, may have been finally decided by its lack of suitable defences, its position close to what was to become the Lombard-Byzantine frontier, and the deterioration and abandonment of its hinterland, perhaps evermore swamp-ridden and hosting malaria on account

¹⁵ Cassano, "Egnazia".

of increased rainfall.¹⁶ A similar fate befell the land around Metaponto, to the west of Taranto.¹⁷ From the late 6th century *Brundisium* thus no longer served as a major transit port linking the *Via Appia* to the *Via Egnatia* at *Dyrrachium*, as the Slav invasion of the Balkans cut the latter road that led to Constantinople. The Lombard Duke Romuald I of Benevento took *Brundisium* in the mid-7th century. Towards the end of the century, totally undefended, its holy relics of St. Leucius of Alexandria were removed to nearby Trani.¹⁸ Its bishopric was removed, instead, to the inland hilltop town of Oria.

By the late 6th century many bishoprics had been vacated or merged, although the letters of Pope Gregory demonstrate that the Church continued to hold substantial agricultural properties in Apulia, such as those attested at *Sipontum* to the north, and those of the *massa Callipolitana* near Gallipoli, to the south.¹⁹

Far too little is known about any Byzantine rural settlement at this time. Cave inhabitation may have been on the increase, although most indications derive from tradition, rather than excavation. Archaeology, however, is beginning to show that several new villages first appeared during the course of the 7th century, signalling the regrouping of agrarian populations, some coalescing around earlier farmsteads. In northern Apulia, there is evidence from the Roman sites of Faragola and Avicenna. In southern Apulia, traces of occupation around late Roman farmsteads have been found during excavation of the deserted medieval villages of Apigliano and Quattro Macine.²⁰ The site at Scorpo, near Supersano, is particularly intriguing, as it was a new village or farmstead, and has provided good archaeological evidence for basic Byzantine building and material culture, together with data for grape cultivation and use of the surrounding landscape, suggesting a substantial measure of self-sufficiency.²¹ Amongst the few imports was a glass beaker from northern Italy, and essential rotary querns in volcanic lava.

As at Supersano, it is questionable why a new site was founded on marginal land. It may also be questioned if the new early medieval villages began as single-family concerns or if authorities were involved in their foundation and in the redistribution of their surplus. Clearly, subsistence economy predominated, with minimal exchange compared to earlier times. Even the circulation

16 The complexity of the climatic data is illustrated by Manning, "Roman World".

17 Lapadula, "Metapontino", pp. 1161–1162.

18 *Vita sancti Leucii*, in AASS, *Ianuarii*, vol. 1, pp. 672–677: 673. For an alternative view of the translation see Martin, *La Pouille*, p. 223.

19 Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 154–160.

20 Arthur, "Villages".

21 Arthur et al., *Storia nel Pozzo*.

of coinage was at an all-time low, disappearing almost entirely during the 8th century, when circulation retracted in most of the Empire.

Archaeological evidence suggests that initial steps to recovery were already underway during the course of the 8th century, perhaps partly occasioned by the increasing strategic importance of the area for the Eastern Empire and vital link to Sicily and the Adriatic. Indeed, around 732 Emperor Leo III confiscated Papal property in Terra d'Otranto and other parts of southern Italy and Illyricum and reassigned its religious jurisdiction to the Iconoclast Patriarch Anastasius, thus reinforcing the Byzantine hold. The growth of rural population nuclei likely stimulated renewed ecclesiastical investment in the countryside, perhaps also geared towards land management. The Eastern Church may have reintroduced its policy of evangelisation by establishing new sacred sites or accentuating a number of earlier pagan sacred places. A few medieval churches that may have late antique or Byzantine antecedents are to be found located by springs or megaliths. Particularly in southern Apulia, during the 8th and 9th centuries, some religious sites seem to have been signalled by high-crosses in stone, locally known as *menhirs*. As the economy improved, investments were perhaps first made in the creation of cave churches, exploiting the local karst landscapes, and later in the construction of simple church buildings, maybe initially in wood or earth, and increasingly from the 10th century in stone. Many of these churches, above and below ground, were graced by dedications to Eastern saints. The origin of most cave churches is not known, although some clearly date to Byzantine times. That dedicated to Sts. Marina and Cristina at Carpignano Salentino is celebrated, being the earliest securely dated cave-church in Salento with a *terminus ante quem* of 959 provided by a dedicatory wall painting.²² On the Gargano peninsula in northern Apulia was the international cave sanctuary of the Archangel Michael, which was frequented by pilgrims from afar, and has yielded both Byzantine coins and runic inscriptions.²³

There is, instead, little evidence that monks fleeing Iconoclasm in the 8th century founded numerous cave churches in Apulia and other parts of southern Italy, as is often claimed, and the scale of their contribution to the expansion of agriculture, particularly through land clearance and reclamation, needs to be reassessed.

Anyway, growing rural settlement suggests intensification of agriculture, more probably through the expansion of land under cultivation, rather than the employment of any new agricultural techniques, although the use of iron

²² Falla Castelfranchi, "La cripta".

²³ Carletti/Otranto (eds.), *Culto ed insediamenti*.

tools may have increased.²⁴ Apart from new settlements, pollen analysis implies land clearance around the Alimini lakes, apparently to establish olive groves in what was previously land dominated by maquis. Around the same time pottery workshops were established near the harbour of Otranto, which locally produced globular amphorae were used for the exportation of wine, olive oil or both.²⁵ Slight evidence suggests that some form of below ground water management and irrigation, perhaps learning from the Arabic *qanāt* systems, may have been established in Byzantine times. It would be equally interesting to see if there was any systematic creation of land plots, apart from the clear survival and presumable use of portions of Roman centuriation in parts of Apulia.

Finally, the appearance of Saracen marauders, often in search of slave labour, is an indication of the potential human market and thus possibly of an expanding population in both town and country. Indeed, Arab expansion out of Africa had led to frequent assaults on Sicily and southern Italy, which gradually resulted in the conquest of the island and the establishment of footholds on the peninsula. Though Venetian interest in the slave trade is documented as early as 748, it is almost a hundred years later that the trade in southern Apulia is attested. Nonetheless, a mid-8th-century bronze coin struck in Jerusalem, found in modern Cannole, near Otranto, is likely to be evidence of the practise. In 833, St. Gregory Decapolite was accused of betraying Christians to the Arabs at Otranto, while between 842 and 880 Taranto was in Arab hands and used as a major base for the procurement of slaves from the hinterland and their exportation to North Africa.

The Arab control of Taranto may have helped boost the importance for Byzantium of minor harbours along the Ionian coast of Apulia, and might also help explain why an important and unpublished gold signet ring belonging to Basilios, a *protospatharios* and eparch of Constantinople between 862 and 866, was lost near the harbour of Porto Cesareo. In 867 perhaps this Basilios was in Italy as member of an embassy to Pope Nicholas which, however, arrived in Rome after the pope's death and his succession by Hadrian II. The ring may have been lost during the return voyage of Basilios to Constantinople.

Arab raids on Oria are well documented, particularly because that of 925 involved the capture of the young Shabethai Donnolo, later to become a noted Jewish doctor, and his family.²⁶ Earlier, in 847 the Saracens established an Emirate at Bari, formerly a Lombard possession. By then the town was

24 Arthur/Fiorentino/Grasso, "Roads to recovery", p. 2012.

25 Leo Imperiale, "Otranto".

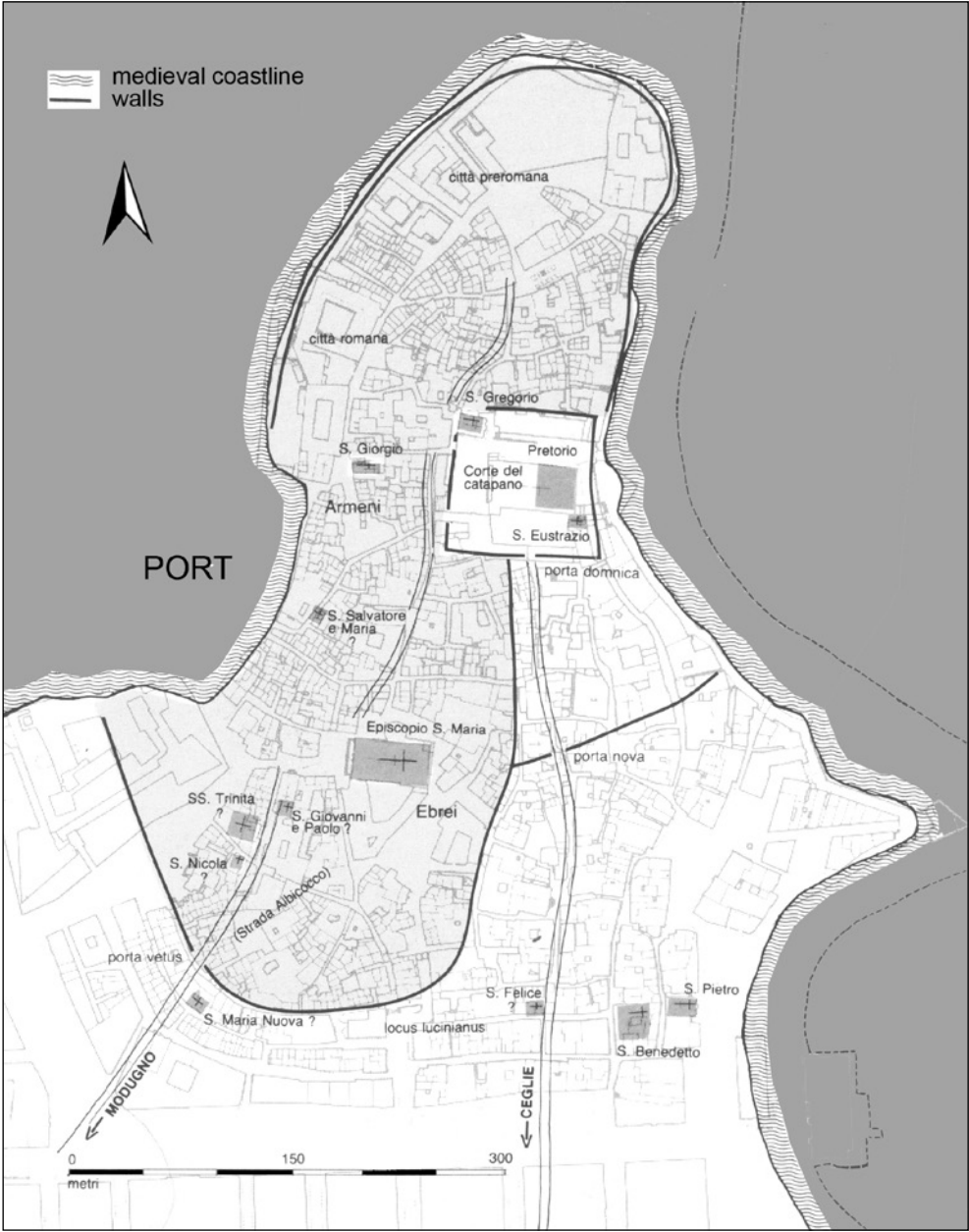
26 Lacerenza (ed.), *Sabbetay Donnolo*.



FIGURE 16.2 The painted apse in the cave-church at Carpignano Salentino with a *terminus ante quem* of 959 provided by a dedicatory wall painting (LE).
PHOTO MANUELA DE GIORGI



FIGURE 16.3 The 10th century Church of S. Pietro, Otranto
RECONSTRUCTION COURTESY OF MASSIMILIANO PASSARELLI



MAP 16.2 Byzantine Bari showing the *Praetorium* or administrative centre (after Bertelli, “Bari”, with modifications).

beginning to assume the pre-eminent position that it still holds today, drawing the centre of power away from land-locked Canosa and northern Apulia.

The emergence of the great entrepôt that was Venice around 800 presumably also have helped to stimulate the economy and exchange across the Mediterranean, which in Apulia seems reflected in the gradual reappearance of Constantinopolitan bronze coinage struck by the emperors Theophilus (829–842), Basil I (867–886), and even more so by Leo VI (886–912).²⁷ However, it was perhaps the increasing Arab threat to Italy that solicited the Byzantine reconquest, thus furthering recovery. Though it was the Carolingian Emperor Louis II who freed Bari from the Arabs in 871, it was Gregory, Byzantine commander of Otranto and Imperial *protospatharius*, who took Bari in 876, effectively elevating the town to capital of what was soon to become the Theme of *Langobardia*.²⁸ Following the re-establishment of Imperial power in the Balkans and the creation of the Theme of Dalmatia from 868 to 878, Emperor Basil I sent further forces to southern Italy in 883, under the command of the future Emperor Nicephorus Phokas.

The creation of a number of new Byzantine settlements from the later 9th century secured territory previously dependant on Lombard Benevento. For instance, Byzantine authority at Spinazzola in central inland Apulia, on the borders with Lucania, is implied by recent discoveries including a lead seal of emperor Leo VI.²⁹ Further north, in the Capitanata area of Apulia, a series of fortified settlements or *kastra* were established during the course of the 10th century as bulwark against the Lombards.³⁰ They included sites such as Troia, founded in 1019. However, the best known, through extensive excavation, is Vaccarizza, around 2.6 hectares in size, apparently founded in the second half of the 10th century and demolished by the Normans towards the end of the 11th.³¹ Excavations on a limestone plateau have brought to light a *praitôrion* of polygonal form, separated from a larger lower-lying area by a thick wall, the whole surrounded by a defensive circuit. A number of buildings were constructed against the upper enclosure, surrounding a courtyard, one of which appears to have contained a circular bread oven.

Increased political stability apparently followed the creation of the Theme of Langobardia, favouring local production and exchange. The archaeological evidence supports economic development, also discernible in other parts of

27 See Travaini, *Monete e storia*, pp. 140–141.

28 Von Falkenhausen, “Tra Occidente e Oriente”, pp. 32–33.

29 Canosa, “Piazza Castello”, p. 125 and p. 162, photo 58.

30 Martin/Noyé, “Les villes”.

31 Cirelli/Lo Mele/Noyé, “Vaccarizza”.

the Mediterranean basin at around the same time. Increased coin circulation is matched by growing evidence for trade with various parts of the Byzantine world and, above all, with the eastern capital.³² Fine Constantinople tableware known as Glazed White Ware appears in southern Italy by the 10th century, alongside wine amphorae from near Ganos on the Sea of Marmara and volcanic rotary querns from the island of Melos. Other querns were imported from the Etna region of Sicily, perhaps when the island was in Arab hands. Indeed, Arabs probably traded at Otranto, as suggests the 10th–11th century glass coin weight from the town, similar to Fatimid examples from Alexandria in Egypt and elsewhere. Likely many of the lathe-turned soapstone vessels from the Alps found in Apulia also date to this time, emphasising increased contact up the Adriatic, perhaps mediated by Venice.³³ Iron, rare before the 10th century, must also have been imported, perhaps from the Balkans, as Dalmatia exported the metal, along with wood, in Roman times.

Around the 10th century a significant change was also to occur in local ceramic forms and manufacture in southern Apulia that had, until then, substantially matched the material culture of Byzantine western Greece, finding many parallels in sites such as Corinth and Athens. Nevertheless, while the cooking wares aligned evermore with ceramics from other parts of Italy during the 10th and 11th centuries, a new form of transport amphora with a wide distribution along both shores of the Adriatic, many having also been found in excavations at Corinth, Butrint and Durres, may have been based on Greek and Aegean prototypes.³⁴ This could denote the immigration of specialised craftsmen.

Immigration, indeed, is likely to have been a major factor in the development of the area and its increasing social, cultural and religious similarity to other parts of the Byzantine world. In 876 the port-town of Gallipoli and its neighbourhood was recolonized by people transferred from the Greek town of *Heraklea Pontica*, on the Black Sea, making up for losses caused by Arab inroads.³⁵ Armenian auxiliary troops and perhaps some Varangians were also settled in the Theme of Langobardia. Thus, it may well have been from the later 9th century that Greek gradually became the principal language of parts of southern Apulia. Further north, in the Gargano, various settlements seem to have included plentiful Slav immigrants, although the moments of their arrival are not yet clear.³⁶

32 Patterson/Whitehouse, "Medieval Domestic Pottery", p. 92, pp. 182 ff.

33 Sanazzaro, "Prime considerazioni".

34 On the type see now Reynolds, "Medieval Amphorae".

35 Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, p. 26.

36 Corsi, "Il Gargano", pp. 237–9.

Urban expansion and economic growth were eventually reflected in architecture and decoration, with investment first and foremost in defence and religious architecture, as excavations in Bari have shown.³⁷ Stone was evermore employed for public construction, particularly for churches, from the 10th century, though most private buildings probably continued to be constructed in perishable materials such as wood and mud-brick or pisé. Rare examples in stone, some with two floors, are attested in the centre of Bari.³⁸ Old masonry was regularly reused, at least until the Normans arrived, as is particularly evident in the church of S. Marina at Muro Leccese.

Perhaps dating to the late 9th century are the churches of Sts. Chrysanthus and Daria and St. Barsanuphius at Oria,³⁹ a strategically important hilltop town, and possible centre of silk manufacture, where recent archaeology has recently revealed important Byzantine buildings and a later 10th-century seal of a *strategos* of *Dyrrachium*.⁴⁰ By the later 11th century, Bari is known to have had, at least, twenty-four churches, chapels and monasteries, within the walls.⁴¹ One of the most notable is a small rectangular church, divided into a tri-apsed presbytery and a nave separated by a templon, standing to the north of the cathedral.⁴² It was probably built during the course of the 10th century in an area where the catepan Basilios Argyros Mesardonites established his fortified residence in 1011.⁴³ Of eastern Byzantine form at Bari are also two small cross-in-square churches of late 10th- or early 11th-century date, one dedicated to Sts. John and Paul.⁴⁴ The *Chronicon* of the *Anonimo Barese* informs us of a ship laden with olive oil for the Eastern capital that was burnt in 1051, perhaps amid tensions between philo-Byzantine and pro-Norman citizens.⁴⁵

Other Byzantine cross-in-square churches are known at Otranto, where stands the magnificent building of S. Pietro with its later *parekklesion*, perhaps originally commissioned by the Byzantine urban elite in the 10th century, and at Castrò, where a church survives incorporated in the side of the later cathedral.⁴⁶ The same typology is echoed in various cave churches through-

37 Depalo/Disantarosa/Nuzzo, *Cittadella Nicolaiana*.

38 Riccardi, "I progetti di riqualificazione", pp. 96–7.

39 Colafemina, "Insediamenti e condizione degli ebrei"; Bertelli, "Arte bizantina", pp. 220–221; Theodosius, bishop at Oria and papal legate at Constantinople was responsible for translating the relics of Barsanuphius from Gaza in 884–5.

40 Guillou, "Production and Profits"; Cocchiaro/Napolitano/Caprino/D'Oronzo, "Oria nell'altomedioevo". I should like to thank Christian Napolitano for information about the seal.

41 Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, p. 152.

42 Ciminale, "Nuove acquisizioni su Bari", p. 112.

43 Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, p. 151.

44 Lavermicocca, "Fragmenta"; Bertelli, "Bari", pp. 108–9.

45 Musca, "L'espansione urbana", p. 66.

46 Safran, *San Pietro*.

out southern Italy, with one of the most notable examples, complete with carved stone templon, cut into the limestone bedrock at Giurdignano, in the hinterland of Otranto, and others at Matera. The island town of Gallipoli, about which extremely little is known, has also yielded traces of a probable stone-built Byzantine church, associated with 9th–11th-century burials.⁴⁷

Outside of the ecclesiastical sphere, there is still far too little evidence for any form of building. Taranto appears to have been the object of major urban works under Nicephoros Phocas in 967, apparently with filling and levelling that extended the inhabitable area by the sea.⁴⁸ The Byzantine walls of Otranto were resilient according to the *Strategikon* of Kekaumenos. Archaeological excavations just to the west of the 16th-century Aragonese fortifications have yielded likely traces of the Byzantine defence, with a possible *proteichisma*.⁴⁹ On the opposite side of the town, two ditches, one of which was at least three metres wide, may relate to fortification during the 9th or 10th century.⁵⁰ Within the walls, apart from S. Pietro, lay the late antique cathedral, which appears to have been continuously used, as is implied by burials found during excavations, together with 6th and 8th–9th-century capitals reused in its crypt.⁵¹

At Lecce, the ancient walls were presumably still standing, as their original circuit was largely repeated in later editions down to its last, 16th century, refurbishment. Nonetheless, it is likely that the old Roman amphitheatre represented the fortified centre of Lecce well into Norman times.⁵²

In the countryside, known Byzantine building around the 10th century is limited to a number of small village churches, and a sunken-featured building and another rectangular building at Apigliano, Martano. The same period probably saw an increasing accumulation of landed property by private individuals, which is likely echoed in many of the fiefs recorded from Norman times onwards.⁵³

In a rather sweeping overview, Apulia, across almost six centuries of Byzantine domination, may thus be seen to have passed from a substantially Roman model with a marked urban culture, to a more agrarian society, based on innumerable villages, and with administration and the elite, as well as artisans and merchants, located in a number of selected central places. Manufacture of all but the most necessary items had largely ceased, with

47 Bruno/Tinelli, "Testimonianze bizantine".

48 De Vitis, "Oltre la Magna Grecia".

49 Wilkinson, "Summary and discussion", pp. 51–53; id. "The site", pp. 127–131.

50 D'Andria, Melissano, "Otranto", p. 120.

51 Bertelli, "Arte bizantina".

52 Fagiolo/Cazzato, *Lecce*, pp. 21–22.

53 Laiou/Morrisson, *Byzantine Economy*, p. 89.

increased regionalisation, and with restricted maritime or long-distance exchange governed by the rich and powerful.⁵⁴ Nonetheless, the buds of a renewed market economy began to appear by the 8th century, to start flowering by the 10th. Through these years of destruction of an old order and the establishment of a new one, culture, religion and society, particularly in the southern part of the region, appeared increasingly Greek.

The end of Byzantine rule of Apulia came rather swiftly. For a few months between 1042 and 1043 Otranto was in the hands of the usurper George Maniakes, a Byzantine general who had previously re-conquered parts of Sicily. He was eventually killed in the spring of 1043, on his way to Constantinople. The recovery of Otranto by a Byzantine fleet is recorded in a monumental inscription found on the Adriatic coast north of the Alimini lakes and Otranto.⁵⁵ The town, however, was not to last much longer in Byzantine hands despite the presence of Varangian troops and strong fortifications. It fell to the Normans a first time in 1055, though was recaptured, to definitively capitulate in 1068, apparently through treachery of one of its citizens.⁵⁶

Lecce and Bari fell in 1071, terminating southern Italy's rule by Byzantium, now engaged in defending its more critical eastern front from the Seljuks. It was at the onset of Norman domination in 1087 that remains of St. Nicholas of Myra were translated from southern Asia Minor to Bari. They created new religious credentials, particularly for what was a largely Byzantine populace, over and above those previously provided by St. Sabinus, once bishop of *Canusium* (Canosa). At the time much of Asia Minor was in the hands of the Seljuk Turks, whose relationship with western states was not always one of aggression. The discovery of a Seljuk chafing dish at Otranto may hint at commercial relations at the very end of Byzantine rule or in Norman times.⁵⁷ It was certainly during Norman domination that much Byzantine pottery reached Apulian shores, testimony to continued exchange across the waters, with Corinth, Athens, the Peloponnese and Albanian coastal towns.

Norman policies led to the gradual demise of Otranto in favour, once more, of Brindisi as a major port for the eastern Mediterranean, and Lecce as the provincial capital. Nonetheless, the strong permeation of Byzantine religion and culture, particularly in the Terra d'Otranto, guaranteed survival of medieval Greek characteristics for many centuries to come.⁵⁸

54 Cosentino, *Storia*, p. 215, makes a case for a more articulated society affecting exchange.

55 Jacob, "Le toporété". The inscription almost certainly comes from Frassanito, where the presence of large limestone blocks may signal the remains of a Byzantine tower.

56 Brown, "Otranto", p. 32; von Falkenhausen, "Tra Occidente e Oriente", pp. 50–1.

57 Armstrong, "Seljuks"; Arthur, "Dalla Licia alla Puglia".

58 See, for instance, Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs*, and Safran, *Medieval Salento*.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, edd. J. Haury/G. Wirth, in *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1962, pp. 4–678.

Secondary Literature

- Anderson, W., “Menas flasks in the West: pilgrimage and trade at the end of antiquity”, *Ancient West and East* 6 (2007), 221–243.
- Armstrong, P., “Seljuks before the Seljuks: nomads and frontiers inside Byzantium”, in A. Eastmond (ed.), *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium* (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies), London 2001, pp. 227–286.
- Arthur, P., “Dalla Licia alla Puglia: non solo San Nicola”, in R. Fiorillo, C. Lambert (eds.), *Medioevo letto, scavato, rivalutato. Studi in onore di Paolo Peduto*, Florence 2012, pp. 377–381.
- Arthur, P., “Per una carta archeologica della Puglia altomedievale: questioni di formulazione ed interpretazione”, in *Bizantini, Longobardi e Arabi in Puglia nell’alto medioevo* (Atti del XX Congresso Internazionale di Studio sull’Alto Medioevo CISAM), Spoleto 2012, pp. 59–85.
- Arthur, P., “Villages, communities, landscapes, in the Byzantine and medieval Salento”, in P. Galetti (ed.), *Paesaggi, comunità, villaggi medievali*, Spoleto 2012, pp. 547–563.
- Arthur, P./Fiorentino, G./Grasso, A.M., “Roads to recovery: an investigation of early medieval agrarian strategies in Byzantine Italy in and around the eighth century”, *Antiquity* 86 (2012), 444–455.
- Arthur, P./Fiorentino, G./Leo Imperiale, M./Grasso, A.M. (eds.), *La Storia nel Pozzo. Ambiente ed economia di un villaggio bizantino in Terra d’Otranto – Supersano* 2007, Lecce 2011.
- Bertelli, G., “Arte bizantina nel Salento. Architettura e scultura”, in B. Vetere (ed.), *Ad Ovest di Bisanzio. Il Salento medievale*, Galatina 1990, pp. 217–240.
- Bertelli, G., “Bari: la città bizantina” in id. (ed.), *Puglia pre-Romanica*, Bari 2004, pp. 99–109.
- Bertelli, G. (ed.), *Puglia preromanica. Dal V secolo agli inizi dell’XI*, Bari 2004.
- Brown, T.S., “Otranto in medieval history”, in Michaelides, D./Wilkinson, D. (eds.), *Excavations at Otranto*, vol. 1. *The Excavation*, Galatina 1992, pp. 25–39.
- Bruno, B./Tinelli, M., “Testimonianze bizantine e medioevali da Gallipoli (LE). A proposito di un intervento presso l’oratorio di S. Giuseppe, 1998”, *Archeologia Medievale* 39 (2012), pp. 215–227.
- Canosa, M.G., “Gli scavi di Piazza Castello, Palazzo Pignatelli a Spinazzola”, *Storia di Spinazzola, gli uomini, le cose, gli eventi, le origini*, Bari 2009, pp. 109–162.
- Carletti, C./Otranto, G. (eds.), *Culto e insediamenti micaelici nell’Italia meridionale fra tarda antichità e medioevo*, Bari 1994.

- Cassano, R., "Egnazia tardoantica: nuove indagini e prospettive di ricerca", in G. Volpe/R. Giuliani (eds.), *Paesaggi e insediamenti urbani in Italia meridionale fra tardoantico e altomedioevo*, Bari 2010, pp. 91–106.
- Ciminale, D., "Nuove acquisizioni su Bari tardoantica e altomedievale dalle stratigrafie dell'area di S. Nicola e della Cattedrale", in G. Volpe, R. Giuliani (eds.), *Paesaggi e insediamenti urbani in Italia meridionale fra tardoantico e altomedioevo*, Bari 2010, pp. 107–128.
- Cirelli, E./Lo Mele, E./Noyé, G., "Vaccarizza: una cittadella bizantina sotto la motta normanna", *FastiOnLine* (2009), 1–18.
- Cocchiari, A./Napolitano, C./Caprino, P./D'Oronzo, C., "Oria nell'altomedioevo: un impianto per la trasformazione dei cereali fra IX e X secolo", in P. Arthur/M. Leo Imperiale (eds.), *VII Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, Florence 2015, pp. 387–392.
- Colafemmina, C., "Insediamenti e condizione degli ebrei nell'Italia meridionale ed insulare", *Gli Ebrei nell'Alto Medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, 26), Spoleto 1980, pp. 197–227.
- Corsi, P., "Il Gargano nell'alto medioevo: popolamento e quadri territoriali", in *Bizantini, Longobardi e Arabi in Puglia nell'alto medioevo* (Atti del xx Congresso Internazionale di Studio sull'Alto Medioevo CISAM), Spoleto 2012, pp. 227–247.
- Cosentino, S., *Storia dell'Italia bizantina (VI–XI secc.)*, *Da Giustiniano ai Normanni*, Bologna 2008.
- D'Andria, F./Melissano, V., "Otranto (Lecce), via del Porto", *Taras* 16/1 (1996), 115–121.
- D'Angela, C., "Il Kástron bizantino", in C. D'Angela/F. Ricci (eds.), *Dal Kástron bizantino al Castello aragonese*, Taranto 2006, pp. 33–39.
- D'Angela, C., "Le oreficerie bizantine del Museo Nazionale di Taranto", *Vetera Christianorum* 21 (1984), 181–96.
- D'Angela, C./Ricci, F. (eds.), *Dal Kástron bizantino al Castello aragonese*, Taranto 2006.
- Dalena, P., *Ambiti territoriali, sistemi viari e strutture del potere nel Mezzogiorno medievale*, Bari 2000.
- De Mitri, C., *Inanissima pars Italiae. Dinamiche insediative nella penisola salentina in età romana* (BAR International Series, 2161) Oxford 2010.
- Depalo, M.R./Disantarosa, G./Nuzzo, D., *Cittadella Nicolaiana – 1. Archeologia urbana a Bari nell'area della Basilica di San Nicola. Saggi 1982 – 1984 – 1987*, Bari 2015.
- De Vitis, S., "Oltre la Magna Grecia: Archeologia di Taranto medievale", in Volpe, G./Favia, P., *V Congresso di archeologia medievale*, Florence 2009, pp. 176–180.
- Fagiolo, M./Cazzato, V., *Lecce*, Roma 1984.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo*, Bari 1978.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Tra Occidente e Oriente: Otranto in epoca bizantina", in H. Houben (ed.), *Otranto nel Medioevo tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, Galatina 2007, pp. 13–60.

- Falla Castelfranchi, M., "La cripta delle Sante Marina e Cristina a Carpignano Salentino", in G. Bertelli (ed.), *Puglia pre-Romanica*, Bari 2004, pp. 207–219.
- Greco, A./Lapadula, E., "L'insediamento di età tardoromana in localita Badia, Cutrofiano (Lecce). Dati preliminari sulla ceramica dipinta", *Quaderni del Museo della Ceramica di Cutrofiano* 8–9, Galatina 2004, pp. 11–38.
- Guillou, A., "Production and Profits in the Byzantine Province of Italy (Tenth to Eleventh Centuries): An Expanding Society", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974) 89–109.
- Günsenin, N., *Les amphores byzantines (Xe–XIIIe siècles): typologie, production, circulation d'après les collections turques*, PhD Diss., Université Paris I, 1990.
- Jacob, A., "Le toporété de la flotte Constantin et la révolte de Georges Maniakés en 1042 dans une inscription inedited de Terre d'Otrante", *Néa 'Pólyi. Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 4 (2007), 163–176.
- Lacerenza, G. (ed.), *Sabbetay Donnolo. Scienza e cultura ebraica nell'Italia del secolo X*, Naples 2004.
- Laiou, A./Morrisson, C., *The Byzantine Economy*, Cambridge 2007.
- Lapadula, E., "Medieval and Post-Medieval settlement in the Metapontino", in J.C. Carter/ A. Prieto (eds.), *The Chora of Metaponto 3. Archaeological Survey Bradano to Basento*, vol. 1, Austin 2011, pp. 1161–1172.
- Lavermicocca, N., "Fragmenta: la chiesa bizantina di Palazzo Simi", in M.R. Depalo/ F. Radina (eds.), *Bari, sotto la Città. Luoghi della Memoria*, Bari 2008, pp. 61–64.
- Leo Imperiale, M., "Otranto, cantiere Mitello: un centro produttivo nel Mediterraneo bizantino", in S. Patitucci Uggeri (ed.), *La Ceramica Altomedievale in Italia*, Florence 2004, pp. 327–342.
- Lepore, G., "San Miserino presso San Donaci (BR)", in P. Pergola (ed.), *Alle origini della parrocchia rurale (IV–VIII sec.)*, Rome 1999, pp. 250–259.
- Lepore, G., "La chiesa di S. Maria dell'Alto presso Campio Salentina" in G. Bertelli (ed.), *Puglia pre-Romanica*, Bari 2004, pp. 267–268.
- Manning, S.W., "The Roman World and climate: context, relevance of climate change, and some issues", in W.V. Harris (ed.), *The Ancient Mediterranean. Environment between Science and History*, Leiden 2013, pp. 103–170.
- Martin, J.-M., *La Pouille du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 179), Rome 1993.
- Martin, J.-M./Noyé, G., "Les villes de l'Italie byzantine (IX^e–XI^e siècles)", in V. Kravari/ J. Lefort/ C. Morrisson (eds.), *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantine*, 2 vol., Paris 1991, pp. 27–62.
- Maruggi, G.A./Lavermicocca, N., *Torre Santa Susanna: chiesa di San Pietro. Storia archeologia restauro*, Bari 1999.
- Musca G., "L'espansione urbana di Bari nel secolo XI", *Quaderni Medievali* 2 (1976), 39–72.

- Patterson, H./Whitehouse, D., "Medieval Domestic Pottery", in F. D'Andria/D. Whitehouse (eds.), *Excavations at Otranto*, vol. 2. *The Finds*, Galatina 1992, pp. 87–195.
- Peters-Custot, A., *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale post-Byzantine. Une acculturation en douceur* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 420), Rome 2009.
- Reynolds, P., "The Medieval Amphorae", in R. Hodges/W. Bowden/K. Lako (eds.), *Byzantine Butrint. Excavations and Surveys 1994–1999*, Cambridge 2004, pp. 270–277.
- Riccardi, A., "I progetti di riqualificazione urbana. Le indagini nella Città Vecchia di Bari", in M.R. Depalo, F. Radina (ed.), *Bari, sotto la Città. Luoghi della Memoria*, Bari 2008, pp. 93–98.
- Safran, L. *San Pietro at Otranto. Byzantine art in South Italy*, Rome 1992.
- Safran, L. *The Medieval Salento. Art and identity in southern Italy*, Rome 2012.
- Sannazaro, M., "Prime considerazioni sulla presenza di pietra ollare nel Salento", *Studi di Antichità* 7 (1994), 267–282.
- Stranieri, G., "Un limes bizantino nel Salento?", *Archeologia Medievale* 27 (2000), 333–355.
- Travaini, L. *Monete e storia nell'Italia medievale*, Rome 2007.
- Volpe, G., "Architecture and church power in Late Antiquity: Canosa and San Giusto (Apulia)", in L. Lavan/ L. Özgenel/A. Sarantis (eds.), *Housing in Late Antiquity. From Palaces to Shops* (Late Antique Archaeology, 3/2), Leiden 2007, pp. 131–168.
- Volpe, G., "Per una geografia insediativa ed economica della Puglia tardoantica", in *Bizantini, Longobardi e Arabi in Puglia nell'alto medioevo* (Atti del xx Congresso Internazionale di studio sull'alto medioevo CISAM) Spoleto 2012, pp. 27–57.
- Volpe, G. (ed.), *San Giusto. La villa, le ecclesiae. Primi risultati dagli scavi nel sito rurale di San Giusto (Lucera): 1995–1997*, Bari 1998.
- Volpe, G./Turchiano, M., "La villa tardoantica e l'abitato altomedievale di Faragola (Ascoli Satriano)", *Römische Mitteilungen* 118 (2012), 455–491.
- Volpe, G./Turchiano, M./ De Venuto, G./ Goffredo, R., "L'insediamento altomedievale di Faragola. Dinamiche insediative, assetti economici e cultura materiale tra VII e IX secolo", in C. Ebanista/ M. Rotili (eds.), *La trasformazione del mondo romano e le grandi migrazioni. Nuovi popoli dall'Europa settentrionale e centro-orientale alle coste del Mediterraneo*, Cimitile 2012, pp. 239–263.
- Wilkinson, D., *Summary and discussion: phases I–VIII and The site: phases III–VIII*, in Michaelides, D., Wilkinson, D. (eds.), *Excavations at Otranto*, vol. 1. *The Excavation*, Galatina 1992, pp. 41–58, 115–151.
- Zanini, E. *Le Italie bizantine, Territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia (VI–VIII secolo)*, Bari 1998.

Byzantine Sicily

Lucia Arcifa

1 Historiographic Perspectives

The latest studies on Sicily in the early medieval period has led to new perspectives of research. This allows for the reconsideration of the settlement patterns of the island over the course of the four centuries of Byzantine domination, as well as to propose a view that appraises the various sub-regional areas and their specific modifications.

Lellia Cracco Ruggini in 1984 outlined a comprehensive picture of Sicily as an island situated *between Rome and Byzantium*, in which the process of “Byzantinisation” ran parallel to a progressive isolation that eventually transformed the island into a peripheral outpost of the western expansion, a liminal land with regard to the Italian mainland and the big Mediterranean trades.¹ This interpretation also involved the reconstruction of the Byzantine resistance to the Islamic expansion, in the firm belief that Constantinople together with the high Byzantine hierarchies had substantially evacuated Sicily. According to this reconstruction the 8th century and the Theme system was the real divide in the history of Byzantine Sicily; a moment in which the strong ruralisation of the urban area, which had started in the first phase, was accompanied and then replaced by the growing role of the *kastra*, i.e. the fiscal circumscriptions that were responsible for the allocation of the territory of soldier-farmers.

Several recent works have challenged this interpretation and have on the contrary stressed the long-lasting connection to Constantinople, which implies a strong assimilation of the local aristocracy with the imperial élites; a solid money economy; the strength of the local public power; and the role of the city in the military strategy of the last phase.²

The central role of Sicily for the Empire emerges in a specific way in the research on the period between the 7th and the beginning of 8th century with regard to its function as a “granary” for Constantinople, but also subsequently, during the course of the 8th century, when the view of its proximity to the capital was proven by the reform of the ecclesiastic jurisdiction in

1 Cracco Ruggini, “La Sicilia tra Roma e Bisanzio”.

2 Nef/Prigent, “Per una nuova storia”.

favour of the patriarchate of Constantinople, but also by the confiscation of the *patrimonium sancti Petri*, and by the development of the *stolus Siciliae*. The re-interpretation of the venture of Romanus I Lecapenus during the 10th century also seems to confirm that Sicily continued to have a central role in the imperial strategy, a strategy that, contrary to what was previously believed, did not involve committing the defence of the island to the Sicilians alone.³

2 Mediterranean Centrality and Sub-regional Diversification

The archaeological research conducted in the past twenty years have further confirmed the growth of the rural settlement between the 6th and 7th century, and also the full insertion of the island within the trade active in the Mediterranean, both along the route managed by Carthage and within the traffic coming from the East and conveyed by Alexandria.

Recently, a better knowledge of the archaeological record relevant for the 8th and 9th century has allowed the identification, also for this later period, of a progressive territorial diversification, the result of which is at the basis of the articulation in sub-regional areas (*Valli*), which is documented in the administrative structure of medieval Sicily.⁴ The crisis and resumption, so identified, are connected to the actions of the various political and economic centres that, in this phase, fight over the political-economic control of the central part of the Mediterranean.

Indeed, the influence of Carthage, the Papacy, Byzantium and the Islamic Ifriqiya determine crucial and sometimes concomitant effects on the rural and urban settlements, the shaping of which is also the result of political economies and military strategies followed during this span of time. From this point of view it is perhaps possible to substantiate the view of Sicily as an island suspended between the East and the West, between Byzantium and Rome, giving voice to a process that appears strongly diversified on a geographical and chronological ground and that has led to the suggestion, in this paper, of a different chronological articulation from the traditional one that distinguishes between the proto-Byzantine period (6th–7th century) and the thematic period (from the 8th century onward).

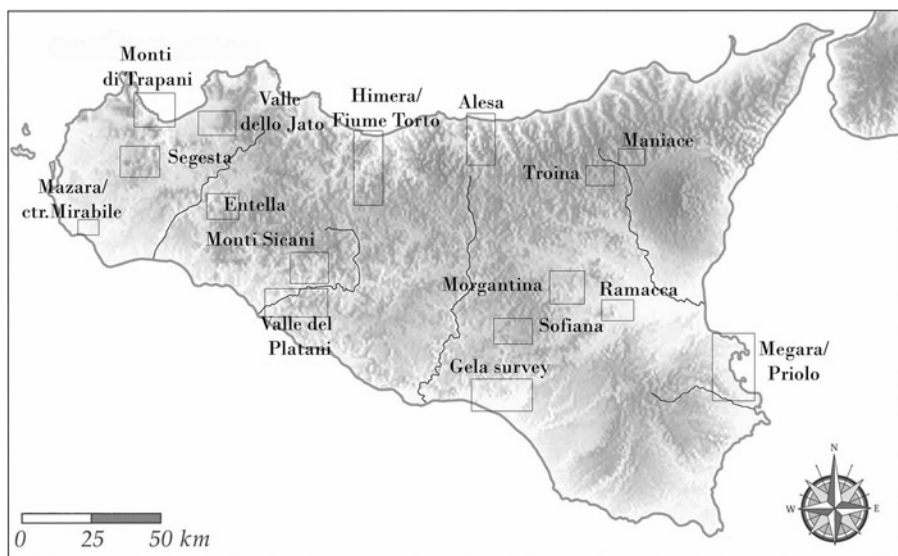
3 Prigent, “Le rôle des provinces”; id., “La Sicile byzantine”; id., “La politique sicilienne”. Recently see Cosentino, “La Sicilia” with bibliography.

4 On the administrative division of Sicily in Valleys (Val Demone, in the north; Val di Mazara, in the west; Val di Noto, in the south-east) see Corrao/D'Alessandro, “Geografia amministrativa”, pp. 395–397, with previous bibliography.

3 The 6th–7th Century: The Dimension of the *Agrotowns*

The results of the surveys conducted in Sicily⁵ although not always easily comparable because of the different methodologies followed, hint that the first part of the period was characterised by two macro-phenomena: the expansion of the villages, and the decadence of the urban centres, a situation that can be best appreciated at the end of the period and more specifically in western Sicily, which was affected more strongly by the fall of Carthage (689) and by the subsequent collapse of trade.

After the crisis which occurred in the middle of the 5th century, there was a general recovery with a strong propensity for large agglomerates that are defined as *agrotowns*.⁶ The model is well defined in the western part of the island, thanks to the surveys conducted in the area of Calatafimi,⁷ but also in the territory of Contessa Entellina where, after the collapse of the rural settlement that took place between the 5th and 6th century, a substantial persistence of



MAP 17.1 Distribution map of the major surveys cited in the text.

5 An overview of the 5th–8th centuries can be found in Castrorao Barba, “Considerazioni”, pp. 383–384; Cacciaguerra/Facella/Zambito, “Continuity and Discontinuity”; Molinari, “Sicily”.

6 Wilson, “La Sicilia”, pp. 285–286. For the Byzantine world see Dagron, “Entre village et cité”, pp. 29–52.

7 Molinari/Neri, “Dall’età imperiale al XIII secolo”, pp. 109–127.

the settlement can be perceived which lasted until the 8th century, especially in the south-west part of its territory.⁸ The prevalent rural dimension of these internal areas of Sicily is further proved by the analysis of the data provided by urban settlements such as Entella, Segesta, and Jato, which show clear signs of crisis during the course of the Imperial Roman age.⁹ With the exception of Palermo, that manages to extend its own sphere of influence to large part of western Sicily, even the coastal urban centres show signs of crisis that can be traced back to the crisis of the commercial axis of Rome-Carthage, after the Vandals' conquest and the subsequent incursions in Sicily.¹⁰ In a way, the coastal areas of Agrigento also show a picture that appears similar in many aspects: the ruralisation of the area, testified by sites such as Eraclea Minoa, Vito Soldano, Saraceno near Favara, Carabollace, and Cignana,¹¹ is contrasted by the clear decadence of Agrigento, at the end of the 7th century.¹² The shifting of the locus of habitation toward the hill that today is occupied by the historical centre, determines the depopulation of the Temples Valley, in strict connection with the embayment of the mouth of the river Akragas the site of the *emporion* of Agrigento.¹³

This complex picture is even more distinctive in south-central and eastern Sicily: the big village remains a recognisable horizon with famous examples that hint at diversified juridical and functional realities, despite the fact that the available data were far less numerous and not always derived from large scale and systematic surveys.

Sofiana, a *statio* along the *cursus publicus*, is one of the most meaningful examples for which the recent resumption of excavations show the consistency of a *like-urban* life during the 6th–7th century, and a large re-occupation between the 8th and 9th century, a period in which it maintains its role of a regional hub for a series of satellite sites.¹⁴

The Gela survey has also revealed the existence of agricultural centres and has allowed the identification of a substantial property (*tenuta*) from the Late

8 Corretti/Facella/ Mangiaracina, "Contessa Entellina (PA)".

9 For Entella see Corretti/Michelinì/ Vaggioli, "Frammenti di medioevo" pp. 147–148; for Segesta see Facella, "Nuove acquisizioni"; for a review of the available data see Maurici, "Sicilia bizantina".

10 Prigent, "Palermo", pp. 16–17, where it is possible to find the bibliography for Lilybaeum and Carini. For Selinunte: Greco, "Selinunte tra tardo antico e medioevo"; Arcifa, "Trasformazioni urbane", pp. 32–35.

11 Rizzo, "L'abitato rurale nell'agrigentino", pp. 277–295, with all the bibliography on the cited sites; Rizzo/Danile/Zambito, "L'insediamento rurale".

12 Parello/Rizzo, "Agrigento"; Ardizzzone, "La grande proprietà".

13 Caminneci/Cucchiara/Presti, "Emporion".

14 Vaccaro, "Sicily", pp. 34–69; Vaccaro/ La Torre (eds.), "La produzione di ceramica".

Antiquity to the 7th century, in strict connection to different *massae fundorum* located along the territories of Gela and Butera.¹⁵ Also in the area between Priolo and Melilli, to the north of Syracuse, the villages occupy important positions in the settlement hierarchy or in the management of natural resources.¹⁶

That the south-eastern cusp, i.e. the area between Ragusa and Syracuse, is particularly lively is confirmed by the network of settlements hinted at by religious buildings (mainly churches with trichor cells that can be dated between Late Antiquity and the first Byzantine period), and by the numerous catacombs and by a peculiar form of rocky landscape along the quarries of the Hyblean plateau.¹⁷

This settlement pattern, so particular to the 6th and 7th century, has been long related to the central position that the *massae fundorum* had in the socio-economic structure of Sicily in the Late Antiquity and Byzantine period and to the role of *conduma*,¹⁸ which in the light of the letters of Gregory the Great, can be defined as the central place within a *massa* where all production tools and handwork is concentrated. The concentration of the cities in the coastal areas facilitates the growing role of the *massae* in the organization of large portions of hinterland that were located at a fair distance from the urban areas.

This evolution of the *massa*, which acquires an active role in the civil and fiscal organization of the inhabitants (well documented at least for the large ecclesiastic properties belonging to the *patrimonium* of Rome and Ravenna) is at the base of the “renforcement de l’habitat groupé en Sicile au haut Moyen Age”.¹⁹

In this phase a certain territorial diversification, which becomes more evident toward the end of the period, can be observed in the north-eastern cusp of the island, influenced by the morphological and mountainous features that are not good for an extensive agriculture.²⁰

Despite the evident depopulation of several areas in the northern part of the island it is possible to underline the effort done by the Heraclian dynasty to

15 Bergemann, *Der Gela-Survey*, p. 163, who interprets these settlements as towns “per i coltivatori dei terreni adiacenti estesi per circa 200 ha in media”.

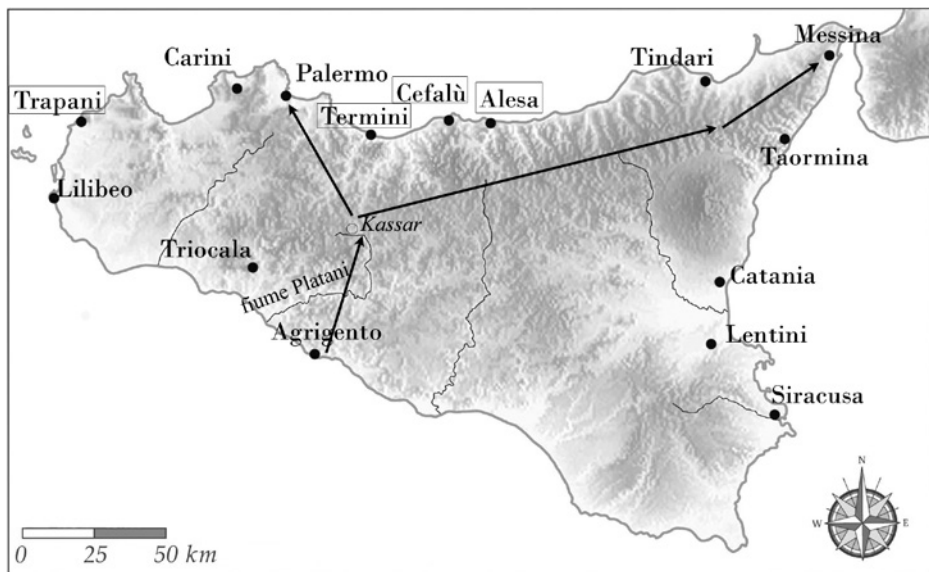
16 Malfitana/Cacciaguerra, *Priolo romana*, pp. 293–305.

17 On the numerous problems related to the chronological and cultural setting of the architectural and settlement data of this area see various contributions in Rizzo (ed.), *Di abitato in abitato*.

18 Vera, “Massa fundorum”, pp. 991–1025.

19 Prigent, “Le grand domaine”.

20 Arcifa, “Romaioi e Saraceni”, p. 164, with previous bibliography that needs to be complemented with Spigo, “Il complesso termale”, pp. 98–99; for Bagnoli S. Gregorio, and Fasolo, “Dinamiche dell’insediamento”, pp. 140–141, for the area around the Villa at Patti.



MAP 17.2 Sicilian bishoprics in Byzantine period; those founded between the 7th and the 8th century are framed.

strengthen the urban settlements through the foundations of the Termini and Alesa episcopates in the course of the 7th century.²¹ More to the East, the episcopate of Tindari (documented in the letters of Gregory the Great) maintains its role at least until the first half of the 7th century, although in a urban context of growing ruralisation, and it cannot be excluded that the construction of the urban walls, which seems to regard only the highest part of the plateau, also belongs to this phase.²²

The specific attention on the northern coast of the island, which is hinted at by the strengthening of some *civitates* both on an institutional and defensive ground, can probably be interpreted as part of the same project that led to the reinforcement of the passive defences along the Ionic coast and in the far end of Calabria.²³

The horizon of the village, which characterizes the areas where extensive agriculture was practiced, reflects the central role performed by Sicily in the wheat provision of Constantinople during the Byzantine period and even more after the fall of Egypt due to the Islamic advance, a role that also emerges with

²¹ Prigent, "L'évolution du réseau".

²² Leone, "Brevi note".

²³ Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine*, p. 285.

clarity through the analysis of the archaeological indicators that allow us to verify the large and widespread distribution of fine tableware imported from Africa, or Tunisia and Syro-Palestine, with a distribution that provides not only urban markets but also the large rural villages, and that will be strongly put into perspective only at the end of the 7th century with the fall of Carthage. Within this picture some peculiarities emerge with regards to the privileged circulation of near-eastern amphorae in the sites of the Ionic coast, and to the scarce circulation in the hinterland of wine amphorae produced in the area of Ionic-Calabrese area of the Strait (Keay LII, and Cripta Balbi 2), as they were instead oriented toward export and toward Roman markets.²⁴

It seems plausible to think that the recently discovered granary/silos situated in zones within the villages have to be framed in the context of such a pervading rural dimension, according to a centralised model that seems to be maintained until the Islamic period.²⁵ It is a topic that regards not only issues related to the social organization of the village, but also issues related to the tax system and to the agricultural tithe. This topic is closely linked to the problem of the big property, which in Sicily is one of the main traits of Late Antiquity and involves the aristocracy, the churches of Ravenna and Rome, and the emperor. The decline of aristocracies goes together with the growth of imperial and ecclesiastical property (in particular the large properties of the churches of Ravenna and Rome), which inherited the goods of important senatorial families.

The major transformations which can be seen in the villas of Late Antiquity, which apparently went out of use during the course of the 5th century, could be perhaps be included in this process.²⁶ The study of the phases of re-use often shows a re-occupation that is correlated to production activities (thermal areas re-used as cemeteries or as artisanal installations), which in turn, together with the abandonment of the lifestyle based on the occupation of villas, hint at the economic vitality of these organisms (and of the large properties related to it); they seem to maintain an important role in supporting the resumption of settlement at the beginning of the 9th century.

24 Ardizzone, "Nuove ipotesi", pp. 51–58; Arcifa, "Nuove ipotesi", pp. 15–24. For a comparison with Naples, in which a same massive presence of eastern amphorae compared to those of African production is witnessed in the archaeological assemblages dating to late 6th to early 7th century, see Arthur, "Naples", pp. 759–784.

25 Arcifa, "Facere fossa"; Rizzo/Danile/Zambito, "L'insediamento rurale", pp. 354–356; on the issue of the preservation of grain in the Byzantine empire see Prigent, "Le stockage du grain".

26 Sfamemi, *Ville residenziali*, pp. 285 and ff.

4 The 8th Century: The Crisis as an Accelerator of Diversification

The 8th century represents a crucial turning point, during the course of which it is possible to see an acceleration of the process of territorial diversification, although the understanding of the dynamics involved is made less clear due to the scarce knowledge of the archaeological indicators for this phase. The villages had started to face a critical period already over the course of the 8th century but in a different way. The crisis seems to hit more the north-eastern part of Sicily more acutely, where, as has already been explained, the peculiar geo-morphology of the island contributes to create a different history of settlement patterns. The circulation of globular amphorae produced in the Flegrean area in western Sicily suggests that between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century, therefore, following the fall of Carthage, the maintenance of a settlement and commercial network was strictly related to the localization of the territories belonging to the *patrimonium sancti Petri*.²⁷

However, during the 8th century the rarefaction of the rural settlement is a rather clear datum,²⁸ and it is closely connected to the crisis of the urban centres, including those located along the coast, which had already started during the first Byzantine period.²⁹ The surveys conducted in the territories of Calatafimi, Entella, in the mountains of Trapani, in the Valle dello Jato, and in the area of Mazara suggest, although on the basis of very few archaeological indicators, a further decrease in sites during the 8th century.³⁰ This pattern is certainly more evident with regard to the dynamics that took place in south-central and eastern Sicily. As we move to the east of the island it is indeed possible to see some differences to the western part, differences that will become more evident in the first decades of the 9th century.

The archaeological indicators for the 8th century (amphorae with grooved handles, lamps 'a ciabatta') contribute to demonstrate a greater vitality. This is the case, for example, of the territory of Sofiana that, within this time-span,

27 Ardizzone, "Nuove ipotesi" pp. 58–60.

28 See Molinari, "La Sicilia e lo spazio mediterraneo" pp. 123–142; Cacciaguerra/Facella/Zambito, "Continuity and Discontinuity", pp. 203–205.

29 The upgrading of Trapani to an episcopate after the decadence of Lilybaeum in the period between 750 and 820 can probably also be set in this context: see Prigent, "L'évolution du réseau".

30 For Calatafimi: Molinari, "Le ricerche"; for Entella: Corretti/ Facella/ Mangiaracina, *Contessa Entellina* (PA); for the Trapani mountains: Rotolo/Civantos, "Spunti di riflessione", pp. 318–319; for Valli dello Jato e del Belice: Alfano/Sacco, "Tra alto e basso Medioevo".

shows a meaningful vitality, and of the northern part of the territory of Syracuse, where an articulated settlement structure is still visible which only collapsed after the conquest of Syracuse.³¹

It is certainly too early to infer from this data some hints about the exploitation of the land in this span of time. If, however, one wants to take into account the aforementioned role played by the *conduma* in the context of the agricultural production between the 6th and the 7th century, then it will be possible to note a re-shaping of the production structures correlated to the management of the *massae*: the big property loses part of its role, especially in the westernmost part of the island. The archaeological data available so far leads us to hypothesise a strict relationship between the settlement reduction and the re-shaping, during the 8th century, of an economy that, throughout the 8th century has been focused on addressing the recourses toward the capital city.³²

However, the reconstruction of the settlement patterns during the 8th century remains totally unsatisfactory at this stage, because of the impossibility of assessing the effects of some important political measures mentioned by various sources: in 733 the reunification of Sicily and Calabria under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople, desired by Leo III the Isaurian,³³ certainly represents an important turning point in the cultural and religious ground and speeds up the progressive Hellenization of the island through Greek Orthodox foundations or through the re-conversion of Latin monasteries. While lacking a detailed study on the pre-Islamic “Greek-Italian” foundations, it is possible to identify a development both within the most important urban centres and along the major communication routes. This is certainly the case with the monastery of S. Filippo d’Agira, constructed along the Roman road that led to Enna, in which, during this phase, before the defensive retirement on the Nebrodi, was one of the centres responsible for the diffusion of the Greek culture in the territory.

The acceleration of the process of Byzantinisation of the island is also reflected in the progressive “disappearance” on the territory of two fundamental actors: the church of Rome, and Ravenna. The measures taken by Constantine V regarding the requisition of the *patrimonium sancti Petri*, under the pontificate of Pope Zaccaria, and the fall of Ravenna under the Lombards,³⁴ must have

31 Vaccaro, “Sicily”, pp. 45–48; Cacciaguerra, “L’area megarese”.

32 Prigent, “Le rôle des provinces”; Nef/Prigent, “Per una nuova storia”, p. 41, where it is underlined that the stabilization of the Balkan and Anatolian borders at the beginning of the 9th century contributes to re-evaluate the agricultural resources of Bithynia and Thrace.

33 Prigent, “Les empereurs”.

34 Prigent, “Les empereurs”, pp. 557–594; Prigent, “La Sicile bizantine”, pp. 226–227; cf. Cosentino, “Ricchezza e investimento”, p. 27, who believes that a continuity of use of the

had important repercussions on the consistency of the land-holdings belonging to the two churches.

Together with the disappearance of some of the principal economic actors, the plague which occurred in the middle of the 8th century³⁵ certainly contributed to a strong demographic fall whose effects might have been responsible for the settlement pattern described above.

5 The Fortification of Thematic Sicily

It is useful to underline that the rarefaction of sites during the 8th century did not coincide in the westernmost areas with the re-occupation of the highlands: the settlement pattern in the territories of Entella, Segesta, and Valle dello Jato shows a preference for open sites located on lowlands or on the slopes of low hills, even in a context of evident demographic decrease.

The issue of the fortifications and its influence on the settlement dynamics of the 8th century has been the subject of a long debate that, recently, has substantially put into perspective the role of the presumed fortification ordered by Byzantium.³⁶ Different to the articulation of the Byzantine territories of the mainland, Sicily does not experience a defensive phase in the Justinian age, probably because the recapture was rapid and was never substantially challenged.

It is however possible that the constitution of new episcopates in the north-eastern part of the island in places such as Termini and Alesa, which was initiated by the Heraclian emperors and continued by the Isaurian emperors, reflects a first defensive phase, rather precocious and partially independent from the Islam danger.³⁷ The institution of the episcopate at Cefalù, moreover, seems to complete a unitary program of reinforcement of the borders after the constitution of the Sicilian *thema* and finds a precise parallel in the similar program pursued along the Calabrian coastline, the territory of which in this phase was part of the Sicilian *thema*.

From the Isaurian phase, on the other hand, the role of the *stolus Siciliae* (documented by sources and seals) emphasizes the importance of the northern coast of Sicily and of Calabria in relation to the possibility of exploiting large forests.

Ravenna patrimony in Sicily and Calabria was still likely between the second half of the 8th and the first part of the 9th century.

35 Prigent, "Les empereurs", pp. 592–593.

36 Molinari, "La Sicilia e lo spazio mediterraneo", p. 133.

37 Prigent, "L'évolution du réseau".

An evaluation of the fortification of the Kassar at Castronovo, one of the more interesting archaeological discoveries of these past years that can be attributed to a time-span between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century,³⁸ seems to be connected chronologically to the constitution of the Sicilian *thema*.³⁹

From an architectural point of view it is a monumental work, whose construction shows a notable economic effort and suggests the existence of a project that could be set within the first thematic phase as place for the troops.⁴⁰ The topographic choice is especially meaningful because of the lack of large urban centres along the valley, an area especially important for the communication between the north and the south, between Agrigento and Palermo, but also towards the east of the island: the crossroad of Castronovo is a crucial hub for the control of the territory, a point of confluence of the Roman road that connected Palermo and Catania passing through Enna, but also of the Messina road, which passed through the mountains, via Gangi and the Petralie mountains (map 17.2).

It seems plausible to think that the fort of Castronovo at the beginning of the 9th century, in coincidence with the resumption of the Arab-Muslim attacks on the coasts, had a precise role in the protection of one of the privileged access points to the sites of eastern Sicily.

The conditions of the coastal cities of western Sicily, which after the Vandal conquest experienced a long process of weakening, might have suggested that a defence centred on the coasts was impossible and needed to be replaced by a strategic project founded on the internal border, documented along the valley of the Platani river that performed a crucial role in the control of the internal communication.⁴¹ It is therefore in this context that, in the decades that follow the institution of the *thema*, the Kassar might have represented a new hub for the defence of the island together with the new strategic role assumed by some urban centres of south-central Sicily: Catania, Enna, Siracusa, and Cefalù. For all these centres the seals of the *topoteretai*, attributable to the second half

38 Vassallo, "Le fortificazioni bizantine", pp. 679–696; Carver/Molinari, "Sicily in Transition".

39 Oikonomidès, "Une liste arabe".

40 Showing elements of contact with the second defensive phase, documented in the mainland when the Byzantine resistance did not appear to be centred only on the passive defence entrusted to the fortification walls of a few fortified centres, but it is consolidated in a territorial defensive system with the reoccupation and fortification middle highland sites: cfr. Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine* p. 285.

41 To this role should be connected some fortification walls documented along the middle course of the Platani river (Monte della Giudecca, Monte Castello, Monte Guastanella, Rocca della Motta), which document an occupation phase attributable to the same chronological horizon as the Kassar: see Rizzo, *L'insediamento medievale*, pp. 153–154.

of the 8th and 9th century indeed allow us to verify the presence of chosen troops of the army. The strategic enhancement of these urban centres contributes during the 8th century to defining a more marked differentiation between various parts of the island that culminates, as will be seen, with the period of repopulation that characterises the first decades of the 9th century.

6 The 9th Century: Re-population and Crisis

The composite and diversified picture that characterised the island during the 8th century is further defined in the first decades of the 9th century when it is possible to better appreciate the differences. To simplify matters, southern and central Sicily are characterised by a policy of repopulation, while western Sicily undergoes a process of progressive desertification.

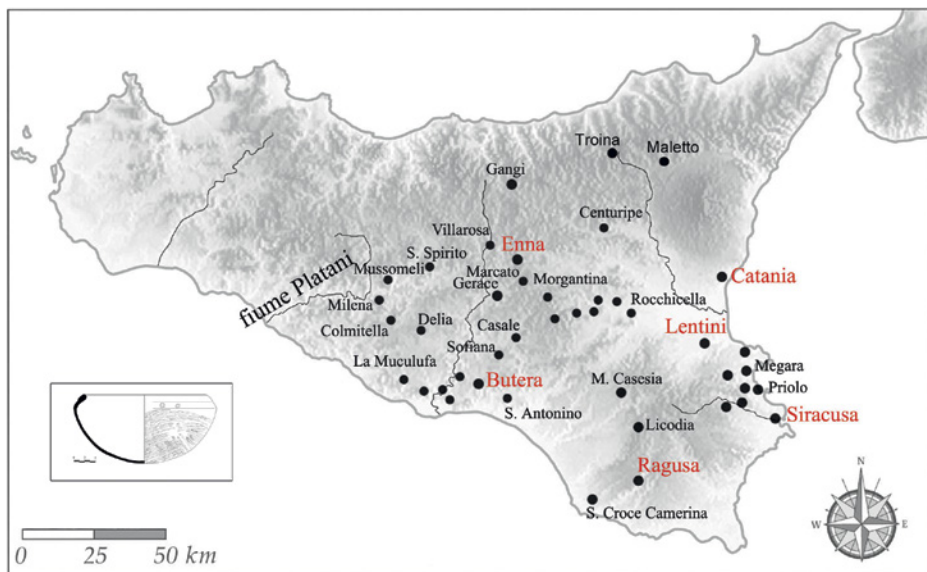
This diversification, which at this stage can only be outlined, appears to be the result of previous dynamics and of new defensive strategies that are focused on specific areas that gravitate around Syracuse.

The picture of the coastal cities of western Sicily and of the areas that converge on them shows a territory that was already weakened, probably less involved in the placement of the military aristocracy that, in other cases, constitutes the “transmission chain” of the imperial power from the point of view of the territorial organization and of the repercussions on the countryside.

The diversification is probably the outcome of a long-term process of depopulation that was instigated by different and concurrent causes and that, in turn, generates a precise strategy on behalf of the Byzantine empire, which can be archaeologically verified through new indicators.

Among other cases in Sofiana (located to the north of Syracuse) it is possible to identify a clear continuity of life between the 7th–8th and 9th century.⁴² Surveys, fortuitous findings and excavation data show a specific pattern in south-central and south-eastern Sicily that is hinted at by the calcite-tempered, coil-built casserole, which recently has led to an overall re-evaluation of the settlement pattern for the late Byzantine period. The association with coins of Michael I (811–813), found at Rocchicella (Mineo), indeed allows us to circumscribe the chronology to the decades that precede the Islamic conquest. It is an artefact that finds precise comparisons with similar but as yet unpublished items found in Malta, and that from a technological point of view find various

42 Vaccaro, “Sicily”; Cacciaguerra, “L’area megarese”.



MAP 17.3 Distribution map of hand-made casseroles in the early 9th century.

parallels with some classes produced in the Balkans and characterised by the same surface treatment.⁴³

Ongoing research highlight a new picture and allow us to reconstruct a dense and articulated settlement pattern, which is situated within a defined area and that at this stage of the research seems to exclude the northern part of Val Demone and the territories to the west of the Platani river.

Although in a rather imprecise way, it seems that sites are placed following a strategic and economic pattern that takes into consideration long-distance communication routes that are more closely connected with Syracuse and perform a crucial role in the connection of the Ionic and southern coasts, and are in part inherited from the Roman period.

This distribution already reveals a strict relationship between the rural centres that were re-occupied in the 9th century and some urban centres located in this ideal network of communication where, meaningfully, it is possible to find the same typology of artefacts that are always associated with defensive areas: Enna, Catania, and Lentini but also Butera and Ragusa, two centres or rather *kastra* of new foundation that testify to a precise plan to reinforce

43 See Arcifa, "Indicatori archeologici", pp. 67–89, for a more specific evaluation of the pottery.

the control of the southernmost territories in relation to a new period of Islamic attacks.⁴⁴

It does not seem to be a simple coincidence that some of the above-mentioned centres are involved, in the same span of time, i.e. between the second half of the 8th and the 9th century, in the institution of urban *topoteretai*. The seals of the *topoteretai* with reference to the centres of Syracuse, Enna, Catania and also Cefalù, highlight the placement of officials at the head of a fixed garrison, i.e. of elite troops maintained and permanently armed.⁴⁵ If this was the case, then we would be tempted to relate the archaeological evidence discussed above with the placement of soldiers within the urban centres, a presence that is indirectly hinted at by the seals of their officials.

In the same way, considering the distribution of these artefacts in the countryside, it is possible to state that some recurrent elements authorise a specific and peculiar interpretation of the changes occurred in Sicily in the thematic period. The data underlines the recurrent presence of hut-like dwellings (Rocchicella, contrada Edera – Bronte, Enna, Morgantina), built using techniques that are not found in the Byzantine period yet in contexts which are datable to the 7th century or even to the beginning of the 8th.⁴⁶ The reoccupation is attested either in sites that in the 6th–7th century appear to be large settlements, or in very small sites; both cases allow the outline of a relatively short phase that in many circumstances testifies a violent end (with traces of fire), or the rapid abandonment of places (see for example Rocchicella) that appear to have been re-occupied only in later periods. It is however mainly the comparison with the settlement patterns reconstructed for the westernmost part of the island that reinforces the belief that the peculiarity of this *facies* depends on a precise political choice of the empire,⁴⁷ which aimed to answer the double need to face the impoverishment of the countryside and to guarantee, at the same time, a permanent defence of the territories that were more closely connected with Syracuse. In other words, the data allows us to outline a pre-planned occupation that was functional to the defence and to the economic revitalization of highly productive lands that had a privileged relationship with Syracuse, which was the capital. It is indeed this peculiar distribution that reinforces the hypothesis that the valley of the Platani river performed, in this phase, the role of *limes* for the protection of the rich lands of the eastern part of the island.

44 Arcifa, "Trasformazioni urbane", pp. 35–36.

45 Prigent, "Note sur le topotèrètès de cité", pp. 145–158.

46 Arcifa, "Insularità siciliana"; Arcifa "La Sicilia".

47 Charanis, "The Transfer of Population", pp. 140–154.

This interpretation, however, does not satisfy all the possible implications of this revitalization. On the contrary, a more accurate evaluation of the sites and of the areas involved in this process shows the large involvement of areas connected to the large properties of the Late Antiquity, when the most important *latifundia* developed along the long-distance communication route.

Within such a varied record it is possible to identify some recurrent situations, and more specifically the reoccupation of mansions, such as the one at Casale (Piazza Armerina) or some smaller ones at Geraci and Gangi, and the reoccupation of large villages, such as Sofiana or Rocchicella, which could be attributed to the *conduma* type.⁴⁸

Considering the span of time taken into consideration, it is possible to hypothesise that large parts of the *latifundia* had already been confiscated or had absorbed by the large imperial property. It is indeed plausible to think that the events occurred in the middle part of the 8th century, i.e. the confiscation of the land tenure of the church of Rome, in fact reinforced the concentration of large parts of the ecclesiastic and private *latifundia* within the *res imperialis*.⁴⁹

This hypothesis, if confirmed by future studies, would allow us to appreciate, also on an archaeological grounds, the central role of the island within the Byzantine empire, a role that appears to be further confirmed by the recent retrieval of globular amphorae of near eastern production – in association with the indicators of the 9th century – both in coastal and rural sites, witnessing the maintenance of an economy connected with the production centres of the empire.⁵⁰

7 After 827: *Rhomaioi* and *Sarakenoi*, a Comparison

The structure defined for the first half of the 9th century through the archaeological indicators would be overturned as a consequence of the landing of the Arabic-Muslim troops at Mazara, especially after the conquest of Castrogiovanni (858), when the war would involve in a more decisive way the eastern territories and the conflict would display, in a more evident way, the features of a conquest war.⁵¹

48 Arcifa, "Dinamiche insediative".

49 For an example in Calabria see the indications concerning the *massa* Trapeana, which originally belonged to the church of Rome, from where the seal of Michele *topoteretes* originated, that allows us to hypothesise on the allocation of troops of the thematic army after the requisition of the big property; Prigent, "Note sur le topotèrètès", p. 157.

50 Arcifa/Longo, "Processi di diversificazione territoriale"; Arcifa, "Contentitori".

51 Nef/Prigent, "Guerroyer pour la Sicile".

The historiographical review of the Islamic conquest has also involved the political evaluation of the Byzantine policy in the island after the 827. The war effort of the empire, which was also responsible for the long resistance of Sicily (certainly not entrusted to the local forces alone), needs to be postulated also in the course of the 10th century, when it is possible to hypothesise a massive return of the Byzantines to the island, with the venture of Romanus I Lecapenus, who re-conquers, albeit provisionally, the north-eastern part of the island, from Taormina to Termini as witnessed by Arabic sources.⁵²

The conquest of Palermo (831) and the creation of an Aghlabid government since 834/835 reinforced, soon after the landing at Mazara, created a presence that was substantially centred on the western areas, which were probably conquered with relatively small effort. The total absence, in the Arabic sources on the conquest, of episodes of resistance or conflicts confirms in a tangible way the picture of crisis of the urban and rural settlement network in the western part of the island as well as the hypothesis of an overall moving back of the defensive structures of the island so as to protect the accesses towards the eastern part and the capital, Syracuse. It is plausible to think that the stabilization of the new emirate in Palermo coincided with a process of rural expansion in the area surrounding the capital but also in the area of Trapani, where the land organization in terms of settlement and properties had already started to loosen up for quite some time. The archaeological data that underlines an overlapping between the Byzantine phase of the 6th–7th century and the Islamic phase hinted at by the glazed pottery, with the formation of large villages that re-propose the proto-Byzantine settlement network, could be interpreted in this sense as the outcome of a process of Islamic re-colonization of the territory that contrasts with its marginality in the early medieval period.⁵³

More complex is the interpretation of the dynamics in the eastern areas, which are characterized by a major continuity of life for the 8th and 9th century, for which it is not possible to document the same qualities and settlement modalities in the course of the first Islamic phase. Here the data derived from the surveys show, with a certain clarity, the process of desertification of the vast “latifundia” situated in the centre of the island, around Morgantina within

52 Prigent, “La politique sicilienne”. The firm belief that the year 878 represented a point of no return in the policy of Basilios I, starting from which the empire would renounce to a comprehensive strategic plan in the fight against the Muslim world, substantially looking toward the East, is expressed by Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, p. 79.

53 Lately see the pictures proposed on the occasion of the meeting Nef/Ardizzone (eds.), *Les dynamiques*: for the Trapani mountains see Rotolo/Civantos, “Spunti di riflessione”; for the territory of Entella Corretti/Facella/Mangiaracina, see “Contessa Entellina (PA)”; for the territory of Segesta-Calatafimi, see Molinari, “Le ricerche”.

proximity of Ramacca, and for the territories situated on the south-western slopes of Aetna that would be re-colonised during the Benedictine expansion in the Norman period. In other cases, such as in the territory around Sofiana and the Casale villa at Piazza Armerina, a process of Islamization of the territory took place during the Kalbit period, i.e. from the second half of the 10th century onwards.⁵⁴ The same areas to the north of Syracuse underline an overall impoverishment of the settlement network that is also attested in the urban area with the shrinkage of the settled area of Syracuse to Ortigia only.⁵⁵

One area that maintains a strong Hellenized culture is Val Demone, where also from a toponymic point of view it is possible to see fewer effects of Islamization process of the territory.⁵⁶

In these areas the Byzantine resistance was longer and was practiced through a series of war campaigns that, starting from the thirties of the 10th century, would lead back to Byzantine domination a large portion of territory between Taormina and Termini. It is highly likely that during the long decades of conflict a certain demographic pressure occurred which determined the evacuation of the Christian population from the places more subject to the devastations of the Islam war.

Indeed the hagiographic texts can represent a trustworthy mirror of these internal migration processes which occur in the course of 10th century, as in the case of the life of Saint Saba from Collesano, who relocated himself and his family from the monastery at Collesano to the fortress at Rometta, namely to an area which had passed into imperial control.⁵⁷

The rooted presence of the Italian-Greek monasticism in the area of the future Val Demone is one of the causes, perhaps the most relevant, of the strong Greek-speaking imprinting that would characterize the area throughout the Norman period. The foundation of some monasteries built along the main itineraries that allow the landings on the Tyrrhenian to be connected with the hinterland of the island probably dates to the late Byzantine period. Indeed, the documentation produced by these monasteries in the 11th century outlines, retrospectively, some important variations of road assets in the 9th and 10th centuries that involve these territories in strict connection with the new strategic role in the last phase of the Byzantine presence in the island.

In this sense have, in fact, to be interpreted the references to the road network – *megale hodos*, *dromos*, *basilikos dromos*, *via regia* – which are real

54 Arcifa, "Romaioi e saraceni", p. 173.

55 Cacciaguerra, "L'area megarese".

56 Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner*, p. 375.

57 Prigent, "La politique sicilienne", p. 82.

linguistic relicts of a road terminology that clearly refers to the Greek-Byzantine culture and that in this case represents the equivalent of the *cursus publicus*.⁵⁸

Through this it is possible to reconstruct a coherent and unitary road system that ensured rapid communications through Nebrodi, and is articulated on two coastal axes (of Roman derivation), along the Tyrrhenian and the Ionic and on the internal route along the valley of the Alcantara river and the Nebrodi and Madonie mountains. This is the big change in the road asset in Sicily between the Late Antiquity and the early medieval period: the ancient Roman road from Catina to Termini would basically be replaced by this itinerary clearly indicated by Edrisi that, for the central part, gravitated on the centres of Nicosia, Cerami, Troina, Cesarò, Maniace, and Randazzo, so as to proceed along the left bank of the Alcantara river in the direction of Taormina.

Within this triangle at least three transversal north-south roads allowed the ports of S. Marco, Patti and Milazzo on the Tyrrhenian to be reached. The growing interest of the empire toward the north-central areas, attested as was already seen since the 7th century when new episcopates were established, certainly provides the propulsive push for this new articulation of viability. The definitive fall of Enna under the Islam (858), however, seems to create the conditions for a shifting of the transversal axis of communications further north, causing the military use of these road axes.

The degree of innovation in the itineraries highlighted so far, in comparison with the road network of Late Antiquity, seems to appear evident from the fact that they are based, at least at terminal points, on settlements that, as seen, assume in this phase a specific strategic relevance, highlighting the military character of these routes that in the central months of the year run on steep and snowy trails.

It seems plausible that this double demographic and strategic pressure was responsible for the creation of the settlement asset of Val Demone in the medieval period, but the archaeological data available does not allow at this stage to articulate chronologically the foundation of a series of fortified settlements mentioned by the sources. To this last fortification season, as a consequence of the increased strategic role assumed by Val Demone between the end of the 9th and the 10th century, is due to the creation of defensive *kastra* and *kastellia* along these road axes, known through the Arabic sources and through very few archaeological remains. It is in this context, which was profoundly re-organised by the Byzantine military intervention, as is also hinted by some toponyms that indicate the placement of chosen troops of imperial army,⁵⁹

58 Arcifa, "La riorganizzazione del dromos", pp. 731–748.

59 Arcifa "La riorganizzazione", p. 737.

that the last season of the war between Arab-Muslims and Byzantines would be performed. In the thirties of the 10th century, the latter would manage to regain the control of a vast area that substantially seems to correspond to the area that Arabs would name Val Demone. This was a presence that justified the two long sieges of Taormina and Rometta in 962/963 on behalf of the Fatimid army and demonstrated that the defence was entrusted to a well-equipped army, as well as the relatively ease with which Manuel Phokas, after the landing in 964, conquered Termini and Syracuse.⁶⁰

A century after these events, the Norman knights would start the conquest on the basis of these scarcely Islamized areas, evaluating the Greek component as a means for the re-Christianisation of the island. Along these same routes the Italic-Greek monasticism would come to know a new season of growth, allowed by the numerous concessions done in its favour by the Norman monarchy.⁶¹

At the end of the long experience of the Byzantine presence in Sicily, the Italic-Greek monasticism would perform the role of prolonging the Greek-orthodox culture in the medieval period, keeping alive, in some way, the connection with Constantinople.

Bibliography

- Alfano, A./Sacco, V., "Tra alto e basso Medioevo. Ceramiche merci e scambi nelle Valli dello Jato e del Belice destro dalle ricognizioni nel territorio (Palermo)", *Fastionline. Documents&research* (2014), 1–42.
- Arcifa, L., "Contenitori da trasporto nella Sicilia bizantina (VIII–X secolo): produzioni e circolazione", in S. Gelichi/M. Molinari, *I contenitori da trasporto alto-medievali e medievali (VIII–XII secolo). Centri produttori, contenuti, reti di scambio in memoria di Fabiola Ardizzone*, *Archeologia Medievale* XLV, 2018, 123–148.
- Arcifa, L., "Dinamiche insediative e grande proprietà nella Sicilia bizantina: uno sguardo archeologico", in Martin/Peter-Custot/Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage*, pp. 237–267.
- Arcifa, L., "*Facere fossa et victualia reponere*. La conservazione del grano nella Sicilia medievale", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 120/1, (2008), 39–54.
- Arcifa, L., "Indicatori archeologici e dinamiche insediative nella Sicilia tardobizantina", in Congiù/Modeo/Arnone (eds.), *La Sicilia bizantina*, pp. 67–89.

60 Prigent, "La politique sicilienne", p. 66.

61 On the Greek presence in Norman Sicily see von Falkenhausen, "The Greek presence".

- Arcifa, L., “‘Insularità’ siciliana e Mediterraneo altomedievale. Dati archeologici e quadri territoriali tra VIII e IX secolo”, in K. Wolf/K. Herbers (eds.), *Southern Italy as Contact Area and Border Region during the Early Middle Ages. Religious-Cultural Heterogeneity and Competing Powers in Local, Transregional and Universal Dimension* (Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 40), Köln 2018, pp. 125–148.
- Arcifa, L., “La riorganizzazione del dromos in Sicilia nel corso dell’ultima età bizantina: le vie regie sui Nebrodi”, in C. Varaldo (ed.), *Ai confini dell’Impero. Insediamenti e fortificazioni bizantine nel Mediterraneo occidentale (VI–VIII sec.)*, Bordighera 2011, pp. 731–748.
- Arcifa, L., “La Sicilia medio bizantina: dati archeologici e ipotesi di ricerca”, in M. Re/C. Rognoni/F.P. Vuturo (eds.), *Byzantino-Sicula, VII. Ritrovare Bisanzio, Giornate di studio sulla civiltà bizantina in Italia meridionale e nei Balcani dedicate alla memoria di André Guillou*, Palermo 2019, pp. 187–203.
- Arcifa, L., “Nuove ipotesi a partire dalla rilettura dei dati archeologici: la Sicilia orientale”, in Nef/Prigent (eds.), *La Sicile*, pp. 15–49.
- Arcifa, L., “Romaioi e Saraceni attorno all’827. Riflessioni sul tema della frontiera” in Modeo/Congiu/Santagati (eds.), *La Sicilia del IX secolo*, pp. 161–181.
- Arcifa, L., “Trasformazioni urbane nell’altomedioevo siciliano: uno *status quaestionis*”, in Parello/Rizzo (eds.), *Paesaggi urbani*, pp. 31–40.
- Arcifa, L./Longo, R., “Processi di diversificazione territoriale nella Sicilia di inizi IX secolo. Il contesto di Rocchicella – Mineo (CT)”, in P. Arthur/M. Leo Imperiale (eds.), *VII Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, Florence 2015, pp. 361–366.
- Arcifa, L./Sgarlata, M., (eds.), *From polis to madina. La trasformazione delle città siciliane tra tardoantico e altomedioevo*, (Themata 1) Bari 2020.
- Ardizzone, F., “La grande proprietà terriera e la storia della Valle dei Templi di Agrigento tra tardo antico e altomedioevo: nuove ipotesi a partire dalla rilettura delle fonti”, in Arcifa/Sgarlata (eds.), *From polis to madina*, pp. 249–270.
- Ardizzone, F., “Nuove ipotesi a partire dalla rilettura dei dati archeologici: la Sicilia occidentale”, in Nef/Prigent, (eds.), *La Sicile*, pp. 51–76.
- Arthur, P., “Naples: a case of urban survival?”, *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 103/2 (1991), 759–784.
- Bergemann, J. (ed.), *Der Gela-Survey. 3000 Jahre Siedlungsgeschichte in Sizilien*, Munich 2010.
- Cacciaguerra, G., “L’area megarese tra IX e XI secolo: un paesaggio in transizione”, in Nef/Ardizzone (eds.), *Les dynamiques*, pp. 379–387.
- Cacciaguerra, G./Facella, A./Zambito, L., “Continuity and Discontinuity in Seventh Century Sicily: Rural Settlement and Economy” in A. Gnasso/E. Intagliata/Th. MacMaster/B. Morris (eds.), *The Long Seventh Century. Continuity and Discontinuity in an Age of Transition*, Oxford 2015, pp. 199–233.

- Caminnecci, V./Cucchiara, V./Presti, G., "Nuove ipotesi sulla topografia dell'*Emporion* di Agrigento", in Parello/Rizzo (eds.), *Paesaggi urbani*, pp. 63–75.
- Carver, M./Molinari, A., "Sicily in Transition research Project. Investigations at Castronovo di Sicilia. Results and Prospects 2015", *Fashionline. Documents&researchs* (2016), pp. 1–12.
- Castorao, Barba, A., "Alcune considerazioni e problematiche sulle dinamiche degli insediamenti rurali in Sicilia tra V e VIII secolo", in P. Arthur/M. Leo Imperiale (eds.), *VII Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, vol. 2, Florence 2015, pp. 383–386.
- Charanis, P., "The Transfer of Population as a Policy in the Byzantine Empire", in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 3/2, (1961), pp. 140–154 (reprinted in id., *Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire*, London 1972, 11).
- Congiu, M./Modeo, S./Arnone, M. (eds.), *La Sicilia bizantina. Storia, città e territorio*, Caltanissetta 2010.
- Corrao, P./D'Alessandro, V., "Geografia amministrativa e potere sul territorio nella Sicilia tardomedievale (secoli XIII–XIV)", in G. Chittolini/D. Willoweit (eds.), *L'organizzazione del territorio in Italia e in Germania: secoli XIII–XIV*, Bologna 1994, pp. 395–444.
- Corretti, A./Facella, A./Mangiaracina, C.F., "Contessa Entellina (PA). Forme di insediamento tra tarda antichità e età islamica", in Nef/Ardizzone (eds.), *Les dynamiques*, pp. 342–349.
- Corretti, A./Michellini, C./Vaggioli, M.A., "Frammenti di medioevo siciliano: Entella e il suo territorio dall'altomedioevo a Federico II" in P. Pensabene (ed.) *Piazza Armerina. La Villa del Casale e la Sicilia tra tardoantico e medioevo* (Studia Archeologica, 175), Roma 2010, pp. 147–196.
- Cosentino, S., "La Sicilia, l'impero e il Mediterraneo (VII–IX secolo). Centralità politica, mobilità geografica e trasformazioni sociali", in M. Re/C. Rognoni/F.P. Vuturo (eds.), *Byzantino-Sicula, VII. Ritrovare Bisanzio, Giornate di studio sulla civiltà bizantina in Italia meridionale e nei Balcani dedicate alla memoria di André Guillou*, Palermo 2019, pp. 71–90.
- Cosentino, S., "Ricchezza e investimento della chiesa di Ravenna tra la tarda antichità e l'altomedioevo", in S. Gelichi/R. Hodges (eds.), *From One Sea to Another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Age*, Turnhout 2012, pp. 417–439.
- Cracco Ruggini, L., "La Sicilia tra Roma e Bisanzio", in R. Romeo (ed.), *Storia della Sicilia*, vol. 3, Naples 1980, pp. 3–96.
- Dagron, G., "Entre village et cité: la bourgade rurale des IV^e–VII^e siècles en Orient", *Koikonia*, 3 (1979), 29–52 (reprinted in G. Dagron, *La romanité chrétienne en Orient héritages et mutations*, London 1984, VII).
- Facella, A., "Nuove acquisizioni su Segesta tardoantica", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 5/1 (2013), 285–315.

- Falkenhausen, von, V., "The Greek presence in Norman Sicily: the contribution of archival material in Greek", in G.A. Loud/A. Metcalfe (eds.), *The Society of Norman Italy*, (The Medieval Mediterranean, 38), Leiden 2002, pp. 253–288.
- Fasolo, M., "Dinamiche dell'insediamento nel territorio di Tindari dalla preistoria al medioevo", *Journal of Ancient Topography*, 21 (2011), 119–150.
- Greco, C., "Selinunte tra tardoantico e medioevo: la città dopo la città" in Parello/Rizzo, (eds.), *Paesaggi urbani*, pp. 41–50.
- Leone, R., "Brevi note sulle fasi più recenti dell'impianto murario di Tindari", in Arcifa/Sgarlata (eds.), *From polis to madina*, pp. 167–172.
- Malfitana, D./Cacciaguerra, G., *Priolo romana, tardoromana e medievale. Documenti, paesaggi, cultura materiale*, Catania 2011.
- Martin, J.M./Peters-Custot, A./Prigent, V., (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 4, *Habitat et structure agraire* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 531), Rome 2017.
- Maurici, F., "Sicilia bizantina: il territorio della provincia di Trapani dal VI al IX secolo", in *Atti delle Quarte Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'area Elima*, vol. 2, Pisa 2003, pp. 885–931.
- Modeo, S./Congiu, M./Santagati, L. (eds.), *La Sicilia del IX secolo tra Bizantini e Musulmani*, Caltanissetta 2013.
- Molinari, A., "La Sicilia e lo spazio mediterraneo dai Bizantini all'Islam", in F.J. Fernandez Conde/C. Garcia de Castro Valdés (eds.), *Poder y Simbología en la Europa Altomedieval. Siglo VIII–X, Territorio Sociedad y Poder. Revista de Estudios Medievales*, Annex 2, (2009), 123–142.
- Molinari, A., "Le ricerche nel territorio di Segesta-Calatafimi: ripensando ad un ventennio di ricerche nella Sicilia occidentale", in Nef/Ardizzone (eds.), *Les dynamiques*, pp. 327–339.
- Molinari, A., "Sicily between the 5th and the 10th Century: villae, villages, towns and beyond. Stability, expansion or recession?", in D. Michaelides/P. Pergola/E. Zanini (eds.), *The Insular System of the Early Byzantine Mediterranean*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013, pp. 97–114.
- Molinari, A./Neri, I., "Dall'età imperiale al XIII secolo. I risultati delle ricognizioni di superficie nel territorio di Calatafimi/Segesta (1995–1999)", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âges*, 116/1, (2004), 109–127.
- Nef, A., *Conquérir et gouverner. La Sicile islamique aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, (Bibliothèque des Écoles Française d'Athènes et de Rome, 346), Rome 2011.
- Nef, A./Ardizzone, F., (eds.), *Les dynamiques de l'islamisation en Méditerranée centrale et en Sicile: nouvelles propositions et découvertes récentes* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 487), Rome 2014.
- Nef, A./Prigent, V., (eds.), *La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam*, Paris 2010.

- Nef, A./Prigent, V., "Guerroyer pour la Sicile (827–902)", in Modeo/Congiu/Santagati (eds.), *La Sicilia del IX secolo*, pp. 13–39.
- Nef, A./Prigent, V., "Per una nuova storia dell'altomedioevo siciliano", *Storica* 35–36 (2006), 9–63.
- Oikonomidès N., "Une liste arabe des stratèges byzantins du VII^e siècle et les origines du thème de Sicile", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s., 1 (1964), 121–130.
- Parello, M.C./Rizzo, M.S., "Agrigento tardoantica e bizantina: nuovi dati dal quartiere residenziale e dalle aree pubbliche", in Parello/Rizzo (eds.), *Paesaggi urbani*, pp. 51–62.
- Parello, M.C./Rizzo, M.S. (eds.), *Paesaggi urbani tardoantichi. Casi a confronto* (Atti delle Giornate Gregoriane, VIII Edizione), Bari 2016.
- Prigent, V., "Lapolitiquesicilienne de Romain I^{er} Lécapène" in D. Barthélemy/J.C. Cheynet (eds.), *Guerre et société au Moyen Âge. Byzance – Occident (VIII^e–XIII^e siècle)*, Paris 2010, pp. 63–84.
- Prigent, V., "La Sicile byzantine entre papes et empereurs (6^{ème}–8^{ème} siècles)", in D. Engels/L. Geis/M. Kleu (eds.), *Zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit. Herrschaft auf Sizilien von der Antike bis zur Frühen Neuzeit*, Stuttgart 2009, pp. 201–230.
- Prigent, V., "Le grand domaine sicilien à l'aube du Moyen Âge", in Martin/Peters-Custot/Prigent, (eds.), *L'héritage byzantine*, pp. 207–236.
- Prigent, V., "Le rôle des provinces d'Occident dans l'approvisionnement de Constantinople (618–717)", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 118/2 (2006), 269–299.
- Prigent, V., "Les empereurs isauriens et la confiscation des patrimoines pontificaux d'Italie du Sud", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 116/2 (2004), 557–594.
- Prigent, V., "Le stockage du grain dans le monde byzantin (VII^e–XII^e siècle)", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 120/1 (2008), 7–37.
- Prigent, V., "L'évolution du réseau épiscopal sicilien (VIII^e–X^e siècle)", in Nef/Ardizzone (eds.), *Les dynamiques*, pp. 89–102.
- Prigent, V., "Note sur le topotèrètès de cité en Italie méridionale durant les siècles obscurs", *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 9 (2006), pp. 145–158.
- Prigent, V., "Palermo in the eastern Roman Empire", in A. Nef (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Palermo. The History of a Mediterranean City from 600 to 1500*, Leiden 2013, pp. 11–38.
- Rizzo, F.P., (ed.), *Di abitato in abitato. In itinere fra le più antiche testimonianze cristiane degli Iblei*, Pisa 2005.
- Rizzo, M.S., *L'insediamento medievale nella Valle del Platani* (Studi e Materiali 11), Roma 2004.
- Rizzo, M.S., "L'abitato rurale nell'agrigentino nella prima età bizantina (VI–VII secolo)", in Congiu/ Modeo/ Arnone (eds.), *La Sicilia bizantina*, pp. 277–295.

- Rizzo, M.S./Danile, L./Zambito, L., "L'insediamento rurale nel territorio di Agrigento. Nuovi dati da prospezioni e scavi", in Nef/Ardizzone (eds.), *Les dynamiques* pp. 351–363.
- Rotolo, A./Martin Civantos, J.M., "Spunti di riflessione sull'insediamento di epoca islamica nel territorio dei Monti di Trapani", in Nef/Ardizzone (eds.), *Les dynamiques*, pp. 317–326.
- Sfamemi, C., *Ville residenziali nell'Italia tardoantica*, Bari 2006.
- Spigo, U., "Il complesso termale di località Bagnoli S. Gregorio" in Spigo, U., (ed.), *Archeologia a Capo d'Orlando. Studi per l'Antiquarium*, Milazzo 2004, pp. 91–108.
- Vaccaro, E., "Sicily in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries AD: A Case of Persisting Economic Complexity?", *Al Masāq. Journal of Medieval Mediterranean* 25 (2013), 34–69.
- Vaccaro, E./La Torre, F., "La produzione di ceramica a *Philosophiana* (Sicilia centrale) nella media età bizantina: metodi di indagine ed implicazioni economiche", *Archeologia Medievale* 42 (2015), 53–91.
- Vasiliev, A.A., *Byzance et les Arabes*, vol. 2. *La dynastie macédonienne (867–959)* (Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae 2,1), Bruxelles 1968.
- Vassallo, S., "Le fortificazioni bizantine del Kassar di Castronovo di Sicilia: indagini preliminari", in *Atti delle Seste giornate internazionali di Studi sull'area Elima e la Sicilia occidentale nel contesto mediterraneo*, Pisa 2009, pp. 679–696.
- Vera, D., "Massa fundorum. Forme della grande proprietà e poteri della città in Italia fra Costantino e Gregorio Magno", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité* 111 (1999), 991–1025.
- Wilson, R.J.A., "La Sicilia", in A. Schiavone (ed.), *L'età tardo-antica. I luoghi e le culture* (Storia di Roma III.2), Turin 1993, pp. 279–298.
- Zanini, E., *Le Italie bizantine. Territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia (VI–VIII secolo)*, Bari 1998.

Byzantine Sardinia

Pier Giorgio Spanu

1 Byzantine Sardinia

The Byzantines' recapture of Sardinia – occurred within the war events of 533–534 – is part of the Justinian's wider political and military project for the *restitutio* of the Roman Empire.¹ In this historical context the dissolved *regnum Vandalorum* must have left Byzantium with the legacy of the central-western Mediterranean insular system including Sardinia, Corsica and *Baliares*. At least during the 6th and 7th centuries, a new seal discovered in the Balearic Islands is leading scholars to consider that² the latter islands may have been hinged on Sardinia. The Greek legend inscribed upon the obverse of the seal depicts a cruciform monogram reporting the rescue invocation to the *Theotokos* by a servant (dative on the reverse) ΓΟΡΔΙΩ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΙ ΜΑΙΟΥΡΙΚΩ (Γορδίῳ ἄρχοντι Μαίουρικῳ), evidently “Gordio, *archon* of Majorca”.³

Documents found in Sardinia regarding an *archon* (governor) of Sardinia – which was then followed in the 11th century by the *archontes* of Karallos and Arborea⁴ – led to the hypothesis that Constantinople had chosen to establish maritime archontates in Sardinia and in the Balearic Islands, with a likely anti-Islamic role.

2 City and Countryside: *Annona* Supply in Byzantine's Sardinia

The main text for understanding the economic structure of Sardinia during the Byzantine period is the *Gesta civitatis Caralitanae*, an epigraphic document

-
- 1 On the historical events and the reference sources relating to the fall of the Vandal Kingdom of Africa, and for a general historical framework on Byzantine' Sardinia, see Spanu, *La Sardegna bizantina*, pp. 14–16. Among the newest publications, see Cosentino, “Byzantine Sardinia between West and East”.
 - 2 See Ilisch/Matzke/Seibt, *Die Mittelalterlichen Fundmünzen*.
 - 3 De Nicolás Mascaró/Moll Mercadal, “Sellos bizantinos de Menorca”, pp. 540–541, 556–572.
 - 4 Spanu/Zucca, *I sigilli bizantini, passim*; Spanu et al., “L'arcontato d'Arborea”.

from the time of Mauricius Tiberius appraised by Jean Durliat and André Guillou.⁵

The inscription discovered in Donori, 30 km N-NE of Cagliari, reads:

*Following the Municipal Registers of the town of Caralis [---] under the reign
of our overlord Mauricius Tiberius [---]
for half of it [---] which transporting grain [---]
half per animal [---]
for a pannier beast transporting palms, for a load of palms, as many bundles
[--- for someone who introduces those for trade] sheep, for twenty beasts as
many pounds of meat;
for such pack animals [? ---]
for peasants who introduce legumes, for each basketful, a bunch [---]
for an animal that transports summer products, for each basketful, as many
pounds [---]
(for a product) in pieces, for a solidus, twenty nummi;
for a horca (cask) of wine [---], fifty pounds (of such product) [---]
for boats with grain [---]
transporting birds, for thirty birds, two birds.
All that [—]*

The *Gesta civitatis Caralitanae* may document the existence of a customs duty system between the province of Sardinia and an autonomous dukedom of the *Barbaricini* located in the inner lands of the island. In this case the levy system would have been enacted by a provincial authority located in Carales, although it appears rather likely that the *Gesta* only ruled over this municipality's levy system that, most probably, kept a quota of the taxation and paid the rest to the provincial bureau of the Byzantine Treasury.⁶ The *Gesta civitatis Caralitanae* seems to suggest a taxation of 6% on the goods' value with a share for the municipality of 50%, (following Durliat and Guillou's interpretation), greatly superior both to the 1/3 share set by the *Codex Theodosianus*, and the 2/5 share proposed by Valentinian III in the *novella XIII* and by Justinian's Code.⁷ It could be argued, following André Guillou, that the inscription under examination represents the local taxes bearing over short and middle range

5 Durliat, "Taxes sur l'entrée des marchandises"; Guillou, "La lunga età bizantina", pp. 360–370; Muresu, *La moneta "indicatore" dell'assetto insediativo*, pp. 311–320. Recently, the text has been republished with a different interpretation by Cosentino, "Un tariffario di merci", pp. 109–118.

6 Guillou, "La lunga età bizantina", pp. 361–362.

7 Durliat, "Taxes sur l'entrée des marchandises", pp. 6–7; Guillou, "La lunga età bizantina", pp. 365–367.

transports of consumer goods and not over Mediterranean trade or luxurious goods, for which a different taxation must have been in place.⁸

The epigraph must have been originally placed near one of the entrance gates to the town of Carales, possibly one opening towards the *via a Karalibus Turrem*. In fact, we are told about grain transport by means of *naucellae* (small boats), which must have taken place, rather than on rivers (particularly the Flumini Mannu via Sanluri, Serrenti, Monastir, San Sperate, and Assemini), across the Santa Gilla lagoon (nearby Cagliari), from the mouth of the Cixerri/Flumini Mannu (Big River) to a wharf located on the western shore of the basin, by where the town gate is supposed to have been. This was probably the same gate that, in Byzantine times, according to Pani Ermini's hypothesis, bore the inscription reporting a plea to Saint Longinus for the salvation from the *diabulus*.⁹

The flow of peasants and farmers from the *ager* to the *macellum Caralitanum* recalled by the customs duty table, reports, in an incomplete list, the supplies for the *caput provinciae* of *Sardinia* which included grain, transported via land or water; wine contained in *horcae*; legumes; sheep's meat; and bird-catching preys. Transported goods also included palms, but it is difficult to ascertain whether these were of the type of *chamaerops humilis* (European Fan Palm), used until the first half of the 20th century both for its nutritional value and to weave baskets, or instead date palms which were introduced to the Sardinian landscape by the Phoenicians or Carthaginians.

It is plausible that, from the 6th through the 8th century, every town in Sardinia had a similar customs duty table allowing the regular flux of supplies to the towns that, even in Byzantine times, represented the main form of settlement's organization along the coasts, with the exception of the internal towns of *Chrysopolis* – *Forum Traiani* and, perhaps, Vselis and Valentia, all of which were Roman foundations.

The collection of tributes must have been administered under the inspection of Sardinian bishops, attested in seven towns during the period being discussed: Carales, Sulci, Tharros, Cornus, Turris, Fausiana, and *Forum Traiani*. The letters of Gregory the Great addressed to the bishop of Carales and the general historical evolution of the bishops' characters convey the hypothesis of a preeminence of episcopal control over the municipal administration, although tensions are attested to have existed between the provincial jurisdiction and the town's secular authorities. Evidence for this may be seen

8 Guillou, "La lunga età bizantina", pp. 365–367.

9 Pani Ermini, "La storia dell'altomedioevo in Sardegna", p. 391; Spanu, *La Sardegna bizantina*, pp. 30, n. 113.

on a border-stone of the 6th century which bears, on one side, the inscription *limes aeccl(esiae Caralitanae)* and, on the other, (*limes*) *curiae (Caralitanae)*, in relation to the establishment of boundaries limiting the two authorities' respective jurisdictions, which were possibly featured by two different fiscal regimes.¹⁰

3 The Byzantine Empire's Public *Fundi*

The Roman landscape was therefore characterized by a scant number of centres with urban status, and by a remarkable presence of tiny rural settlements coexisting with rural villas which were associated with the agricultural exploitation of the lands,¹¹ and with settlements connected to the road system, organized on four main axes related to the *cursus publicus* and the *viae compendiarie* which provided a communications network to the inland areas of the island.¹²

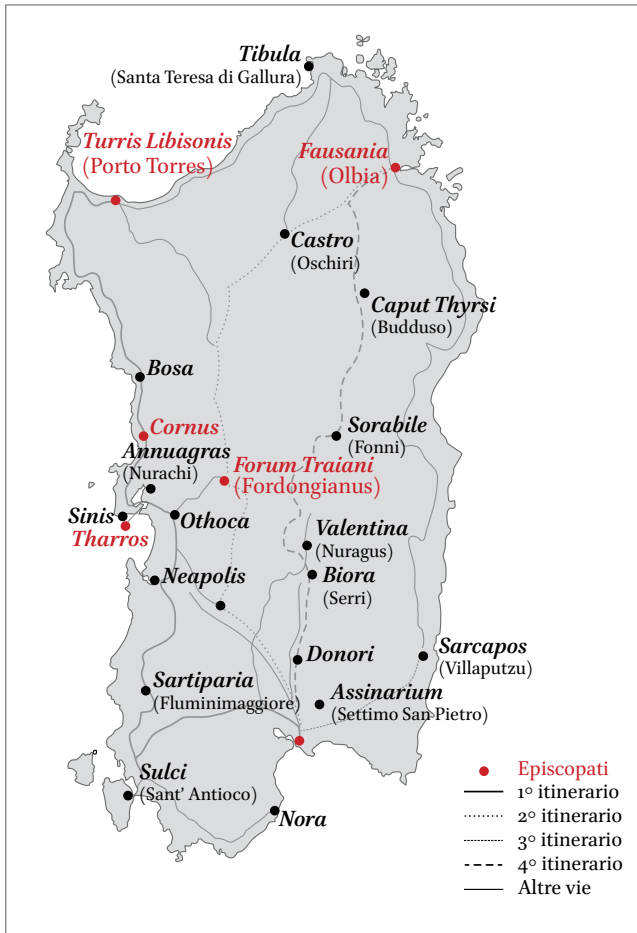
During Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, including the period when Sardinia was first absorbed by the Vandal Kingdom and then made a province of the Byzantine prefecture of Africa, such landscapes remained substantially unchanged. Moreover, given that the fiscal system of the new rulers (Vandals and Byzantines) must have substantially inherited the Roman scheme,¹³ the economic structures related to the levy system in Sardinia – including settlements related to those structures – must have remained substantially unchanged until this balance was broken by the Arab's burst into the Mediterranean.

¹⁰ Cosentino, "La Sardegna bizantina", p. 58.

¹¹ Colavitti, "Per una storia dell'economia della Sardegna romana", especially pp. 649–651; Nieddu/Cossu, "Ville e terme"; Cossu/Nieddu, *Terme e ville extraurbane*. Interesting annotations on the production landscapes in Roman times are in Campus, "L'insediamento umano", pp. 158–161.

¹² On Roman roads system having a continuity at least until the Byzantine period and beyond (Spanu, *La Sardegna bizantina*, pp. 121–128 and id., "La viabilità e gli insediamenti rurali", pp. 115–117) the most recent work and the relevant bibliography can be found in Mastino (ed.), *Storia della Sardegna antica*, pp. 333–392: see also updates in Atzori, *La strada romana "A Karalibus Sulcos"*; Azzena, "Sardegna romana"; Atzori, *La viabilità romana*; Canu/Giuliani, "La viabilità extraurbana nel territorio di Olbia". On the *cursus publicus* and related structures see Spanu/Zucca, "Il *cursus publicus*".

¹³ Spanu, *La Sardegna bizantina*, pp. 129–131; Cosentino, "Potere e istituzioni", pp. 5–6; Ibba, "I Vandali in Sardegna", pp. 411–415. See also the annotations by Cosentino, "La Sardegna bizantina", p. 61.



MAP 18.1 Map of Byzantine Sardinia: major places

© SALVATORE COSENTINO

Prior to the Byzantine occupation, documentation relating to imperial properties in Late Antiquity suggests that these were represented by *metalla* (connected to minerals and perhaps granite mining activities), *salinae*,¹⁴ and *fundi*. Fairly clear sources regarding the latter make clear the extension of these large properties in the island.¹⁵

14 As it is attested by an epigraphic text from Caralis concerning the (*quingaginta*) *m(ancipes) salinarum pertinentes*, who are the authors of a dedication (Bonello Lai, “Nuove proposte di lettura”, pp. 199–201, with references; see also the annotations in Mastino/Zucca, “Le proprietà imperiali”, p. 117, n. 67).

15 On the imperial property during Late Antiquity see Mastino/Zucca, “Le proprietà imperiali”, pp. 106–108.

Following the Vandals' conquest of Sardinia, imperial assets must have been preserved among the financial means of their kings. Similarly, following the Byzantine recapture of the island, the *patrimonium Caesaris* must have been replaced as in previous times in the hands of Emperor Justinian and perhaps tied to the *Domus Marinae*. This suggestion is based upon a seal discovered at San Giorgio of Sinis, near Tharros (Cabras, in central-western Sardinia), dating to the 6th century and belonging to a Θεοφύλακτος (κουράτωρ) τῶν Μαρίνης,¹⁶ that testifies to the existence of properties of the *Domus Marinae* in Sardinia.¹⁷ The official does not appear to correspond to any of the known characters with the same name,¹⁸ while its office can be interpreted as "(κουράτωρ) τῶν Μαρίνης"¹⁹ – namely as *curator (rerum) divinae domus Marinae*,²⁰ which was one of the imperial private patrimonies (*oikoi*) between the late 560 and May 562,²¹ – and compared with that of Magnos κουράτωρ τοῦ θείου οἴκου τῶν Μαρίνης between 573 and 578.²²

Another seal, discovered in Siurgus (CA) in the territory of Trexenta (central-southern Sardinia), reveals a Byzantine rural economic organization along the *via ab Ulbia Caralis per mediterranea*, renamed *bia aregus*, "the road of Greeks"²³ during the Early Middle Ages. The road had *diverticula* (secondary roads) serving settlements whose topographical and administrative organizations are largely unknown. Recent research and excavations have stressed the relevance of the area located between Siurgus and Sisini (hamlet of Suelli), especially during the Byzantine period.²⁴ This area probably appertained to the same medieval administrative district, the *curadoria de Siurgus*, and

16 Spanu/Zucca, *I sigilli bizantini*, pp. 105–108, with information on this imperial residence in Constantinople.

17 A. Carile in Spanu/Zucca, *I sigilli bizantini*, p. 18.

18 *PLRE* IIIB, s.v. *Theophylatus* 1–15; *PMBZ*, 8240–8345.

19 For the *curatores domus divinae* (of *Placidia*, *Hormisda*, *Areobindus* and *Antiochus*) of Constantinople, dating between the 7th and 8th centuries, see *PLRE* IIIB, pp. 1483–1484.

20 Regarding the origin of the name of the imperial residence derived from Marina, daughter of Arcadius and Eudoxia, see W. Ensslin in *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 14/1, 2 [1930], s.v. *Marina* – 4, with reference to an οἶκος τῶν Μαρίνης.

21 *PLRE* IIIA, s.v. *Georgius* 7. See Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, vol. 1, Leipzig 1885, pp. 235, 237.

22 *PLRE* IIIB, s.v. *Magnus* 2, with reference to the inscription of Attalia in Pamphylia: H. Grégoire, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1922, 308 = *Année Épigraphique* 1924, 140.

23 Paulis, *Lingua e cultura*, pp. 91–92, with annotations on the toponym in the territory of Mandas, near the territory of Siurgus.

24 Spanu/Zucca, "Nuovi documenti epigrafici", pp. 148–160.

was perhaps the successor of a territorial subdivision dating to Roman or Byzantine times.²⁵

The lead seal from Siurgus bears an invocation to the Virgin on behalf of Niketas μειζότερος.²⁶ Typological and palaeographical elements allow the dating of the seal to the end of the 7th century, or most likely to some time within the first half of the 8th century. The artefact attests, for the first time in Sardinia, to the existence of these provincial representatives, the *meizoteroi*, so far mostly known for Constantinople, southern Italy and Egypt. Failing the specification βασιλικός μειζότερος, it is likely that this Niketas was a provincial official sent to Sardinia from Constantinople. As is known, the role of these representatives was to direct or inspect the production of raw items utilised by the *ateliers* in Constantinople. It can be maintained that Byzantine economy in Sardinia envisaged a first level of the manufacturing system whose final products were to be exported to Constantinople.²⁷ Niketas is a recurring name in the Byzantine aristocracy,²⁸ while in Sardinia it could be compared with the Νηκοίτας reported on a Greek funerary text found in the necropolis of San Saturnino in Carales, which was condemned as a forgery by Theodor Mommsen, among other texts handed down to us by seventeenth-century sources:

ENTΑΔΕ ΚΑΤΑΚΕΙΤΕ Η ΔΟΥ/ΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΝΗΚΟΙΤΑΣ²⁹ (Here the servant of God Nicetas lies)

It is interesting to stress how exceptionally long this Greek name remained in Sardinian medieval anthroponymy. A *Nicita lebita*, for instance, is known to have been the scribe (*iscribanus*) of the judge of Logudoro, Barisone I de Lacon-Gunale, as quoted in a document dated 1064–1065.³⁰ Therefore, a town in this territory – namely the Logudoro – preserved a document which perhaps derived from the Constantinopolitan court related to the activities of Niketas

25 The connection between Sisini and Siurgus is inferable from the content of a list of villas, among which the *villa de Sissinj de curadoria de Siurgus* is quoted in a spurious document, which was drafted in Catalan but reutilizing parts of genuine medieval documents (Tola, *Codex Diplomaticus Sardiniae*, p. 335).

26 Θεοτόκε βοήθει τοῦ δούλου σου Νικήτα μειζοτέρου, ἀμήν: Spanu/Zucca, “Nuovi documenti epigrafici”, pp. 148–154, where the last word was lacking termination.

27 On the μειζότεροι and their institutional development see Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System*, p. 100; Hanton, “Lexique explicatif”, pp. 106–107; Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines*, p. 317; V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l’empire byzantine*, vol 2 *L’Administration centrale*, Paris 1981, pp. 323–324 (imperial *mizoteroi*).

28 See Spanu/Zucca, “Nuovi documenti epigrafici”, p. 151.

29 *CIL* X, 1, 1319*.

30 Tola, *Codex Diplomaticus Sardiniae*, p. 153, no. 6; Blasco Ferrer, *Crestomazia sarda*, p. 27. See Bortolami, “Antroponimia e società”, p. 190.

meizoteros, that concerned the acquisition of raw items, probably connected with agricultural activity, although the acquisition of raw materials such as minerals (lead, iron and above all alum rock, from Furtei and Segariu) available in the nearby territories cannot be excluded.

Regarding the 7th and 8th centuries, it has also been proposed that there were military properties in the region.³¹ This phenomenon could probably be connect to the broad supply of imperial assets, in addition to mere strategic needs.³² Especially archaeological sources have indicated the existence of military settlements on the island, possibly in relation to the border troops who controlled the up-country territories against hostility from the indigenous population, such as that of the *Barbaricini*. The soldier-settlers guarded small *castra* and fortresses, in exchange for the use of lands which they inhabited with their families.³³ A series of burials with military grave goods discovered in several areas of the island may have been associated with these rural society members, as they clearly relate to the social status of the dead.

4 The Byzantine Empire's Private *Fundi*

Written sources clarify how private and ecclesiastical estates existed during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: since Vandal times the *De agricultura* of Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus indicated how the author was the proprietor of extended properties in Sardinia characterized by very fertile terrains.³⁴ The landed proprieties belonging to the Aelii family, located in the *ager Cornensis*, must have passed to the church, perhaps when the *Senafer* diocese was established between the 4th and the 5th century: it was within this area, located at a short distance from the town of Cornus, that the *insula episcopalis* (the episcopal district) was constructed apparently re-occupying the area of a pre-existing villa.³⁵

According to some letters by Gregory the Great, we know that there were both private and ecclesiastical properties on the island during the Byzantine period.³⁶ Nonetheless, it is not clear whether the properties

31 Guillou, "La lunga età bizantina", p. 353; Cosentino, "Potere e istituzioni", pp. 6–8.

32 Cosentino, "La Sardegna bizantina", p. 61.

33 Spanu, *La Sardegna bizantina*, pp. 173–190; Cosentino, "Potere e istituzioni", p. 8.

34 Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus, *Opus agriculturae* 4. 10, 16; 12. 15, 3, ed. R.H. Rodgers, Leipzig 1975, pp. 126, 232. See Zucca, "Palladio e il territorio neapolitano".

35 Spanu, "Terme e complessi cultuali", pp. 905–910.

36 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 4.9; 4.23; 9.204–205 (pp. 225–227, 241–242, 761–765) Worthy of attention is the letter where the Pope turns to the *nobiles ac possessores* (seculars

belonged exclusively to the local church, that is to the bishops, or whether the Roman church continued to hold properties on the island as it is attested for the Constantinian era.³⁷

Once again, archaeological research has confirmed how the rural settings underwent a process of property mutation, perhaps hinged upon the endowments of large portions of the imperial estates or, most likely, following the euergetism of rich landowners who had been donating their properties since at least the 4th century (but above all between the 5th and 6th centuries, pursuant to the Church Peace).³⁸

Archaeological discoveries highlighting the iteration of this phenomenon particularly concern Christian places of worship obtained by the refurbishing of previous settings often located inside one of the many farms or within small rural settlements.³⁹ With regard to this, material culture generally suggests how many country villas, together with production settlements being dependent on these villas, continued to be proactive and to play a determining role in the agricultural exploitation of the territory until the first centuries of the Middle Ages, with an economic structure that was variable in terms of property allocation but substantially identical in terms of management models.

Research performed via landscape archaeology focused on several areas of the island has proved how, in the territories with a high agricultural calling, production centres associated with pre-existing villas/farms must have increased between the 6th and 7th century. This is the case, for example, of the *territorium* of Nora, located in southern Sardinia, where several settlements which appeared during these centuries have been identified and contrasted with other settlements whose occupancy did not extend beyond the 5th century.⁴⁰

and/or ecclesiastics) pleading for a commitment to the evangelization of the peasants that worked on their properties (4. 23, pp. 241–242). For the ecclesiastical properties, ostensibly the greatest during the 6th and 7th century, it could be reasonably suggested that their rural administration was preferably entrusted to men of the cloth, particularly clerics, and only in exceptional occasions to secular individuals that must have been in any case under the supervision of the religious authority.

37 *Le «Liber Pontificalis»*. Texte, introduction et commentaire, ed. Duchesne, 2 vols., Paris 1886–1892, 1: p. 183. The function of the *defensores* is emphasized by several letters of Gregory the Great. These figures most likely managed properties of the Roman church, in a similar manner as attested for other territories: Cosentino, “La Sardegna bizantina”, pp. 58–59.

38 Spanu, *La Sardegna bizantina*, pp. 142–143. See also Cosentino, “La Sardegna bizantina”, p. 59.

39 Spanu, *La Sardegna bizantina*, pp. 132–142; id., “Terme e complessi culturali”, pp. 915–920.

40 The same appears to have occurred, in general, in other areas of northern Sardinia, such as the Montecuto and the nearby Gallura (Campus, “L’insediamento umano”, p. 163), even

Beyond these peculiarities, the same research has also confirmed a continuity in the settlements' pre-existing framework and hierarchical order, with small farms/rural production centres attached to large farms/rural villas in the *territorium* of the main settlement, the town of Nora.⁴¹ The only difference observed concerning the town is that it may have experienced a decrease in status which reduced it to a 'satellite' settlement of nearby Caralis, the primary diocesan see in Sardinia at the dawn of the Byzantine era in the 6th century.⁴²

On the origins of the new settlements, Elisabetta Garau highlights how the poleogenetic factor could be seen in the temporal continuity of some of the rural villas, endowed with large territories, as they had an appealing power on "other small agricultural communities which were aggregated in view of a more articulated plan of farm's exploitation".⁴³ The villas' settlement continuity is archaeologically well documented, including among the other examples, the significant case of Santa Filitica of Sorso, in northern Sardinia, where an aristocratic residence nearby the sea may have ostensibly held a dual function as a *villa maritima* and as a centre connected with the agricultural exploitation of the fertile inlands.⁴⁴

The residential portion of the villa had a function change at the end of the 5th century, during the Vandal period, when a series of thermal settings with mosaics were used for metallurgic activities and other purposes.⁴⁵ In the same epoch, a series of buildings were built about hundred metres west of the thermal complex and used as service locations or servants' lodgings.⁴⁶

Apart from iron manufacturing, other craftsmanship activities are attested in the settlement, such as the processing of animal bones, particularly deer

though further research in narrower sample territories may be able to clarify the chronological and qualitative definition of these settlements.

41 Garau/Rendeli, "Tra *Africa* e *Sardinia*", pp. 1252–1261, 1267–1274; Garau, *Disegnare paesaggi della Sardegna*, pp. 59–69.

42 Garau/Rendeli, "Tra *Africa* e *Sardinia*", p. 1261; Garau, *Disegnare paesaggi della Sardegna*, pp. 62, 66–68.

43 Garau, *Disegnare paesaggi della Sardegna*, p. 66.

44 Rovina, "Ceramiche di importazione e produzioni locali", pp. 787–796; Rovina et al., "L'insediamento altomedievale di Santa Filitica", pp. 179–216; ead. (ed.) *Santa Filitica a Sorso*; ead., "L'insediamento costiero di Santa Filitica", pp. 110–123.

45 Rovina/Garau/Mameli, "Attività metallurgiche", pp. 2673–2696. Recent discoveries have questioned the re-use of the thermal structures of the villa as a Christian house of worship, an hypothesis formulated since the first excavations in the area (Boninu/Rovina, "Sorso (Sassari)", pp. 707–711) and still accepted until recent times: See Spanu, *La Sardegna bizantina*, pp. 135–137, with references in footnote 640.

46 Rovina, "Sorso: L'insediamento rurale di Santa Filitica", p. 183.

antlers, for the production of diverse objects.⁴⁷ The settlement was then abandoned at the end of the 6th century or, at the latest, at the beginning of the following century. During the 7th century, over an alluvial layer, a small built-up area was settled in the same zone;⁴⁸ this subject will be treated more fully in the following section.

5 Rural Ecclesiastical Organization in the Byzantine Period

Sardinia experienced a late conversion to Christianity both in terms of a minute diffusion of the Christian religion and the ecclesiastical organization. Moreover, although the historical sources are lacking in explicit indications, the bishops of the seven Sardinian dioceses – most of which were established between the 5th and 6th century – must have held their jurisdiction solely on the coastal areas near urban settlements, with the exception of some inland areas close to *Forum Traiani*.⁴⁹ Considering the position of the settlement, it is interesting to note how it extended towards the plains of the northern Campidano instead of towards the inaccessible regions of the Barbagie, although the latter were rather close to *Forum Traiani*. During the Middle Ages the successor of these territories would eventually be the cathedral seat of Santa Giusta, located closer to the coast.⁵⁰

A large portion of the rural areas and inland territories in Sardinia – particularly the Barbaria – did not fall within any episcopal jurisdiction. These areas did not experience an ecclesiastical organization until the 11th century, when the written sources reported of an *episcopus de Barbaria* whose see was set in Suelli (a decentralized position in respect to the area of jurisdiction).⁵¹ These areas must have defied Christian penetration for a sustained amount of

47 Rovina (ed.) *Santa Filitica a Sorso*, pp. 24–25; ead., “L’insediamento costiero di Santa Filitica”, p. 118.

48 Rovina, “Sorso: L’insediamento rurale di Santa Filitica”, pp. 183–186.

49 Spanu, *La Sardegna bizantina*, pp. 144–147; id., “La diffusione del cristianesimo”, pp. 409–413.

50 As it appears from historical sources, particularly from the registers of the *decimae*: see P. Sella, *Rationes Decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII e XIV. Sardinia*, Vatican City 1945, annexed map. This reconstruction is generally accepted by scholars, for example, Nieddu/Zucca, *Othoca*, pp. 79–80; Spanu, *La Sardegna bizantina*, pp. 144–147; Turtas, *Storia della Chiesa in Sardegna*, map at p. 968; Spanu, “La diffusione del cristianesimo”, pp. 409–413; contra Zedda/Pinna, “La diocesi di Santa Giusta”, pp. 28–31.

51 Mor, “In tema di origini”, p. 267.

time, as reports of their adherence to paganism and religious syncretism was still being recorded during the time under Gregory the Great⁵² and probably continued to be practiced in the centuries that followed.⁵³

Regarding the *cura animarum* structures (ecclesiastical pastoral activity) in the Sardinian countryside, archaeological research has revealed several buildings used for Christian rituals which served the rural communities. San Giovanni of Nurachi and San Giorgio of Decimoputzu are two emblematic examples of churches which were equipped with baptistery, both with a simple structure with a single nave and a lateral baptistery,⁵⁴ erected in two settlements associated with viability that may have been *mansiones* or *stationes*. They were most likely dependent upon the bishop's authority and therefore fully inserted within the hierarchical structures of the local churches. Nonetheless, research has not clarified the form and extent of the settlements, whose function, originated in Roman times, is only inferable by the toponymic continuity of modern settlements: Nurachi, identifiable with the *statio* of *Annuagras* (**Ad Nuragas*) quoted in Byzantine times in the *Cosmographia* (*Ravenna Cosmography*);⁵⁵ and Decimoputzu, whose name appears to have inherited a reference to the original settlement (*ad decimum*) and its relation to the road to which it was evidently connected.

The same can be said for other houses of worship that, as the case studies cited above show, demonstrate the existence of organized communities. A baptismal font discovered in the presbytery of the church of San Pantaleo of Dolinova, may point to an *ecclesia baptismalis*, which appertained to a building whose construction preceded that of the cathedral of Dolia, a bishop's see which was perhaps absorbed by the diocese of Caralis during the 11th century.

52 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 4.23, 26–27, 29 (pp. 241, 245–247); 5.38 (p. 312); 9.205 (p. 764): Turtas, “La cura animarum in Sardegna e Corsica”, pp. 407–418.

53 See Spanu, “La diffusione del cristianesimo”, pp. 413–419, e id., “*Fons Vivus*”, pp. 1057–1067, 1075–1077.

54 These churches, although today with many medieval and modern transformations, show strong analogies in their original elements. Both buildings had a small single nave eastwards oriented, while two lateral settings, together with the main hall, define a sort of Latin cross shaped space. The room to the south was arranged as a small baptistery with a circular basin on the external side and four-faced on the internal. The baptismal font was directly connected to the house of worship, which had another entrance through the lateral corridor. On these and the other churches cited below, see Spanu, “La diffusione del cristianesimo nelle campagne sarde”, pp. 419–432, with further references.

55 Ravennatis Anonymus, *Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica*, ed. M. Pinder/G. Partnhey, Berolini 1860, p. 411.

Other more problematic cases are those of Santa Maria of Vallermosa, Santa Giulia of Padria, Santi Stefano and Giovanni of Posada. As with the churches in Nurachi and Decimoputzu, two buildings located a few miles apart in an area more distant from the coast, San Lussorio of Albagiara and Santa Lucia of Assolo, could also refer to settlements located near roads which were evidently still in use during Late Antiquity. In particular, Santa Lucia of Assolo was erected at some point during the 6th century in an area which previously belonged to wealthy owners, as is attested by the presence of a 4th-century mausoleum next to the house of worship.⁵⁶

The latter case could prove that the endeavour to convert the island to Christianity must have owed much to the commitment of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the activities of small numbers of priests – as the situation is still attested under Gregory the Great – but also to the activity of the *possessores*. It is to them that Gregory the Great is addressing when he asked for a stronger commitment to spread the Christian credo to the peasants working their properties.⁵⁷

The context also confirms what has been said regarding the continuity of the ancient economic structures during Vandal and Byzantine times, with rural landscapes characterized by large estates where the *domini* dwelled in their villas and peasants worked the land, most likely in small and scattered settlements.⁵⁸ During the first phases of Christianization of the territory, the house of worship became both a reference and aggregation point for the peasants, as must have been the case in the nearby church of San Giovanni of Asuni, which was perhaps fitted with a baptistery that appears to have re-used pre-existing structures.⁵⁹

6 Towards Other Settlement Typologies

Very little can be said of the settlement system of the inland territories, particularly in the mountainous regions, that must have been even less populated than the coastal areas. In all likelihood, considering the spare references

56 Mureddu, “L’area archeologica di Santa Lucia di Assolo”, pp. 497–504.

57 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 9.205 (p. 764).

58 It can be inferred from the research on the ancient landscapes of other areas, such as the fertile lands of the Sinis Peninsula and the northern plain of Oristano: Tore/Stiglitz, “Ricerche archeologiche nel Sinis”, pp. 641–643; Stiglitz, “Archeologia di un paesaggio”, pp. 23–55.

59 Mureddu/Deidda/Spanu, “La chiesa altomedievale di San Giovanni di Asuni (OR)”.

in Byzantine sources, the *civitates Barbariae* known in Imperial times⁶⁰ still endured, possibly corresponding to “cantons” without cities, or rather territorial districts inhabited by a non-urbanized population living in small settlements with a certain level of organization. It is appropriate to recall other areas, such as Germany or Gaul, where *pagi* and *vici* were lacking a referential *urbs*, although the presence of an administrative and political cohesion often encompassed broad territories.⁶¹

With respect to Sardinia, apart from the *Barbaria* which may have only partially corresponded to modern “Barbagie”, it appears that such territorial structures perpetuated organizational forms which had existed since proto-historical times, surviving through the Carthaginian and Roman dominions, all the way up to the Middle Ages. It is noteworthy to stress that numerous scholars are convinced that the Nuragic civilization, developed between the second and first Millennium BC, had already experienced territorial forms of settlement and organization of a “cantonal” type. They were characterized by a hierarchical diversification, which included Nuraghe, villages, necropolises, places of worship, trade and productive centres that were functionally interdependent.⁶² It is realistic to think that the many populations known thanks to Roman sources⁶³ and located in several areas of Sardinia, including the *civitates Barbariae*, shared an equivalent social and territorial framework of life, presumably still existing in Justinian times among the *Barbarikinoi* cited by Procopius. The latter were settled in the area up-river from *Forum Traiani*, where the headquarters of the Byzantine *dux* in Sardinia were established, and where “they succeeded to pillage the town when they wanted”, despite Justinian’s efforts to fortify it.⁶⁴ As already noted, during the Byzantine period

60 On the issue regarding the *civitates Barbariae*, see particularly: Zucca, “Le *Civitates Barbariae*”; Spanu, “Le *Barbariae* sarde nell’alto medioevo”; Guido, *Romania vs Barbaria*; Serra, “Popolazioni rurali”, pp. 1293–1300; id., “I Barbaricini di Gregorio Magno”.

61 See the ‘entry’ *civitas*, in E. De Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico e di antichità romane*, vol. 1., Rome 1900, pp. 258–259 (*civitas* = *canton*).

62 See, for example, Usai, “Sistemi insediativi”; id., “Osservazioni sul popolamento”; see also the valuable analysis in Depalmas, “Guerra e pace”.

63 Zucca, “Gli *oppida* e i *populi* della Sardinia”, pp. 306–315.

64 Procopius, *De aedificiis*, 6.7, 12–13, ed. H.B. Dewing, Cambridge 1971, p. 390. The first association between the passage of the *De aedificiis* and the issue of the *Barbarikinoi* can be found in Zucca, “Ricerche storiche e topografiche”, pp. 182–183, from which derive the following contributions: Spanu, *La Sardegna bizantina*, pp. 173–175; Turtas, *Storia della Chiesa in Sardegna* pp. 100–101, n. 7; Vacca, “Forum Traiani”, pp. 189–192, 198; see also Guido, *Romania vs Barbaria*, p. 338, n. 131, and especially the extensive dissertation in Serra, “Popolazioni rurali”, pp. 1293–1300; id., “I Barbaricini di Gregorio Magno”, pp. 289–361. See also Spanu, “Procopius’ *Barbarikinoi*”.

such territories were controlled by a series of small *castra* supposedly manned by soldier-tenants who had settled with their families, and often exploited pre-existing structures.⁶⁵

While discussing social and economic structures, information related to the common occupation of proto-historic settlements in the Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages cannot be underestimated. It needs to be considered, however, that against the fair quantity of generic data concerning the presence of artefacts from these centuries in Nuragic contexts, far less is known of the methods of reoccupation of these sites, due to the lack, or incompleteness, of stratigraphic excavations.⁶⁶

It is only in recent years that a major commitment to modern methodologies in the archaeological discipline has allowed the problem to be posed under a new light.⁶⁷ According to a few but significant examples, it appears that small rural communities devoted to self-consumption and facing a poor economy chose the same settlement options, as did the Nuragic civilization during previous centuries and millennia. This was a choice that forced people to exploit pre-existing constructions – ruined, but still with intact walls – used for a different purpose: as dwellings or rather in relation to manufacturing processes, as warehouses and, in some cases, as funeral structures for ‘high rank’ burials. Members of these communities were able to produce the objects they needed, such as ceramic containers used for conserving or cooking food. Although they embodied poor technological and formal characteristics, these were objects that may have had a short-range circulation. Likewise, poor communities (often single families) also consumed imported products, albeit in a small measure.⁶⁸ It cannot be excluded that such settlements had to be recognized in those rural centres which were faced with the overspills of villas/

65 Spanu, *La Sardegna bizantina*, pp. 173–190.

66 The percentage of Nuragic settlements where a Roman new inhabitation has been attested is very high, up to the 85% on the basis of twenty-year-old estimations by Webster and Teglund (Webster/Teglund, “Toward the study of Colonial-Native Relations”, p. 466), probably including Nuragic contexts with late antique and/or early medieval material culture. On this issue, among many contributions, see the essays by Lilliu, “Sopravvivenze nuragiche in età romana”; Pala, “Osservazioni preliminari”; Rowland, *The Periphery in the Center*, pp. 123–124, 138–139 (on the re-occupation during the Early Middle Ages). Investigations with general suggestions not limited to the sampled territories examined in this contribution, see Dyson/Rowland, “The University of Maryland-Wesleyan University survey in Sardinia”, on the *territorium* of *Forum Traiani*, and Biagini, “Archeologia del territorio nell’*Ager Bosanus*”, particularly pp. 688–693.

67 Spanu, *La Sardegna bizantina*, pp. 125–128.

68 Scattered settlements and a mixed economy with a differentiated exploitation of the resources are attested during these centuries in north-eastern Sardinia: Campus, “L’insediamento umano”, pp. 161–165.

farms, and hence were also inhabited by tenants working in agricultural facilities connected to the manufacturing centre.

The Nuraghe of Nuracale, in the countryside of Scano Montiferro near the northern boundary of the Provincia of Oristano in central-western Sardinia, and located in a central area of the Montiferru Ranges, is a singular but significant example. Various compartments of the megalithic structure, particularly the superior compartment of the central circular tower and the next yard, were reoccupied no later than the 6th century, as is proved by the artefacts discovered in the frequentation layers: containers for the stockage of food and, above all, raw ceramics (both hand-modelled and from a slow potter's wheel, of local production) presenting standardized forms frequently found on the island, and generically defined as "row modelled pottery" or *céramique modelée*, produced up to and during the 7th century. Around the same time, aside from the reoccupation of the tower and yard, new compartments were built, via the re-employment of construction materials, often overlapping or leaning against the original Nuragic structures.⁶⁹

An interesting case is represented by the Nuraghe Su Nuraxi of Sisini, in the Trexenta region (southern-central Sardinia), a territory with a historically high agricultural productivity which was intensely utilised in Byzantine times. Quadrangular structures located near the megalithic construction have been identified in relation to the late inhabitation of the area that, on the basis of the discovery of ceramic material culture – mostly of local workmanship – which could be dated to the 6th and 7th centuries.⁷⁰

The discovery does not deny, even in the inland territories and in the mountainous regions, the existence of other settlement models, such as those related to mobility. Generally, it appears that the Roman-era settlements appeared and developed in relation to road systems, particularly those connecting Caralis to northern Sardinia *per mediterranea* through the impervious regions of the Barbagie,⁷¹ must have survived in some cases at least up to the early Byzantine period (6th–7th century).⁷²

69 Usai/Cossu/Dettori, "Primi dati di scavo sul nuraghe Nuracale", pp. 297–313, with references to similar contexts; Usai/Cossu/Dettori, "Primi dati sul contesto tardo romano e altomedievale dal nuraghe Nuracale di Scano Montiferro".

70 Soddu, "Un inedito insediamento tardo romano-altomedievale", with further references to analogue contexts. On the Trexenta in Byzantine times: Spanu/Zucca, "Nuovi documenti epigrafici", pp. 148–160.

71 *Itinerarium provinciarum omnium imperii Antonini Augusti*, ed. P. Wesseling, Amsterdam 1735, pp. pp. 82–84.

72 Spanu, *La Sardegna bizantina*, pp. 121–124; id., "La viabilità e gli insediamenti rurali", pp. 115–117.

This does not appear to be the case of the central Sardinian village that has revealed the highest amount of archaeological data, Sant'Efis of Orune, which was abandoned – on the basis of the available data – before the end of the 5th century.⁷³ Unfortunately, it is not possible to clarify the juridical-administrative *status* of the village, which have been generally linked by Fabrizio Delussu to the British small-towns⁷⁴ or rather to the *agglomérations secondaires*,⁷⁵ although it is necessary to highlight how the site most likely owed its fortune to its proximity with the main road.⁷⁶

The *mansio* of San Cromazio, in the south-western sector of the island, was tied to the road system and possibly connected to a crossroad between the *via a Caralibus Turrem* and the *via a Sulci Carales*. The settlement's primary function, still strong during the 6th century, slowly declined during the 7th and 8th century when only few buildings surrounding a worship hall still stood.⁷⁷ Regarding monasticism, sources suggest that between Late Antiquity and the first centuries of the Early Middle Ages, the cenobitic structures were limited to the urban setting.⁷⁸ In the rural areas the monastic phenomenon must have been characterized by *laurae*. It would have been a matter of “scattered settlements”, as attested in various regions of the island with a major concentration in northern Sardinia. Monks lived in solitude, most likely in fortuitous shelters often represented by natural or artificial caverns, while they utilised common

73 For the latter reference, with previous bibliography, see: Delussu, “L'insediamento romano di Sant'Efis”; id., “La Barbagia in età romana”.

74 Burnham/Wacher, *The 'small towns'*.

75 Morel, “Les agglomérations secondaires”.

76 It is clear that the context of Sant'Efis of Orune shows how the inland areas and the mountainous territories of the island had not been totally impenetrable to Roman infiltration (this has recently been outlined by Mele, “La viabilità intorno all'agro di Sorabile”, pp. 176–178). Nonetheless, it would be necessary to better analyse and distinguish levels of Romanization in these territories before excluding *a priori* that, among the indigenous population, certain forms of cultural identity can have persisted, perhaps more evident in certain periods than others. Consequently, the same explanation could be valid for the Vandal and Byzantine periods. Further and careful considerations would be needed on the real interest for these territories by the Romans, and by who successively ruled the island, regardless of the necessity to preserve an inland route that facilitated viability and military control. The road passing through Sant'Efis of Orune, along with other secondary itineraries, may have crossed not only the Romanized areas but also all those territories still controlled by the local population, similarly to what happened in other areas and different historical contexts (Campus, “L'insediamento umano”, p. 153).

77 Pianu, “Sulla 'Iglesia de San Gromar'”; id., *La mansio di San Cromazio*, particularly pp. 50–53.

78 Particularly valuable, with references to historical sources, Martorelli, “Gregorio Magno e il fenomeno monastico a Cagliari”; ead., “Committenza e ubicazione dei monasteri”, pp. 283–306.

gathering places especially for ritual purposes. Such small rocky churches were often obtained by shaping the hypogea carved in rocks, similar to the prehistoric funeral chambers known as the *domus de Janas*.⁷⁹

In the period following the 7th century, it becomes increasingly difficult to reconstruct the rural settlement evolution. Once again, research in sample territories has offered some starting points for consideration.⁸⁰ Together with the downfall of the urban settlements, some to the point of their total depopulation, coastal settlements were also abandoned. The social groups residing in cities and coastal territories moved inland and to largely protected areas, while in all likelihood the settlements' typologies were undergoing a process of modification, as they were no longer connected (at least for the regions with a high agricultural productivity) to the farm system.

It is likely that small villages started to appear which were ruled by a self-consumption economy that preferred high plains locations. The settlement installed during the 6th century near the Nuraghe Nuracale of Scano Montiferro (see above), could be considered as a preview of this phenomenon. Nonetheless, there are coastal villages in areas previously occupied by different settlement structures. This is the case of the abovementioned Byzantine village of Santa Filitica, which reoccupied, following a period of abandonment, the area of a Roman villa and of a Vandal settlement that ceased to be frequented between the end of the 6th century and the beginning of the 7th century. The new village started to develop in the 7th century and was inhabited by a socially well-organized community, as suggested by various elements, including the steady arrangement of the residential buildings, served by a road system and common spaces. A certain coherent planning is clear in the funeral area and in the apparatus utilised during the rituals conducted there. The houses built with dry stone walls had one ambient with a thatched roof, while the funeral activities, with burials occupying the built-up area, were installed in the abandoned thermal buildings.⁸¹

The initial phase of the village findings suggests a steady commercial trade, particularly with Africa. These exchanges cease before the end of the 7th century, therefore the pottery dated to the 8th and 9th centuries – when the village was supposedly abandoned – represents local productions of coarse craftsmanship. The community inhabiting the area was surely committed to agriculture and husbandry, as suggested by fauna remains, although hunting and fishing

79 Spanu, *La Sardegna bizantina*, pp. 203–210.

80 Garau, *Disegnare paesaggi della Sardegna*, pp. 70–76.

81 Rovina, "Sorso: L'insediamento rurale di Santa Filitica", pp. 183–186; ead., "L'insediamento costiero di Santa Filitica", pp. 120–122.

must have had a role in an economy ostensibly devoted to self-consumption. Within such settlement typologies, a substantial significance was held by the common lands, whose use was regulated during the Byzantine dominion.⁸² The site of Santa Filitica is quintessential, considering the continuity and accuracy of the research undertaken. Nonetheless, what can be defined as the “Santa Filitica Model” can be easily adapted to similar settlements of Roman times witnessing continuous inhabitation up to and through the Middle Ages albeit with different patterns.

The general depopulation of the cities and coastal areas coincide with the fall of Carthage and the end of the Byzantine Exarchate in Africa (AD 698), to which Sardinia had been annexed as an overseas province, as has already been said. The abandonment of the coast and the end of several urban settlements brought the abrogation of several dioceses, such as Cornus and perhaps Olbia-Fausania, adjoined by the only inland see, *Forum Traiani*.⁸³ In this slow and progressive migration towards the inland areas, which involved people as well as institutions, a temporary but determining role was taken on by centres located close to the cities but in better protected areas. This possibly occurred in the settlement of San Giorgio of Sinis (Cabras-Oristano) in the Tharros’ hinterland, where the discovery of a substantial number of seals in Latin, Greek and Arab languages, dating between the 6th and 11th century, could suggest the temporary transfer of a civil or religious *archivum*⁸⁴ to that location. Moreover, datable to the 11th century is the transfer of the episcopal see from Tharros-Sinis to Oristano, the town of *Aristianis* quoted for the first time by George of Cyprus in the early Byzantine period.⁸⁵ Later that century it became the headquarters of the Judges of Arborea.⁸⁶

Ultimately, the cities were doomed to progressively lose their urban status. In the few written sources following the 7th century, only Carales is mentioned as a *civitas* but, while the term is still referred to the site in the 9th century, its status is not attested in the 11th century sources, despite there being a more copious amount of quotations than previously.

Although caution should be exercised, it could be questioned whether in the case of Carales, and consequently the other ancient settlements, the

82 Cosentino, “La Sardegna bizantina”, p. 63.

83 Spanu, “Dalla Sardegna bizantina alla Sardegna giudicale”, pp. 356–357.

84 Spanu/Zucca, *I sigilli bizantini*, pp. 77–147; Spanu/Zucca, “Ricerche topografiche nell’Ager Tharrensis”, pp. 359–371; Spanu/Zucca, “Nuovi documenti epigrafici”, pp. 160–172.

85 Georgius Cyprius, *Descriptio orbis romani*, 684, ed. H. Gelzer, Leipzig 1890, p. 35; see Spanu, *La Sardegna bizantina*, pp. 60–65.

86 Spanu, “Dalla Sardegna bizantina alla Sardegna giudicale”, pp. 367–370, with some notes on the origin of the Judgeships.

city's status was ordained to be lost during these centuries, when autonomous so-called *Giudicati* (territorial lordships) started to appear, in a slow evolution ending in the 11th century. Many of these towns experienced a gradual abandonment or were reduced to humble settlements based upon to the agricultural exploitation of the territory, such as Neapolis, which appears in medieval sources as an unpretentious *domo*. It comes out the image of an island substantially lacking cities before the Late Middle Ages, when urban status could be recognized in settlements such as Sassari, Castel di Castro and Oristano.⁸⁷ Therefore, it acquires value and significance the fact that, starting from the second half of the 11th century, with the Church Reform underway, new episcopal sees were established controlling the whole Sardinian territory.⁸⁸ Many of these dioceses were rural and the bishops had their cathedral seat in very small settlements, often far from the territories under their jurisdiction.⁸⁹

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, ed. D. Norberg, 2 vols. (Corpus Christianorum, Series latina, CXL, CXLA), Turnholt 1982.

Tola, P., *Codex Diplomaticus Sardiniae*, vol. 1, Torino 1861.

Secondary Literature

Atzori, S., *La strada romana "A Karalibus Sulcos"*, Mogoro 2006.

Atzori, S., *La viabilità romana nella provincia di Oristano*, Mogoro 2010.

Azzena, G., "Sardegna romana. Organizzazione territoriale e poleografia del Nord-Ovest", *Studi Romani* 54, 1–2 (2006), 3–33.

Biagini, M., "Archeologia del territorio nell'*Ager Bosanus*: ricognizioni di superficie nel comune di Magomadas (Nuoro)", in P. Ruggeri/C. Vismara (eds.), *L'Africa Romana*, 12, Sassari 1998, pp. 667–693.

Blasco Ferrer, E., *Crestomazia sarda dei primi secoli*, 2 vols., Nuoro 2003.

87 The author has already treated this topic. For further reference to historical written sources, see Spanu, "*Insula quae dicitur Sardinia*", especially pp. 607–609; Simbula/Spanu, "Paesaggi rurali della Sardegna", pp. 579–581; Spanu, "La Sardegna rurale", pp. 156–157.

88 Diocesan sees amounted to the number of 18, 14 of which were of new foundation, considering that three of the early Christian sees were suppressed during the Early Middle Ages (Senafer-Cornus and perhaps *Forum Traiani*) or were transferred during the same 11th century AD (Tharros-Sinis).

89 On this topic see Pinuccia F. Simbula's footnotes in Simbula/Spanu, "Paesaggi rurali della Sardegna", pp. 581–582.

- Bonello Lai, M., "Nuove proposte di lettura di alcune iscrizioni latine della Sardegna", *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari* 3 (1980–1981), 179–202.
- Boninu, A./Rovina, D., "Sorso (Sassari)", in *Atti del VI Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana*, vol. 2, Florence 1986, pp. 707–711.
- Bortolami, S., "Antroponimia e società nella Sardegna medioevale: caratteri ed evoluzione di un 'sistema' regionale", in G. Mele (ed.), *Giudicato d'Arborea e Marchesato di Oristano: proiezioni mediterranee e aspetti di storia locale*, Oristano 2000, pp. 175–252.
- Burnham, B.C./Wacher, J., *The 'small towns' of Roman Britain*, London 1990.
- Bury, J.B., *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (The British Academy, Supplemental Papers, 1), London 1911.
- Campus, F.G.R., "L'insediamento umano: processi formativi e dinamiche di trasformazione nel medioevo (secc. VI–XIV)", in G. Meloni/P.G. Spanu (eds.), *Oschiri, Castro e il Logudoro Orientale*, Sassari 2004, pp. 151–188.
- Colavitti, A.M., "Per una storia dell'economia della Sardegna romana: grano ed organizzazione del territorio. Spunti per una ricerca", in A. Mastino (ed.), *L'Africa romana*, 11, Ozieri 1996, pp. 643–652.
- Canu, N./Giuliani, S., "La viabilità extraurbana nel territorio di Olbia. Per un sistema unitario nello studio della viabilità della Sardegna romana", in M. Milanese/P. Ruggeri/C. Vismara (eds.), *L'Africa romana*, 18, Rome 2010, pp. 1875–1883.
- Cosentino, S., "Byzantine Sardinia between West and East. Features of a Regional Culture", *Millennium* 1 (2004), 329–367.
- Cosentino, S., "La Sardegna bizantina: temi di storia economica e sociale", in P. Corrias/S. Cosentino (eds.), *Ai confini dell'Impero. Storia, arte e archeologia della Sardegna bizantina*, Cagliari 2002, pp. 55–68.
- Cosentino, S., "Potere e istituzioni nella Sardegna bizantina", in P. Corrias/S. Cosentino (eds.), *Ai confini dell'Impero. Storia, arte e archeologia della Sardegna bizantina*, Cagliari 2002, pp. 1–13.
- Cosentino, S., "Un tariffario di merci dell'età dell'imperatore Maurizio: rileggendo l'iscrizione di Donori (Cagliari)", in G. Strano/C. Torre (eds.), *Ἀνατολή καὶ δύσις. Studi in memoria di Filippo Burgarella* (Testi e Studi Bizantino-Neellenici, XXI), Rome 2020, pp. 109–118.
- Cossu, C./Nieddu, G., *Terme e ville extraurbane della Sardegna romana*, Oristano 1998.
- De Nicolás Mascaró, J.C./Moll Mercadal, B., "Sellos bizantinos de Menorca. Un arconte mallorquin para las Baleares en el siglo VIII", in A. Mastino/P.G. Spanu/R. Zucca (eds.), *Tharros Felix* 5, Rome 2013, pp. 537–582.
- Delussu, F., "La Barbagia in età romana: gli scavi 2004–2008 nell'insediamento di Sant'Efis (Orune, Nuoro)", *Fasti on line. Documents & Research (FOLDER): The Journal*

- of Fasti on line* 2009, pp. 1–8 (<http://www.fastionline.org/docs/FOLDER-it-2009-150.pdf>).
- Delussu, F., “L’insediamento romano di Sant’Efis (Orune, Nuoro). Scavi 2004–06. Nota preliminare”, in J. Gonzales/P. Ruggeri/C. Vismara/R. Zucca (eds.), *L’Africa Romana*, 17, Rome 2008, pp. 2665–2680.
- Depalmas, A., “Guerra e pace nell’interpretazione dell’architettura nuragica”, in *Studi di protostoria in onore di Renato Peroni*, Florence 2006, pp. 567–572.
- De Ruggiero, E., *Dizionario epigrafico e di antichità romane*, 2 vols., Rome 1900.
- Durlat, J., “Taxes sur l’entrée des marchandises dans la cité de Carales-Cagliari à l’époque byzantine (582–602)”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982), 1–14.
- Dyson, S.L./Rowland, R.J. Jr., “The University of Maryland-Wesleyan University survey in Sardinia – 1988”, *Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica per le province di Cagliari e Oristano* 6 (1989), 157–185.
- Garau, E., *Disegnare paesaggi della Sardegna*, Ortacesus 2007.
- Garau, E./Rendeli, M., “Tra *Africa* e *Sardinia*: mobilità di merci e mobilità di genti a Nora nella tarda antichità”, in A. Akerraz/P. Ruggeri/A. Siraj/C. Vismara (eds.), *L’Africa romana*, 16, Rome 2006, pp. 1247–1278.
- Guido, L., *Romania vs Barbaria: Aspekte der Romanisierung Sardiniens*, Aachen 2006.
- Guillou, A., “La lunga età bizantina. Politica ed economia”, in M. Guidetti (ed.), *Storia dei Sardi e della Sardegna*, vol. 1. *Dalle origini all’età bizantina*, Milan 1988, pp. 329–371.
- Hanton, H., “Lexique explicatif du Recueil des Inscriptions Grecques Chrétiennes d’Asie Mineure”, *Byzantion* 4 (1927–1928), 53–136.
- Ibba, A., “I Vandali in Sardegna”, in A. Piras (ed.), *Lingua et ingenium. Studi su Fulgenzio di Ruspe e il suo contesto*, Cagliari 2010, pp. 385–425.
- Ilisch, L./Matzke, M./Seibt, W., *Die Mittelalterlichen Fundmünzen, Siegel und Gewichte von Santueri, Mallorca* (Arbeiten zur Islamischen Numismatik, 1), Tübingen 2005.
- Lilliu, G., “Sopravvivenze nuragiche in età romana”, in A. Mastino (ed.), *L’Africa Romana*, 7, Sassari 1990, pp. 415–446.
- Martorelli, R., “Committenza e ubicazione dei monasteri a Cagliari in età medievale”, in L. Ermini Pani (ed.), *De re monastica. Committenza, scelte insediative e organizzazione patrimoniale nel Medioevo*, Spoleto 2007, pp. 281–324.
- Martorelli, R., “Gregorio Magno e il fenomeno monastico a Cagliari agli esordi del VII secolo”, in L. Casula/G. Mele/A. Piras (eds.), *Per longa maris intervalla. Gregorio Magno e l’Occidente mediterraneo fra tardoantico e alto medioevo*, Cagliari 2006, pp. 125–158.
- Mastino, A., (ed.), *Storia della Sardegna antica*, Nuoro 2005.
- Mastino, A./Zucca, R., “Le proprietà imperiali della *Sardinia*”, in D. Pupillo (ed.), *Le proprietà imperiali nell’Italia romana. Economia, produzione, amministrazione*

- (Quaderni degli Annali dell'Università di Ferrara, Sezione Storia, 6), Florence 2007, pp. 93–124.
- Mele, M.A., “La viabilità intorno all'agro di Sorabile. Studio preliminare”, *Sardinia, Corsica et Baleares antiquae. An International Journal of Archaeology* 7 (2009), 171–179.
- Mor, C.G., “In tema di origini: vescovadi e giudicati in Sardegna”, in *Studi storici e giuridici in onore di Antonio Era*, Padua 1963, pp. 255–268.
- Morel, J.P., “Les agglomérations secondaires dans l'Italie péninsulaire”, in J.P. Petit/M. Mangin (eds.), *Les Agglomérations secondaires. La Gaule Belgique, les Germanies et l'Occident romain*, Paris 1994, pp. 153–162.
- Mureddu, D., “L'area archeologica di Santa Lucia di Assolo”, in P.G. Spanu (ed.), *Insulae Christi. Il cristianesimo primitivo in Sardegna, Corsica e Baleari* (Mediterraneo tardoantico e medievale. Scavi e ricerche, 16), Oristano 2002, pp. 497–504.
- Mureddu, D./Deidda, M.I./Spanu, P.G., “La chiesa altomedievale di San Giovanni di Asuni (OR)”, in P.G. Spanu/R. Zucca (eds.), *Oristano e il suo territorio*, vol. 1. *Dalla preistoria all'alto Medioevo*, Rome 2011, pp. 761–776.
- Muresu, M., *La moneta “indicatore” dell'assetto insediativo della Sardegna bizantina (secoli VI–XI)*, Perugia 2018.
- Nieddu, G./Cossu, C., “Ville e terme nel contesto rurale della Sardegna romana”, in P. Ruggeri/C. Vismara (eds.), *L'Africa Romana.*, 12, Sassari 1998, pp. 611–656.
- Nieddu, G./Zucca, R., *Othoca. Una città sulla laguna*, Oristano 1991.
- Oikonomidès, N., *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles*, Paris 1972.
- Pala, P., “Osservazioni preliminari per uno studio della riutilizzazione dei nuraghi in epoca romana”, in A. Mastino (ed.), *L'Africa Romana*, 7, Sassari 1990, pp. 549–555.
- Pani Ermini, L., “La storia dell'altomedioevo in Sardegna alla luce dell'archeologia”, in R. Francovich/G. Noyé (eds.), *La storia dell'alto medioevo italiano (VI–X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia*, Florence 1995, pp. 387–401.
- Paulis, G., *Lingua e cultura nella Sardegna bizantina. Testimonianze linguistiche dell'influsso greco*, Sassari 1983.
- Pianu, G., “Sulla 'Iglesia de San Gromar'”, in P.G. Spanu (ed.), *Insulae Christi. Il cristianesimo primitivo in Sardegna, Corsica e Baleari* (Mediterraneo tardoantico e medievale. Scavi e ricerche, 16), Oristano 2002, pp. 443–451.
- Pianu, G., *La mansio di San Cromazio* (Studi di Storia antica e di Archeologia, 1), Ortacesus 2006.
- Rovina, D., “Ceramiche di importazione e produzioni locali dall'insediamento altomedievale di S. Filitica (Sorso-Sassari)”, in L. Sagui (ed.), *Ceramica in Italia: VI–VII secolo*, vol. 2, Florence 1998, pp. 787–796.
- Rovina, D., “L'insediamento costiero di Santa Filitica a Sorso tra età romana e Alto Medioevo”, in A. Mattone/A. Soddu (eds.), *Castelsardo. Novecento anni di storia*, Rome 2007, pp. 110–123.

- Rovina, D. (ed.), *Santa Filitica a Sorso, dalla villa romana al villaggio bizantino*, Viterbo 2003.
- Rovina, D., "Sorso: L'insediamento rurale di Santa Filitica", in P. Corrias/S. Cosentino (eds.), *Ai confini dell'Impero. Storia, arte e archeologia della Sardegna bizantina*, Cagliari 2002, pp. 183–186.
- Rovina, D./Garau, E./Mullen, G.J./Delussu, F./Pandolfi, A., "L'insediamento altomedievale di Santa Filitica (Sorso-SS): interventi 1980–89 e campagna di scavo 1997. Relazione preliminare", *Archeologia Medievale* 26 (1999), 179–216.
- Rovina, D./Garau, E./Mameli, P., "Attività metallurgiche presso l'insediamento tardo antico di Santa Filitica a Sorso: dati preliminari archeologici e archeometrici", in J. Gonzales/P. Ruggeri/C. Vismara/R. Zucca (eds.), *L'Africa Romana*, 17, Rome 2008, pp. 2673–2696.
- Rowland, R.J. Jr., *The Periphery in the Center. Sardinia in the ancient and medieval worlds* (BAR International Series, 970), Oxford 2001.
- Serra, P.B., "I Barbaricini di Gregorio Magno", in L. Casula/G. Mele/A. Piras (eds.), *Per longa maris intervalla. Gregorio Magno e l'Occidente mediterraneo fra tardoantico e alto medioevo*, Cagliari 2006, pp. 289–361.
- Serra, P.B., "Popolazioni rurali di ambito tardoromano e altomedievale in Sardegna", in A. Akerraz/P. Ruggeri/A. Siraj /C. Vismara (eds.), *L'Africa romana*, 16, Rome 2006, pp. 1279–1305.
- Simbula, P.F./Spanu, P.G., "Paesaggi rurali della Sardegna tra tardo antico ed età giudicale", in P. Galetti (ed.), *Villaggi, comunità, paesaggi medievali*, Spoleto 2012, pp. 565–597.
- Soddu, O., "Un inedito insediamento tardo romano-altomedievale a 'Su Nuraxi' di Sisini (Senorbi-Cagliari): nota preliminare", in *La civiltà nuragica. Nuove acquisizioni*, vol. 1 (Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica per le province di Cagliari e Oristano. Atti e Monografie, 1), Cagliari 2005, pp. 301–319, tavv. 89–96.
- Spanu, P.G., "Dalla Sardegna bizantina alla Sardegna giudicale", in L. Casula/A. Piras (eds.), *Orientis radiata fulgore. La Sardegna nel contesto storico e culturale bizantino*, Cagliari 2008, pp. 353–387.
- Spanu, P.G., "Fons Vivus. Culti delle acque e santuari cristiani tra tarda antichità e altomedioevo", in *L'acqua nei secoli altomedievali* (Settimane CISAM, 55), Spoleto 2008, pp. 1029–1077.
- Spanu, P.G., "Insula quae dicitur Sardinia, in qua plurima fuisse civitates legimus' (*Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* V, 26). Note sulle città sarde tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo", in A. Augenti (ed.), *Le città italiane tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo*, Florence 2006, pp. 589–612.
- Spanu, P.G., "La diffusione del cristianesimo nelle campagne sarde", in P.G. Spanu (ed.), *Insulae Christi. Il cristianesimo primitivo in Sardegna, Corsica e Baleari* (Mediterraneo tardoantico e medievale. Scavi e ricerche, 16), Oristano 2002, pp. 407–441.

- Spanu, P.G., *La Sardegna bizantina tra VI e VII secolo* (Mediterraneo tardoantico e medioevale. Scavi e ricerche, 12), Oristano 1998.
- Spanu, P.G., "La Sardegna rurale tra l'età tardoantica e l'Alto Medioevo", in M.G. Sanna (ed.), *Historica et Philologica. Studi in onore di Raimondo Turtas*, Cagliari 2012, pp. 147–164.
- Spanu, P.G., "La viabilità e gli insediamenti rurali", in P. Corrias/S. Cosentino (eds.), *Ai confini dell'Impero. Storia, arte e archeologia della Sardegna bizantina*, Cagliari 2002, pp. 115–125.
- Spanu, P.G., "Le *Barbariae* sarde nell'alto medioevo. Sulla possibile esistenza di un 'ducato' dei Barbaricini", in A. Caprara/F. Galli/M. Scalzo (eds.), *Ἀλήτης. Miscellanea per i 70 anni di Roberto Caprara*, Massafra 2000, pp. 402–419.
- Spanu, P.G., "Procopius' *Barbarikinoi* and Gregory the Great's *Barbaricini*: Mauri and Sardinians in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D.", in M.Á. Cau Ontiveros/C. Mas Florit, (eds.), *Change and Resilience. The Occupation of Mediterranean Islands in Late Antiquity* (Joukowsky Institute Publications, 9), Oxford 2019, pp. 51–85.
- Spanu, P.G., "Terme e complessi cultuali tra Italia settentrionale e Provenza: alcune riflessioni sulle modalità del riuso", in M. Marcenaro (ed.), *Albenga, città episcopale. Tempi e dinamiche della cristianizzazione tra Liguria di Ponente e Provenza*, vol. 2, Albenga 2007, pp. 891–925.
- Spanu, P.G./Fois, R./Zanella, R./Zucca, R., "L'arcontato d'Arborea tra Islam ed eredità bizantina", in A. Mastino/P.G. Spanu/R. Zucca (eds.), *Tharros Felix* 5, Roma 2013, pp. 515–536.
- Spanu, P.G./Zucca, R., *Il cursus publicus nella Sardinia tardoantica: l'esempio del praetorium di Muru de Bangius, Marrubiu-Oristano*, in G. Volpe/M. Turchiano (eds.) *Paesaggi e insediamenti rurali in Italia meridionale fra Tardoantico e Altomedioevo*, Bari 2006, pp. 675–690.
- Spanu, P.G./Zucca, R., *I sigilli bizantini della Σαρδηνία*, Rome 2004.
- Spanu, P.G./Zucca, R., *Nuovi documenti epigrafici della Sardegna bizantina*, in F. Cenerini/P. Ruggeri (eds.) *Epigrafia romana in Sardegna*, Rome 2008, pp. 147–172.
- Spanu, P.G./Zucca, R., "Ricerche topografiche nell'Ager Tharrensis", in S. Angiolillo/M. Giuman/A. Pasolini (eds.), *Ricerca e confronti* 2006. *Giornate di studio di archeologia e arte*, Cagliari 2007, pp. 359–371.
- Stiglitz, A., "Archeologia di un paesaggio: il Sinis (Sardegna centro-occidentale)", in *La ceramica nel Sinis dal Neolitico ai giorni nostri*, Cagliari 1998, pp. 23–55.
- Tore, G./Stiglitz, A., "Ricerche archeologiche nel Sinis e nell'alto Oristanese (continuità e trasformazioni nell'Evo Antico)", in A. Mastino (ed.), *L'Africa Romana*, 4, Sassari 1987, pp. 633–658.
- Turtas, R., "La cura animarum in Sardegna e Corsica dall'epistolario di Gregorio Magno", in L. Casula/G. Mele/A. Piras (eds.), *Per longa maris intervalla. Gregorio Magno e l'Occidente mediterraneo fra tardoantico e alto medioevo*, Cagliari 2006, pp. 391–418.

- Turtas, R., *Storia della Chiesa in Sardegna dalle origini al 2000*, Rome 1999.
- Usai, A., "Osservazioni sul popolamento e sulle forme di organizzazione comunitaria nella Sardegna nuragica", in *Studi di protostoria in onore di Renato Peroni*, Florence 2006, pp. 557–566.
- Usai, A., "Sistemi insediativi e organizzazione delle comunità nuragiche nella Sardegna centro-occidentale", in *Atti della XXXV Riunione Scientifica dell'Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria*, Florence 2003, pp. 215–224.
- Usai, A./Cossu, T./Dettori, F., "Primi dati di scavo sul nuraghe Nuracale di Scano Montiferro", in P. Pes (ed.), *Archeologia tra Planargia e Montiferru*, Cagliari 2009, pp. 297–313.
- Usai, A./Cossu, T./Dettori, F., "Primi dati sul contesto tardo romano e altomedievale dal nuraghe Nuracale di Scano Montiferro", in P.G. Spanu/R. Zucca (ed.), *Oristano e il suo territorio*, vol. 1. *Dalla preistoria all'alto Medioevo*, Rome 2011, pp. 777–796.
- Vacca, A., *Forum Traiani*: Polis teikeres, in R. Martorelli (ed.), *Città, territorio, produzione e commerci. Studi in onore di Letizia Pani Ermini*, Cagliari 2002, pp. 187–206.
- Webster, G.S./Teglund, M., "Toward the study of Colonial-Native Relations in Sardinia from 1000 BC–AD 456", in *Sardinian in the Mediterranean: A Footprint in the Sea*, Sheffield 1992, pp. 448–472.
- Zedda, C./Pinna, R., "La diocesi di Santa Giusta nel Medioevo", in R. Coroneo (ed.), *La Cattedrale di Santa Giusta. Architettura e arredi dall'XI al XIX secolo*, Cagliari 2010, pp. 25–34.
- Zucca, R., "Gli oppida e i populi della Sardinia", in A. Mastino (ed.), *Storia della Sardegna antica*, Nuoro 2005, pp. 205–332.
- Zucca, R., "Le *Civitates Barbariae* e l'occupazione militare della Sardegna: aspetti e confronti con l'Africa", in A. Mastino (ed.), *L'Africa Romana*, 5, Sassari 1988, pp. 349–373.
- Zucca, R., "Palladio e il territorio neapolitano in Sardegna", *Quaderni Bolotanesi* 16 (1990), 279–290.
- Zucca, R., "Ricerche storiche e topografiche su Forum Traiani", *Nuovo Bollettino Archeologico Sardo* 3, (1986), 167–187.

Byzantine Malta

Brunella Bruno and Nathaniel Cutajar

Lying in the open sea, the islands of Malta and Gozo formed the extreme southern limit of Byzantium's Italian territories. The Maltese micro-region played an interesting role in the context of the Byzantine commonwealth, quite out of proportion to its size and to its remote geographical setting. Malta is in fact separated from the nearest harbours of south-east Sicily by approximately 80 km of open sea. Africa is even further, with the nearest point of Tunisia lying 316 km to the west, and Tripolitania 330 km to the south. To the east, Crete lies 760 km away.

This condition of geographic liminality was key to the way the Maltese Islands were perceived in the early Middle Ages. This is explicitly expressed by Procopius¹ who describes Malta and Gozo as islands which divide the Adriatic from the Tyrrhenian; that is, they marked a key point of transition in the Mediterranean, a physical and symbolic gateway between east and west, north and south.

The small size of the Maltese islands is a second strongly conditioning geographical factor. The area of the two main islands of Malta and Gozo totals a modest 313 km². Given the lack of an extensive agricultural hinterland or of any mineral resources, the human settlement on Malta would have naturally tended to rely on the resources that could be obtained from the sea and through navigation.²

Within the context of this volume on Byzantine Italy, the Maltese micro-region constitutes something of an exception. Malta is not the site of a metropolitan centre, nor is it a large and complex landmass, such as Sicily or Sardinia. It does however present an intriguing and fairly complex case study on Byzantine society in the West, albeit within a maritime micro-territory.

Although Byzantine Malta must have been constantly overshadowed by events in neighbouring Sicily and North Africa, it nevertheless seemed to have retained a subtle individuality. The dates for the Byzantine occupation

¹ Procopius, *Bellum vandalicum*, 1.14.

² The theme of geographic conditioning, particularly the notion of insular reaction to isolation and limited land surface, has been discussed for other aspects of Maltese archaeology, see for example Pace, 'The artistic legacy', pp. 3–4.

of Malta are traditionally set between 533 and 879. Both dates derive from fairly secure historical sources. The Byzantine conquest of Malta is considered by most historians to coincide with the 533 invasion of North Africa, or with that of Sicily in 535. The Aghlabid capture of the island in 879 marks the end of the Byzantine occupation.³

The historical sources available for the three and a half centuries of Byzantine occupation of Malta are not extensive. The more important sources provide some insight into the character and development of Byzantine society and administration in Malta between the 6th and the 9th century.

Malta is first mentioned in relation to Byzantine affairs in connection with Justinian's campaign of 533 against the Vandals of North Africa. According to Procopius,⁴ the Byzantine invasion army led by Belisarius left the port of Caucana in south-east Sicily, first sailing towards Malta and then to North Africa. Later, in 550–51, during the Gothic wars, Procopius⁵ reports that the Byzantine general Arthabanes found safe haven in Malta after his ship was damaged in a storm, as he was sailing from Constantinople to Sicily.

Of key importance are a group of three letters by Pope Gregory dealing with matters of ecclesiastical discipline and administration on the island and dating to between 592 and 599.⁶ The letters document for the first time the existence of a Maltese bishopric, which was apparently endowed with considerable revenues and properties. They also document the existence on the island of properties belonging to the African Church, which were rented out to Maltese clergymen. The letters illustrate the close ties which bound the Maltese Church to the ecclesiastical authorities in Sicily. Gregory in fact requested the assistance both of the Bishop of Syracuse and of the *defensor Siciliae* to intervene directly in Maltese affairs on behalf of the Papacy and of his supporters.

At the beginning of the 7th century George of Cyprus⁷ included *Melita* and *Gaudos* in his catalogue of 20 major cities on the island of Sicily. This document confirms the relative importance of the Maltese islands within the Sicilian context as perceived by the imperial administration in Constantinople.

3 For the Byzantine sources on Malta see Brown, "Byzantine Malta" and Pertusi, "Le isole maltesi". For the principal relevant Arab sources see Redjala, "L'archipel maltais"; Barnard, "The Arab Conquest"; Brincat, *Malta 870–1054*.

4 Procopius, *Bellum vandalicum*, 1.14, 15.

5 Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, 3.40, 17.

6 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum*, 2.36; 9.25; 10.1 ed. P. Ewald/L.M. Hartmann, in *MGH, Epp.*, 2 vols., Berlin 1887–1899.

7 Georgius Cyprius, *Descriptio orbis romani*, ed. H. Gelzer, Leipzig 1890, nos. 592–593. For this text, see also Pertusi, "Le isole maltesi", p. 261.

Another important reference is found in the work of the Patriarch Nicephoros⁸ regarding a high ranking political prisoner sent by the Emperor Heraclius in exile to an island called *Gaudomelete* in 637. The source specifies that the prisoner had to be entrusted to the custody of the local *dux*, or military governor. The episode indicates that by the first quarter of the 7th century a Byzantine military hierarchy had established itself on the Maltese islands.

An intriguing passage is found in the *Geography* written by the Armenian scholar Anania Siraki,⁹ circa 665, which states that the islands of Africa are six in all but only considers Malta as being worth mentioning by name. It has been pointed out that this section of the *Geography* reflects the memoirs of the Armenian warlord and Byzantine patrician Nerseh Kamsarakan, Prince of Armenia from 688/9 to 691/2, and the last documented *dux* of Tripolitania in the 650s. The prominence given to Malta in the *Geography* may reflect its strategic value as conceived by the Byzantine military command charged with the defence of the Maghreb against the Arab onslaught of the mid-7th century.

The *Notitia Episcopatum* sheds light on the Maltese Church in the 8th and 9th century.¹⁰ The source indicates that following the break from Rome of the Sicilian Church imposed by Leo III in 732, Syracuse retained control of 13 suffragans, which included the Bishopric of Malta. A later *Notitia* of 840 reports the situation as unchanged.

Two Byzantine lead seals provide some more information for the period between the 8th and the 9th century.¹¹ The first seal refers to a Byzantine officer with the composite title of *archon* and *droungarios* of Malta suggesting that the office of governor of Malta in this period had a combined military and civil aspect. The seal was studied by the French numismatist G. Schlumberger, who reports having seen it in Tunis in the early 20th century. The Tunisian location of this seal suggests that some sort of exchange may have been going on between the Byzantine authorities in Malta and Aghlabid North Africa during the course of the 8th or 9th century. The second seal was discovered in Gozo and also refers to the figure of an *archon*.

The end of Byzantine rule in Malta is described by various historical sources as the outcome of an Aghlabid attack in the years 869 and 870.¹² A first

8 Nicephorus, *Breviarium historicum*, 24. 14–17 ed. C. Mango (CFHB, 13), Washington, D.C. 1990.

9 For the reference by Anania Siraki see Zuckerman, “La haute hierarchie”.

10 *Notitiae episcopatum ecclesiae constantinopolitanae. Texte critique, introduction et notes*, ed. J. Darrouzès, Paris 1981, pp. 143 and 278.

11 Schlumberger, “Sceaux byzantins”, p. 492, n. 203; see also Brown, “Byzantine Malta”, p. 87.

12 Regarding the episode of the conquest of Malta, see Brown, “Byzantine Malta”, pp. 82–83; Barnard, “The Arab Conquest”, pp. 166–68; Pertusi, “Le isole maltesi”, pp. 274–275.

attack was launched from Tunisia in 869 but met with stiff resistance from the Byzantine defenders. The Arabs finally overcame the Byzantine opposition in Malta with the help of Sicilian reinforcements in 870. The available sources provide important insights on the closing years of Byzantine rule in Malta. Some sources refer to the leader of the Byzantines in 870 as being a certain Amros, who is described with the Arab term “mlk”, that is, king. They also refer to the existence of a “hsn” or fortress, which would have been destroyed by the Arabs in 870.¹³ Some authors also mention a large amount of columns and other valuable building materials that were taken as plunder by the Arabs from the churches of Malta, which were then used to build a castle in Sousse.¹⁴

Finally the sources refer to the Arabs as devastating the island and reducing its population to slavery following the fall of the Byzantine fortress in 870.

A recurrent feature which emerges from an overview of the available historical sources is the political and cultural connection enjoyed by Byzantine Malta with other regions of the Mediterranean. The strongest links were of course kept with its immediate neighbours, Sicily and North Africa, although more distant geo-political links are also apparent.

The link with Sicily is particularly evident in ecclesiastical matters, especially in the subservience of the Maltese Church to the See of Syracuse from the 6th right up to 9th century. However beyond the ecclesiastic sphere, the administrative and political relationship with Sicily is not documented in any of the surviving sources, with the exception of the list of Sicilian cities compiled by George of Cyprus.

The link with North Africa also emerges clearly from the sources. The description of Malta as a key territory in the African Sea by the Armenian *Geography*, and its possible relationship to the Byzantine *dux* of Tripolitania has already been highlighted. The existence of landed property on Malta belonging to the Church of Africa in the late 6th century is another indicator that the two territories were economically and culturally linked. The presence in Tunisia of a lead seal belonging to the archon-drungarius of Malta as late as the 8/9th century might indicate that contacts, commercial or diplomatic, continued even after the Arabs had taken over the Byzantine provinces of North Africa by the end of the 7th century.

The inter-regional connectivity of Byzantine Malta could extend, on occasion, well beyond the limits of its immediate geographical neighbourhood. Gregory's strong and repeated intervention to put matters in the Maltese

13 Brincat, *Malta 870–1054*, p. 11.

14 According to Ibn-al-Ġazzār this was recorded in an inscription at the Palace at Susa (Barnard, “The Arab Conquest”, p. 168) and Al-Himyari (Brincat, *Malta 870–1054*, p. 11).

diocese in order clearly indicates that political contacts with Rome and with the Tyrrhenian were possible – albeit through the mediation of the authorities in Syracuse.

An even more long-distance but also more direct contact was established when required with Constantinople itself. This is illustrated in the episode reported by Nicephoros of the political exile sent by Heraclius to the *dux* in Malta. This case illustrates how the Maltese military authorities were recognised by Constantinople as having the necessary status to carry out sensitive political instructions when required by the imperial administration.

The sources also throw some light on the composition of the social elites in Byzantine Malta. Gregory's letters indicate that rent paid on landed property, at least up to the end of the 6th century, was the economic basis underpinning the status of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Both the bishop and his clergy appear in the Gregorian letters to be managing extensive revenues and landed property. Maltese bishops could also be drawn from amongst wealthy, high-status, foreign families. For example, in the letter of 599 Pope Gregory mentions that Bishop Traianus intended to take along with him from Syracuse to his new position in Malta a sizable retinue of five monks and various slaves which he had acquired with his own money, together with other properties including a collection of manuscripts that had belonged to his father. The wealth of the ecclesiastical institutions in Malta is also reflected in the plunder taken by the Aghlabids in 870, which the sources state were specifically removed from the Maltese churches.

Besides the Church, the military class is the only other social elite repeatedly mentioned by the sources for Byzantine Malta. The existence of a Byzantine *dux* in Malta is first mentioned by Nicephoros for the year 637. No such high ranking military figure appears in Malta in any of the 6th century sources. This may indicate that the office of the *dux* was established in Malta at some point during the early 7th century. Such a development may have become necessary for the Byzantine state as a response to the deteriorating military situation in North Africa, which was being threatened by the Arab advance.

It should be noted that a comparable militarisation of society in "mainland" Sicily did not occur until late in the 7th century with the creation of the Byzantine *thema*. In this respect the presence of a *dux* in Malta by the early 7th century suggests a closer connection with the Byzantine *duces* of North Africa.

The appearance during the course of the 8th or 9th century of the composite title of *archon-droungarios* could be a reflection of the merger of civil and military powers. By the late 9th century, the Byzantine military chief on Malta appears to have acquired such a concentration of power that the Arab

chroniclers refer to him as “mlk”. This regal title should not be taken literally. It does however indicate that the Arabs recognised Amros as being the supreme authority over the islands. It may also be an acknowledgement of his ability to act autonomously from the rest of the Byzantine territories in Sicily.

This historical outline obtained from the written sources is being gradually supplemented with the results of archaeological research, particularly with respect to Malta's Byzantine economy and settlement pattern.

Early approaches to the archaeology of Byzantine Malta were overwhelmingly conditioned by research on the Late Roman catacombs, which were studied almost exclusively as monuments of early Christianity on the islands.¹⁵ The contribution of these studies to the reconstruction of the islands' history between the 6th and the 9th century was limited by their astratigraphic approach and inability to interpret the associated material culture.

Since the 1990s important stratigraphical sequences belonging to the Byzantine period have been excavated in urban, rural and marine contexts in both Malta and Gozo. This information is being further supplemented by the results obtained from landscape survey projects, as well as from the re-evaluation of old non-stratigraphical excavations. This developing body of archaeological information has at least two striking characteristics. The first is the extensiveness and the high density of the Byzantine occupation recorded over the limited insular territory. The second is the high proportion of imported materials, particularly amphorae, that are being detected in the sites with Byzantine occupation.¹⁶

The Byzantine settlement on Malta cannot be fully grasped without understanding some aspects of the earlier Roman and late Roman period.¹⁷ The Maltese Islands became part of the Roman world from the end of the 3rd century BC when it was integrated into the province of Sicily. The old urban centres of Melita on the island of Malta (today's townships of Mdina and Rabat) and Gaulos on the island of Gozo (today's town of Victoria) continued to thrive, particularly from the 2nd century BC to about the 3rd century AD. Beyond the towns, in the late Hellenistic and early imperial period there was a flourishing of the rural settlement, as well as the rise of richly endowed sanctuaries, such as the renowned temple of Ashtarte-Hera (today's site of Tas-Silg).

15 The main contributions in this respect are: Mayr, “Zur Geschichte”; Becker, *Malta Sotterranea*; Borg, “Malta and its Palaeochristian heritage”; Buhagiar, *Late Roman*; Buhagiar/Bonanno, “Archeologia paleocristiana”.

16 Bruno/Cutajar, “Archeologia bizantina”; Bruno/Cutajar, “Imported Amphorae”.

17 For a general review of the Roman economy and settlement pattern in Roman Malta see: Bruno, *L'arcipelago maltese*, and its bibliography.

In late antiquity it is not known whether Malta formed part of the Vandal possessions or whether it retained its dependence from Ostrogothic Sicily. Whatever the case, in the course of the 4th and 5th century many of the older settlements, both urban and rural, seem to have gone into a severe economic crisis. The clearest sign of this can be seen in the drastic drop in imports registered at these sites. Especially noticeable is the drop in contemporary African red slip wares and of the more typical amphora productions of the period. Most striking of all is the almost absolute lack of North African amphora types of the 4th and 5th century. For example, only a handful of fragments of the Tunisian Keay XXIV and XXV types and of the other North African amphorae typical of the Vandal period survive. Yet these same amphorae are extremely common in the great majority of coeval Mediterranean sites, and particularly in neighbouring Sicily.

This negative trend has a number of significant exceptions. Important 4th and 5th century tombs have been recently investigated at the rural sites of Ta' Qali and Bulebel. Sporadic late Roman ceramic imports have also been detected in the urban centre of Melita or on rural sites, such as at the villa site of Zejtun.¹⁸ However these attestations are very limited, particularly when compared to the flourishing commercial contacts documented in Maltese sites for the earlier imperial centuries.

Late Roman and Vandal coinage is well documented in Malta both in archaeological contexts and in museum collections. However these late antique emissions are known to have remained in use for many centuries, even in the Byzantine period.¹⁹

The documented decline in importations in Malta during late antiquity may be the direct result of a sharp drop in the islands' population. However a combination of demographic and economic causes is probably more likely. The transformation of the African *annona* during the 4th century could have resulted in the central Mediterranean becoming relatively marginalised in favour of more direct Tyrrhenian supply routes from Carthage to Rome.²⁰ In such an eventuality, the open sea location of Malta would have rendered it even more vulnerable and susceptible to commercial decline. It is important to note in this respect how both the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Itinerarium Maritimum*, dating from the 4th and the early 6th century respectively, fail to

18 Regarding the late antique occupation at Bulebel and Zejtun, see the interventions of Pace et al. and of Anastasi in Abela, *Zejtun Roman Villa*.

19 Perassi, "Il deposito monetale", p. 229.

20 Regarding the importance of the *annona* in organizing and determining regional trade patterns: Wickham, *Framing the early Middle Ages*; in general, see also Panella, "Merci e scambi", pp. 635–40.

mention the Maltese Islands while documenting other comparably small islands on the Tyrrhenian route, such as Pantelleria and the Egadi Islands.

Once Malta became part of the Byzantine possessions, its commercial and demographic fortunes improved rapidly. From the mid-6th to the end of the 7th century the islands witnessed a marked increase in the number of sites with documented occupation.

At the old urban centre of Melita evidence of this revival is so far provided by the reoccupation of the suburban catacomb complexes which had been originally constructed in the mid-imperial era. Recent investigations at the complex of St. Paul's Catacombs in Rabat have confirmed how part of these underground cemeteries were reused for burial purposes between the 6th and the 7th century.²¹

Investigations within the walls of Mdina confirm that the higher part of Melita was also reoccupied in this period. The urban centre on Gozo has been less extensively investigated, but the available information suggests that it too underwent a significant demographic growth between the 6th and the 7th century.

The rural settlement in this period also experienced a similar positive trend, both in terms of the number of sites occupied and of their economic performance. Many settlements and rural burial sites which had shown no or little activity earlier in the 4th to the 5th century became active again between the 6th and the 7th century. Various Roman villa sites were reoccupied in this early Byzantine period, as at Ta' Gawhar, Iklin, Hal Millieri, San Pawl Milqi and Zejtun. The last two sites have been extensively investigated and in both cases it was possible to document how the old Roman agricultural workshops with oil pressing installations were reoccupied until at least late in the 7th century. The same image of a flourishing early Byzantine rural occupation is also provided by a number of rural funerary sites, particularly the small catacomb complexes of Tal-Barrani, Hal Kirkop, Xarolla, and Tar-Raghad.²²

The evidence from the rural sites agrees in part with the statements made by Pope Gregory regarding the existence of high-status ecclesiastical properties which were being rented out to the Maltese clergy. The high-status ownership of these sites can be further gauged by the extensive range of imported materials found within them, including amphorae, tableware, glassware, oil lamps and cooking pots. Clearly at least some of Malta's early Byzantine rural settlements were connected with the long-distance trade networks of the period, and they appear to have had easy access to these internationally traded goods.

21 For a preliminary report on this catacomb complex see Cardona, "Excavations at St. Paul's".

22 For Barrani see the contribution by Pace et al. in Abela, *Zejtun Roman Villa*.

Malta was transformed by the overarching geo-political and commercial strategies which the Byzantines were pursuing in the central Mediterranean between the 6th and the 7th centuries. The reappearance of long-distance traders and shipping in Maltese waters appears to have fostered a rise in demography and the expansion of the agricultural settlement, as is documented by the archaeological remains.

The underlying causes behind this change should be sought in the shift of regional trade routes back into the central Mediterranean over the course of the 6th century. Following the capture of North Africa and of Sicily, Byzantium increasingly redirected the *annona* from these regions towards Constantinople.²³ These changes in imperial economic policy placed Malta at the centre of the navigational flows which connected the Maghreb to the Aegean.

Similarly, Byzantine military needs in North Africa necessitated the re-evaluation of the strategic role of the central Mediterranean. Communications and military supplies transited regularly between Byzantium and the Maghreb, particularly during the course of the 7th century when the Arab invasion of Tunisia was in progress. The creation of a Maltese *dux* early in the 7th century is probably best understood as a response by the Byzantines to establish a secure logistical base along the maritime route linking the Aegean to North Africa.²⁴

Malta's role as a supporting base for Byzantine trade and shipping led to the development of different commercial districts or emporia at various points on the island's coastline. In the harbours of Marsascala and Qawra, extensive stretches of the seabed are covered in a wide scattering of ceramic fragments, mostly belonging to Byzantine commercial amphora types. This field of debris is the result of the prolonged use of the harbours as anchorages for commercial and naval purposes. In other sites extensive structural remains associated with harbour and warehousing activities have been archaeologically documented.

The site of Xatt il-Qwabar in the inner reaches of the Grand Harbour (modern day Marsa) is probably the best documented example of such an early medieval commercial harbour settlement. Excavation at this site documented the remains of a quayside platform over which were deposited a large ceramic scatter, of which over 80% were amphorae fragments, including a vast repertory of Eastern, African and perhaps Southern Italian amphorae types

23 This trend became even more pronounced from the early 7th Century following the fall of Alexandria, first to the Persians (618) and then to the Arabs (642) see Prigent, "Le rôle des provinces d'Occident".

24 The growing importance of the sea lanes between Sicily and Malta in the early Byzantine period is also witnessed by the large number of wrecks of the 6th and 7th century which have been identified in this area. See Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine*, especially pp. 295–297.

(amongst which were included LR1, LR2, small spatheia, Keay 61 and 62; *Castrum Perti* type). The presence of the latest productions of African red slip wares (Hayes 104c, 105, 108, 99 and 109) and of a *folles* of Constans 11, issued from the mint of Syracuse (659–668), confirm that this quay was probably abandoned in the late 7th century, or at the latest at the start of the 8th century.

The emporic character of this site is further confirmed by a discovery made in 1768 very close to the site at Xatt il-Qwabar.²⁵ The discovery consisted of a quay and of a complex of elongated structures consisting of warehouses and a probable *horreum* (granary) which were probably originally built during the Roman imperial period. The large storage capacity of this complex is indicated by the discovery in one of the storage units of 261 intact globular amphorae with Greek *tituli picti*, of a type consistent with Byzantine amphorae. Furthermore the numismatic material recovered from this complex confirm that it was regularly occupied throughout the Byzantine period, right up to the 9th century.

A similarly commercial function in this period can probably be attributed to the site of Tas-Silg. This settlement is strategically located on a hill overlooking Marsaxlokk Harbour and had been occupied since Phoenician times by a large sacred complex which was eventually greatly expanded in the early Roman period (3rd to 1st century BC).²⁶ Between the 4th and 5th century the temple complex appears to have been abandoned, only to be reoccupied in the Byzantine period and radically transformed into an important settlement with both religious and economic functions.

A large liturgical complex consisting of a church and a baptistry was built within the walls of the old Roman temple courtyard and cella. The date of construction of this complex is not clearly established, but numismatic evidence indicates that the baptistry remained in use at least up to the late 7th century.²⁷ The entire religious complex and settlement were in their turn surrounded by the old temple *temenos*, or defensive enclosure.

The large amounts of Byzantine amphorae and African red slip wares found at Tas-Silg indicates that the site probably also functioned as a commercial depot for the warehousing of imported goods, not unlike the settlement at Marsa. The range of amphorae and other imported goods from the 6th and 7th century found at Tas-Silg, is broadly identical to other major coeval sites

25 Barbaro, *Degli avanzi*.

26 This extraordinary site has been under investigation since the early 1960s by the Missione Archeologica Italiana a Malta. For the most up-to-date information on this site, see Ciasca/Rossignani, “Scavi e ricerche”; Bruno, *L'arcipelago maltese*, pp. 98–122; Rossignani, “La ripresa”, and the associated bibliographies.

27 Rossignani/Sannazaro, “L'area sacra”; Perassi, “Il deposito monetale”.

from the west Mediterranean (such as at San Antonino di Perti in Liguria, or Crypta Balbi in Rome). Amphorae of the Eastern Aegean are the most numerous, followed next by the North African and finally by the South Italian amphorae. The more typical African red slip wares at Tas-Silg are those produced between the 6th and the 7th century (such as the forms Hayes 104, 105, 91D, 99, 108 and 109). The oil lamps are represented by both Sicilian and North African productions (including the later versions of the form Atlante X/Hayes 11B).

The archaeology of the last two centuries of Byzantine rule in Malta is markedly different to that of the 7th century. The most radical innovation can be observed in the urban centre of Melite, which was heavily refortified between the 8th and 9th century. The town appears to have previously been dispersed over a relatively extensive area and may have been enclosed within a wide circuit of defensive walls. The reconstruction of the township in the 8th century resulted in a smaller, more heavily fortified settlement centred on the higher ground, corresponding roughly with the modern Mdina.

The late Byzantine fortifications have been most clearly documented on the east slopes of Mdina. At this location an earlier Byzantine, possibly domestic structure, was replaced with a massive defensive wall running parallel to the edge of the ridge on which Mdina is constructed. A large *talus* made out of recycled ashlar blocks was built to protect the footing of this late Byzantine wall. This defensive complex was probably built in the course of the 8th century, with later structural adaptations being carried out in the 9th century.

The continued use of some of the suburban catacomb complexes has also been documented for the 8th–9th century, with the discovery of a number of Sicilian oil lamps of the type known as “slipper-shaped lamps”.

The urban settlement at Melite was well supplied with imported amphorae and other ceramic productions. In particular, large amounts of globular amphorae are regularly identified from the late Byzantine deposits. Other amphorae from this period include the East Sicilian amphorae with flattened rims and central vertical groove handles,²⁸ as well as a type similar to the Otranto type 1 amphora. Ceramic imports from this period also include productions typically associated with East and Central Sicily, including the slipper-shaped oil lamps, and imported cooking pots such as the type known as “pentola a stuoia”.²⁹ Some examples of early medieval glazed wares are also known from Mdina, including examples with the Forum Ware type decorations. These glazed ceramics are normally associated with Tyrrhenian trade networks involving mostly South and Central Italy, as well as Sicily.

28 Arcifa, “Nuove ipotesi”, pp. 30–31.

29 Arcifa, “Nuove ipotesi”, pp. 32–35.

Globular amphorae have also been recovered from the Cittadella of Gozo, indicating that this high point of the town was still occupied between the 8th and 9th century. This is further confirmed by the discovery of a lead seal which refers to an *archon* and which is dated to the same period.

Compared to the flourishing situation documented for the 7th century, the rural landscape of the 8th and 9th century appears to have been seriously depopulated. The typical ceramic products of the late Byzantine period are virtually non-existent on most of the key rural sites – such as the villae of Zejtun or Iklin, or at the Ta' Gawhar round tower.

Some important exceptions to this picture of rural abandonment are starting to be archaeologically documented. Preliminary results obtained by a landscape survey of the Bidnija area, close to the site of San Pawl Milqi, suggests that a late Byzantine rural settlement persisted in these north-western valleys of Malta. This occupation was however much smaller in extent and density than the settlement of the 7th century.³⁰ Sporadic ceramic finds from other rural sites both in Malta and Gozo suggest that the late Byzantine situation documented at Bidnija was not an isolated instance. The available evidence therefore suggests that rural occupation was characterised by the abandonment of a large section of the earlier settlements.

Significantly most of the coastal emporia documented during the Early Byzantine period seem to survive into the 8th and 9th century. The site of Tas-Silg in particular yielded evidence of a remarkable commercial activity, with over a hundred globular amphorae (minimum numbers) being recovered from this site. This is an extraordinary number of amphorae of the 8th and 9th century to be recovered from a single site, particularly when seen in the context of other west and central Mediterranean sites. The trading site at Marsa also survived into the 9th century, with numerous globular amphorae being recovered from this site, together with coins minted during the reign of Michael II (820–829). Finally, globular amphorae have also been recovered from other marine localities, particularly from Salina Bay.

The rural site of San Pawl Milqi also survived into the late Byzantine period, probably due to its strategic position over the now silted-up harbour of Burmarrad. Between the 8th and the 9th Century the site received various globular amphorae, suggesting that it had more of a commercial than an agricultural function. A few examples of Otranto type 1 amphorae of the 10th/11th century recovered at this site suggest that this strategically placed settlement may even have survived into the Arab period.

³⁰ Docter "Rural Malta: first results".

The changes observed in 8th and 9th century Malta reflect broader changes in the geopolitical situation of the central Mediterranean. The fall of North Africa to the Arabs by the end of the 7th Century and the rise of the Aghlabid dynasty at the end of the 8th century had a deep impact on the Maltese islands. Malta was transformed by these events from being a staging post on the imperial route between far-flung Byzantine provinces, into a fortress on the Greek and Arab frontline.

As a frontier territory Malta would have been subject to the threat of Arab raids from North Africa. According to the sources, naval raids against Sicily and its islands became quite intense from the early 8th century. Byzantine naval counter raids on North African territory and shipping would also have involved the logistic and military support of the Maltese islands. The direct involvement of the Maltese islands in the naval warfare between Arabs and Byzantines seems to have transformed the islands' society. The massive refortification of the town centre of Melite is the most obvious illustration of the increasingly military character of Byzantine society in Malta in the 8th and 9th century. The growing political role of the local Byzantine military also seems to be reflected in the appearance within the Maltese context of the new titles of *archon* and *archon-droungarius* during this period.

The decline in the rural settlement may also reflect in part the increasingly unsafe military situation of the Maltese islands. The rural population may have been pushed to abandon large segments of the rural settlement in favour of a more secure residence within the rebuilt town walls at Melite. Other factors in the decline of the rural settlement should however also be considered. In particular the general slowdown in the flow of inter-regional trade through Maltese waters may have triggered a scaling down in rural production and an associated drop in population figures.

To this process of political and demographic centralisation there must have also been a parallel trend towards economic reorganisation. In particular, the less densely populated rural landscape would have made it possible to introduce new agricultural practices, or expand existing ones, such as large scale animal husbandry and forestry practices. These very economic activities are in fact expressly mentioned by early Arab sources as being characteristic of Malta around the 10th century, namely sheep and timber for shipbuilding.³¹ However the territorial conditions required for such practices – reduced rural population and a consequent increase in open uncultivated spaces – was in

31 The writers Ibn Hawqal and Al-Himyari state that after the Arab conquest Malta was uninhabited and that it was only visited by the Arabs to exploit its resources (Brincat, *Malta 870–1054*, pp. 11–12).

fact the result of earlier Byzantine land use practices, starting at least from the 8th century.

However, the most important economic indicator for the period remains the large amount of globular amphorae found on the islands, especially in the urban centre of Melite and in the coastal emporia. Judging by the ceramic fabrics of the globular amphorae found in Malta, the commercial link with the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean appears to have become predominant. Other amphora types, as well as the early medieval glazes found at Mdina, suggest that commercial connections with Sicily and South Italy were also concurrently active. This feature of continued trade in late Byzantine Malta is quite uncharacteristic of the period, which is elsewhere marked by a generalised collapse of inter-regional long-distance trade.³²

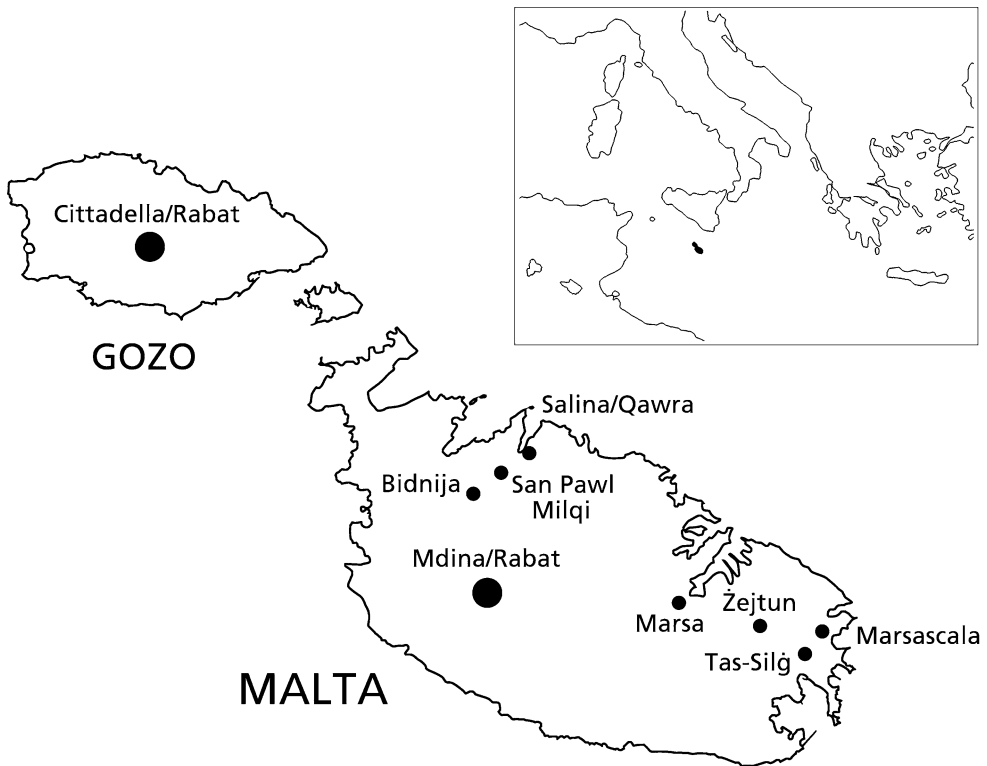
Byzantine amphorae arrivals to Malta may have been partly the result of a specific imperial emission aimed at supplying the political elites residing on the island, including the military and ecclesiastical community. However the large numbers of amphorae arriving on the islands suggest that other factors are involved beyond local consumption by restricted elite groups.

The large number of imports in Late Byzantine Malta and the survival of the coastal settlements both indicate that the islands were functioning as a commercial hub for long-distance trade even as late as the 8th and 9th Century. In this respect Late Byzantine Malta seems to be comparable to a number of other emporia established on the western fringes of the Byzantine Empire, such as the early settlements in the Venetian Lagoon, or at Comacchio on the Po Delta, or Amalfi in the Tyrrhenian.

Malta shares some striking similarities to these Early Medieval trading settlements. These emporia appear in zones of transition – geographic, political and cultural. They also tend to exist on the outer fringes of strong political entities and were therefore able to enjoy both the advantages of being within the boundaries of the system, but sufficiently distant to be only loosely controlled by it. Emporia furthermore tend to arise on relatively marginal sites, avoiding being too closely associated with the large, urban centres of royal power and with their interfering taxation and bureaucracy. Finally the archaeology of these trading settlements is characterized by an unusually high incidence of imported materials and other material indicators of commercial activity, such as harbour installations and warehousing activities.³³

32 Bruno/Cutajar, "Imported Amphorae", pp. 23–25.

33 For a review on Early Medieval emporia, see Gelichi/Hodges (eds.), *From One Sea to Another*.



MAP 19.1 The Maltese Islands: major Byzantine sites
NATHANIEL CUTAJAR

Malta definitely possessed all of these qualities throughout the Byzantine period. However, during the 8th and 9th Century these characteristics became even more pronounced as a result of the creation of the Greek/Arab frontier through the central Mediterranean. As a Byzantine frontier outpost, Malta was ideally situated to serve as a commercial gateway into the nascent markets of Abbasid and Aghlabid North Africa.³⁴ Once again Malta's liminal position, both geographic and political, appears to have allowed it to develop opportunistic economic relationships in spite of the general collapse of earlier long-distance trading patterns in the Mediterranean.

34 On the agreements reached in the 8th and 9th century between Arab North Africa and Byzantine Sicily encouraging trade (799) and allowing free movement of persons through their territory (833), see Chiarelli, *Muslim Sicily*, pp. 17–19.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, edd. J. Haury/G. Wirth, in Procopius, *Opera omnia*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1964, pp. 4–678.
- Procopius, *Bellum vandalicum*, edd. J. Haury/G. Wirth, in Procopius, *Opera omnia*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1962, pp. 307–552.

Secondary Literature

- Abela, R. *The Zejtun Roman Villa Research Conservation Management*, Malta 2012.
- Arcifa, L., “Nuove ipotesi a partire dalla rilettura dei dati archeologici: la Sicilia orientale”, in A. Nef/V. Prigent (eds.), *La Sicile de Byzance à l’Islam*, Paris 2010, pp. 15–49.
- Barbaro, C.A., *Degli avanzi d’alcuni antichissimi edifici scoperti in Malta l’anno 1768. Dissertazione storico-critica*, Malta 1794.
- Barnard, J.B., “The Arab Conquest”, *Journal of the Faculty of Arts*, 6/2 (1975), 161–71.
- Becker, E., *Malta Sotterranea. Studien zur altchristlichen und jiddischen Sepulchrkunst*, Strasbourg 1913.
- Borg, V., “Malta and its Palaeochristian Heritage: A New Approach”, in *Malta: Studies of its Heritage and History*, Malta 1986, pp. 47–60.
- Brincat, J.M., *Malta 870–1054: Al-Himyari’s Account and its Linguistic Implications*, Malta 1995.
- Brown, T.S., “Byzantine Malta: A Discussion of the Sources”, in A.T. Luttrell (ed.), *Medieval Malta: studies on Malta before the Knights*, London 1975, pp. 71–87.
- Bruno, B., *L’arcipelago maltese in età romana e bizantina. Attività economiche e scambi al centro del Mediterraneo*, Bari 2004.
- Bruno, B./Cutajar, N., “Archeologia bizantina a Malta: primi risultati e prospettive di indagine”, in M.G. Amadasi Guzzo/M. Liverani, P. Matthiae (eds.), *Da Pyrgi a Mozia. Studi sull’archeologia del Mediterraneo in memoria di Antonia Ciasca*, Rome 2002, pp. 109–38.
- Bruno, B./Cutajar, N., “Imported Amphorae as Indicators of Economic Activity in Early Medieval Malta”, in D. Michaelides/P. Pergola/E. Zanini (eds.), *The Insular System of the Early Byzantine Mediterranean. Archaeology and History* (B.A.R. International Series, 2523), Oxford 2013, pp. 15–29.
- Buhagiar, M., *Late Roman and Byzantine Catacombs and Other Related Burial Places in the Maltese Islands* (B.A.R., International Series, 302), Oxford 1986.
- Buhagiar, M./Bonanno, A., “Archeologia paleocristiana e bizantina di Malta”, in R.M. Carra Bonacasa (ed.), *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia della Sicilia bizantina*, Palermo 2003, pp. 653–76.
- Cagiano De Azevedo, M., “Medieval buildings excavated at Tas-Silg and San Pawl Milqi in Malta”, in A. Luttrell (ed.), *Medieval Malta: Studies on Malta before the Knights*, London 1975, pp. 88–95.

- Cardona, D., "Excavations at St. Paul's Catacombs: new evidence at an old site", in *Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie* 25 (2019), 9–14.
- Chiarelli, L.C., *A History of Muslim Sicily*, Malta 2011.
- Docter, R./Vella, C.N./Cutajar, N./Bonanno, A./Pace, A., "Rural Malta: first results of the joint Belgo-Maltese survey project", *BABESCH. Annual Papers of Mediterranean Archaeology* 87 (2012), 107–149.
- Gelichi, S./Hodges, R. (eds.), *From one Sea to Another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2012.
- Mayr, A., "Zur Geschichte der älteren christlichen Kirche von Malta", *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft* 17/3 (1896), 475–96.
- Pace, A. "The artistic legacy of small island communities: the case of the Maltese islands" in id. (ed.), *Maltese Prehistoric Art 5000–2500 BC*, Malta 1996, pp. 3–4.
- Perassi, C., "Il deposito monetale", in M.P. Rossignani (ed.), "La ripresa delle indagini della Missione Archeologica Italiana a Malta. Nuovi dati dal santuario di Tas Silg e dalla villa di San Pawl Milqi", *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 78 (2005–2006), 219–56.
- Pertusi, A., "Le isole maltesi dall'epoca bizantina al periodo normanno e svevo (secc. VI–XIII) e descrizioni di esse dal sec. XII al sec. XVI", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 5 (1977), 253–306.
- Prigent, V. "Le rôle des provinces d'Occident dans l'approvisionnement de Constantinople (618–717). Témoignages numismatiques et sigillographiques", *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome Moyen Âge* 118/2 (2006), 269–299.
- Redjala, M., "L'archipel maltais dans le littérature historico-géographique arabe", in M. Galley/D.R. Marshall (eds.), *Actes du Ier Congrès d'études des cultures méditerranéennes d'influence arabo-berbere*, Algiers 1973, pp. 203–08.
- Rossignani, M.P., "La ripresa delle indagini della Missione Archeologica Italiana a Malta. Nuovi dati dal santuario di Tas Silg e dalla villa di San Pawl Milqi", *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 78 (2005–2006), 183–200.
- Rossignani, M.P./Sannazaro, M., "L'area sacra di Tas-Silg a Malta da luogo di culto neolitico a complesso cristiano", in E.A. Arslan (ed.), *Michelangelo Cagiano de Azevedo, il contributo di un archeologo alla conoscenza della transizione dal mondo classico al medioevo* (Atti Convegni Lincei, 318), Rome 2018, pp. 145–179.
- Schlumberger, G., "Sceaux byzantins inédits", *Revue des Études Grecques* 13 (1900), 67–92.
- Wettinger, G., "The Arabs in Malta", in *Malta: Studies of its Heritage and History*, Malta 1986, pp. 87–104.
- Wickham, C., *Framing the Early Middle Ages. Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800*, Oxford 2005.
- Zanini, E., *Le Italie bizantine. Territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia (VI–VIII secolo)*, Bari 1998.
- Zuckerman, C., "La haute hierarchie militaire en Afrique byzantine", *Antiquité Tardive* 10 (2002), 169–75.

PART 3

Culture and Education



Greek and Latin in Byzantine Italy (6th–11th Century)

Vera von Falkenhausen

Italy, when reconquered by the Emperor Justinian during the Gothic War (536–554), was solidly Latin; at least insofar as Latin was still the written language that was understood by all educated people, although part of the Gothic population and many foreign officers and soldiers in the Byzantine army did not. Thus, in contrast to Justinian's *Novellae* issued in Greek for the eastern provinces of the empire, those promulgated in connection with the political reorganisation of Italy, such as the *novella* LXXV *De appellationibus Siciliae* of 537 and the *Pragmatica sanctio pro petitione Vigili* of 554, were written in Latin.¹ Latin was the language of the church and used in the more important public inscriptions in Rome, such as that of Narses on the Salarian bridge,² brick stamps with his name found in various parts of Italy,³ as well as the inscription of the exarch Smaragdus on the column in honour of the Emperor Phocas on the *Forum Romanum*.⁴ The Lombards, who had occupied wide areas of Italy since the end of the 6th century, quickly adopted the Latin language,⁵ as is obvious from their literature,⁶ their legislation,⁷ and their charters and private documents.⁸

As for Greek, in some ways the language had survived in the former Magna Graecia and Sicily, as is clear from the numerous late antique Greek inscriptions found in Calabria and especially eastern Sicily.⁹ On the other hand, many members of the educated senatorial aristocracy who knew the Greek

1 *CJC*, vol. 3, *Novellae*, 75, p. 378, App. VII, pp. 799–802.

2 *CIL* VI, 1199.

3 Corolla/Peduto, "Aspetti dell'insediamento", pp. 530–531: VIR EXCELLENTISSIMUS NARSIS FECIT.

4 *CIL* VI, 1200.

5 Pohl, "Geschichte und Identität im Langobardenreich", p. 562.

6 Villa, "Cultura classica e tradizioni longobarde", pp. 575–600; Pohl, "Origo gentis Langobardorum", pp. 105–121.

7 Dilcher, "Langobardisches Recht", pp. 1607–1618; Azzara/Gasparri, *Le leggi dei Longobardi*.

8 Ghignoli/Bougard, "Elementi romani nei documenti longobardi?", pp. 241–301.

9 Agnello, *Silloge*; Rizzone, *Opus Christi edificabit*; Buonocore, "Tradizione ed evoluzione grafico-formale", pp. 229–254.

language and had studied Greek literature and philosophy, had left Rome for Constantinople or the eastern provinces of the empire during the Gothic War. The few who returned to Italy, as for example Cassiodorus, preferred to stay in their *villae* in southern Italy or Sicily.¹⁰ In the end, it was more convenient for most of them to be in closer contact with the imperial court; moreover, many had lost their landed properties in Italy through the progressive Lombard invasion.

During the five hundred years of Byzantine rule in various parts of Italy, the linguistic situation changed to a certain extent, though Byzantium never officially promoted the Greek language in those provinces of the empire where other languages prevailed. Occasionally, the Byzantine government, transferred part of the population of a town or province to another region of the empire by fiat. This also happened in southern Italy during the 6th and 9th centuries,¹¹ but I do not think that these newcomers had any decisive impact on the linguistic structures of their new habitat. There was no linguistic colonialism. Nevertheless, in those areas where in the 8th century the local dioceses had been transferred from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the diffusion of the Greek language was certainly privileged.¹²

However, Latin and Greek were not the only languages spoken and written in Byzantine Italy. Though the spoken Lombard language tended towards disappearance during the 8th century,¹³ Lombard personal names were popular in Byzantine Apulia, and many words and expressions, especially referring to Lombard law, such as *launegilt*, *morghencap*, or *munduald* continued to be used in Latin documents of the catepanate of Italy.¹⁴ Moreover, many Armenians had fought in the Byzantine army in Italy: the *numerus Arminiorum* and the *numerus felicium Persarmeniorum* were stationed in Ravenna (6th-early 8th century),¹⁵ although we do not know whether the soldiers and officers enlisted in these regiments actually spoke Armenian; the funeral inscriptions of the exarch Isaakios, who was of Armenian origin, and of his nephew are in

10 Burgarella, "Il senato", pp. 157–166; Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*, pp. 18–19, 125–147.

11 *Cronaca di Monemvasia*, ed. I. Dujčev (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Testi 12), Palermo 1976, pp. 12–22; Kislinger, *Regionalgeschichte*, pp. 12–109; Jacob, "Une mention d'Ugento", pp. 229–235.

12 Mango, *Byzantium*, pp. 21–29.

13 Francovich Onesti, *Vestigia longobarde*, p. 48; Haubrichs, "Langobardic personal names", p. 210.

14 Princi Braccini, "Persistenze di effetti della dominazione longobarda", pp. 234–238, 251–260.

15 Deichmann, *Ravenna, Kommentar*, 3. Teil, pp. 105–106.

Greek,¹⁶ and Sergius *domesticus numeri Armeniorum* signed a donation for a monastery in Ravenna in Latin.¹⁷ Again, there were many Armenians among the Byzantine soldiers and officers who reconquered southern Italy during the last decades of the 9th century. Some of them apparently had settled in Apulia, especially in the area of Bari, others in Calabria.¹⁸ *Armeni* are mentioned in the local documents,¹⁹ and Armenian personal names such as *Cricoricus* (Gregory), *Melias*, and *Curticius* were commonly used.²⁰ At the end of the 10th century an Armenian priest had founded a church for them in Bari, St. George's, which still existed in 1210 under the name of *S. Georgius de Armenis*.²¹ In 990 the priest Joseph signed a Latin document in Bari using the Armenian language and script.²² Finally, during the 10th and 11th century Arabic speakers had settled in some parts of Apulia, Basilicata, and Calabria, although, to my knowledge only one Arabic inscription has been found in Byzantine southern Italy.²³ Yet some place-names in Calabria and Basilicata with an Arabic etymology, such as Rabatana, near Tursi in Basilicata and the medieval *Barychalla* (today Altomonte in the province of Cosenza), probably refer to what were originally Arab settlements.²⁴ In Reggio Calabria, a town which had strong economic ties with Sicily, a mosque was built in the 10th century and an Arab community is still mentioned in the 11th.²⁵ The Byzantine *protasecretis* Constantine, a native of Reggio, translated the medical compendium for travellers written by the 10th-century Arab physician Abu Djafar Ibn al-Gazzar into Greek,²⁶ and fragments of parchment with Arabic texts were inserted into Greek manuscripts written in Calabria in the 10th and 11th century.²⁷

Much more significant however was the presence in medieval southern Italy of substantial, literate, and culturally active, creative Jewish communities. Especially in places close to the coast and along the major Roman roads, where

16 Guillou, *Recueil*, nos. 108–109, pp. 114–117.

17 Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri*, vol. 1, pap. 23, p. 370.

18 Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 518–520.

19 *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 9, p. 16; *CDB*, vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 8–10, no. 9, p. 18, no. 11, p. 21.

20 von Falkenhausen, "I Bizantini in Italia", pp. 93, 132.

21 *CDB*, vol. 4, no. 9, p. 18, no. 11, p. 22; *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 77, p. 148.

22 *CDB*, vol. 1, no. 4, p. 10, fig. 1.

23 The inscription has been found in Amantea and is dated to the tenth or eleventh century: Tonghini, "Gli Arabi ad Amantea", pp. 203–230.

24 Caracausi, *Lessico greco*, p. 97.

25 Von Falkenhausen, "Reggio bizantina e normanna", pp. 268–270.

26 Ieraci Bio, "La medicina dello Stretto", pp. 109–123. The Greek translation has been preserved in a manuscript copied in southern Italy or Sicily (Vat. Gr. 300): Canart/Lucà, *Codici greci*, no. 30, pp. 85–86.

27 Piemontese, "Codici greco-latino-arabi", p. 450.

many funeral inscriptions have been found, which generally, at least since the 8th or 9th century onwards, were written in Hebrew.²⁸ In Byzantine Apulia, and Calabria numerous local Jewish poets and scholars produced, copied, and read Hebrew religious poetry (*piyyutim*),²⁹ scientific treatises,³⁰ and narrative texts.³¹ Hebrew, however, was the language of literature; as for oral communication, Jews seemed to have used the common language of the region where they were living: Latin in northern and central Apulia and Greek in Calabria.³²

In the following pages I shall try to describe how Greek and Latin were used in the various provinces and towns of Byzantine Italy in the period from the 6th to the 11th century. However, there are remarkable differences in time, space, and documentation, since not all regions of Italy belonged to the Byzantine Empire at the same period, and not all regions were exposed to the influence of Byzantine culture and Greek language in the same way: between the end of the 6th and the 8th century, most of Italy was conquered by the Lombards and later – for a shorter period – some areas of the south were occupied by the Arabs. After the fall of the *exarchatus Italiae* (751) and the Carolingian intervention, only Sicily and some areas of Calabria and Salento remained part of the empire. During the last decades of the 9th century, Byzantium recovered Apulia and Calabria from Lombards and Arabs, yet Sicily was definitively lost to the Muslims.

As regards exposure to Byzantine culture and Greek language, the immigration of mostly orthodox, Greek-speaking refugees from Syria, Palestine, and Egypt after the Persian, and later Arab conquest in the 7th century had an important impact on the cultural and linguistic scene in Sicily, southern Italy, and Rome, though apparently not much in Ravenna. During the first half of the 8th century the dioceses of Calabria and Sicily, together with those of Illyricum were transferred to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople, which certainly had a significant effect on the progressive diffusion of the Greek language in these regions. After the fall of the *exarchatus Italiae*, the Byzantine influence on Ravenna and the Pentapolis ceased

28 Von Falkenhausen, "Gli Ebrei nell'Italia meridionale", pp. 22–23.

29 Fleischer, "Hebrew Liturgical Poetry", pp. 415–426; Colafemmina, "Inni sinagogali", pp. 297–316.

30 Shabbatai Donnolo, *Sefer Ḥakhmon. Introduzione, testo critico e traduzione italiana annotata e commentata*, ed. P. Mancuso (Biblioteca Ebraica Italiana), Padua 2009; Mancuso, "Hebrew Science", pp. 35–50; *Šabbetai Donnolo: Scienza e cultura ebraica*, ed. Lacerenza; Colafemmina, *The Jews in Calabria*, pp. 4–6; Taborelli, *Šabbetai bar Avraham*.

31 Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption; History and Folklore in a Medieval Jewish Chronicle. The Family Chronicle of Ahima'az ben Paltiel*, ed. R. Bonfil (Studies in Jewish History and Culture, 22), Leiden.

32 Bonfil, "Cultura ebraica e cultura cristiana", pp. 132–134.

completely, whereas Rome, though no longer related politically to the Eastern Empire, for religious reasons continued to be in close contact with the church and the imperial court in Constantinople and the Greek dioceses in southern Italy and Sicily. After the Byzantine reconquest of parts of southern Italy in the last quarter of the 9th century, Apulia and most of Calabria and Basilicata remained part of the Byzantine Empire for almost 200 years without any notable linguistic changes. During the 10th and early 11th century, Greeks from Calabria and Sicily emigrated to Campania and Latium, regions which lay beyond the confines of the Byzantine territories. Yet this immigration, well-attested by hagiography and archival documentation, did not change the linguistic context of these regions.

Finally, some of the areas which will be discussed in these pages, such as Salento, are poorly documented for the Byzantine period. Thus, it is occasionally necessary to consult the more abundant primary sources of the period after the Norman conquest (second half of the 11th century), to understand the diffusion of Latin and Greek in certain parts of former Byzantine Italy.

1 6th to 9th Century

1.1 *Ravenna*

For almost two hundred years Ravenna was the capital of Byzantine Italy and the residence of the exarchs, the most important imperial officials with both military and civil authority, sent from Constantinople, who each ruled for a period of several years. During the later 6th and early 7th century, the Latin language had not completely disappeared in the Constantinopolitan administration: inscriptions on coins continued to be in Latin or Graeco-Latin, often also those on the lead seals of the emperors³³ and officials.³⁴ Thus, even some high Byzantine officials active in Italy, such as the exarchs and *patrikioi* Photios (608?–613)³⁵ and Isaakios (625/626–643/644),³⁶ while not themselves Latin speakers, used Latin seals,³⁷ while Theodore Kalliopas (643–ca. 645, 653–

33 Nesbitt, *Catalogue*, pp. 3–83.

34 Stepanova, "Seals", pp. 29–39; Oikonomides, "L'épigraphie des bulles de plomb", pp. 157–162; Prigent, "L'usage du sceau de plomb", pp. 207–240. Laurent, *Les sceaux byzantins*, no. 56, p. 43, no. 31, p. 26.

35 Sansterre, "Une mention peu connue", 267–268; *PLRE* III B, p. 1040.

36 *PLRE* III A, pp. 719–721.

37 Marazzi, "Sigilli dei depositi di VII e VIII secolo", pp. 259–261; Laurent, *Les sceaux byzantins*, no. 98, p. 99.

666) seems to have used both Latin and Greek seals.³⁸ Yet by the end of the 7th century the Hellenisation of the imperial court and administration was complete. In fact, the exarchs of the 8th century, Theophylaktos (701–705), Paul (723–726), and Eutychios (710–713, 727–751?)³⁹ apparently used Greek seals exclusively.⁴⁰ The language of the legends on the various exarchs' seals in no way however reflects the language used by the population of the exarchate.

Although during the 7th and 8th century part of the territory of the exarchate was occupied by the Lombards, Ravenna remained a Byzantine stronghold and the harbour of Classe was an essential link in the communication between Italy and the capital of the empire. Like Constantinople, Ravenna had its *Chalke*, the main entrance to the palace,⁴¹ and a church dedicated to the Virgin *ad Blachernas*.⁴² There must have been quite a number of Greek-speaking residents in Ravenna, such as soldiers, civil servants, familiars and courtiers of the exarch, and even businessmen. In fact, some late-6th and early-7th century documents on papyrus were signed by witnesses in the Latin language, but in Greek letters.⁴³ These people, the *κολεκταριως* (tax official) Peter, the *χρυσωκαταλακτις* (banker) Marinus, the Syriac *ναγουζατρο* (merchant) John, and two *virī honesti*, were apparently Greek-speakers who did not know the Latin script.⁴⁴ Still, most of the officers, soldiers, and lower and intermediate officials were local,⁴⁵ meaning that Ravenna remained an essentially Latin town. Only three Greek inscriptions are known from the Byzantine period: the funeral inscriptions of the exarch Isaakios and his nephew,⁴⁶ and a dedicatory inscription by Theodore and Konstantina, otherwise unknown, on the marble pulpit of the church S. Giovanni Evangelista.⁴⁷ All known documents, charters, and narrative texts were written in Latin.

In the *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* written by Agnellus, abbot of the church of St. Mary's *ad Blachernas* in the mid-9th century, and in

38 Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, p. 279; Laurent, *Les sceaux byzantins*, no. 99, pp. 100–101; Stepanova, "Seals", no. 3, p. 31.

39 Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 277, 279, 272.

40 Laurent, *Les sceaux byzantins*, nos. 101–103, pp. 103–105.

41 Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis*, ch. 94, p. 258: *supra portam et in fronte regiae quae dicitur Ad Chalchi*; Deichmann, *Ravenna. Kommentar*, 3. Teil, pp. 53–54.

42 Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis*, ch. 26, p. 173, ch. 119, p. 291, ch. 162, p. 339.

43 Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri*, vol. 1, pap. 6, pp. 218–224 (575), pap. 16, pp. 318–317 (ca. 600), pap. 20, pp. 344–352 (ca. 600), pap. 24, pp. 371–375; II, pap. 36, pp. 112–118 (575–591), pap. 37, pp. 118–126 (Classe, 191).

44 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 131.

45 Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 66–69, 77, 147.

46 Guillou, *Recueil*, nos. 108–109, pp. 114–117.

47 CIG IV, 8862, p. 382; PMBZ I, no. 7889.

medieval – even post-Byzantine – documents issued in Romagna we find quite a number of Greek *termini technici* mostly connected with church and state administration (*cimiliarchus* – *κειμηλιαρχης*, *letanea* – *λιτανεία*, or *monstraticus* – *μονοστράτηγος*), precious objects (*argirium* – *ἀργύριον*, *obrizum* – *ὄβρυζον*) – often in the context of church decoration (*cona* – *εἰκὼν*, *endothis* – *ἐνδύτης*) and naval vocabulary (*carabus* – *κάραβος*, *dromonis* – *δρόμων*, *platus* – *πλάτη*, *sandalus* – *σάνδαλος*), many of which had been in use in Latin literature since late antiquity.⁴⁸ Moreover, the Greek prepositions *ἀνά* (*ana*) in a distributive sense (*solidos ... ana denariorum dodecim*) and *κατά* (*cata*) meaning nearness, either topographical or in parental relationship, are used in Latin texts.⁴⁹ The latter linguistic phenomenon can be found in other places which were part of the exarchate, such as Venice,⁵⁰ Rome,⁵¹ and Naples.⁵²

In any case, as long as the exarchate existed (until 751), Greek was important, if not essential, for communication with Constantinople, though apparently there were not many educated bilingual persons available. According to Agnellus, Saint Apollinaris, the first bishop of Ravenna and disciple of Saint Peter, was *Graecis et Latinis literis eruditus*,⁵³ but none of his forty-eight successors is honoured with the same cultural qualification, though several of them, including Maurus (642–671) and Reparatus (671–677), were in close contact with Constantinople and the Byzantine emperors.⁵⁴ Quite revealing in this context is an episode recounted by Agnellus in his *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* concerning his own ancestor, the bilingual notary Johannicius. After the death of his notary, the exarch was desperate: “*non solum pro morte eius, sed plus, quia non habebat similem virum sapientissimum, qui potuisset epistolas imperiales cunponere vel ceteras scripturas cartulis, quas necesse erat, in palatio perficere*”. Therefore, he looked for somebody “*Grecis et Latinis literis qui eruditus est*” and finally employed the young Iohannicius “*quia Grece ut Latine utebatur et Latina ut Greca tenebat*” who, after some years even carved

48 Lazard, “De l’origine des hellénismes”, pp. 255–298; ead., “Les byzantinismes”, pp. 354–426.

49 Lazard, “Les byzantinismes”, 365, 370.

50 Ss. *Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, ed. L. Lanfranchi/B. Strina, (Comitato per la pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia. Fonti per la storia di Venezia, sez. 11), Venice 1965, no. 2, p. 24.

51 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, pp. 434, 501; vol. 2, pp. 23, 28; *Petri Mallii Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae aucta atque emendata a Romano presbitero*, in *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, ed. R. Valentini/G. Zucchetti, vol. 3, (Fonti per la Storia d’Italia, 90), Rome 1946, pp. 382–442: 405–406.

52 Varvaro/Sornicola, “Considerazioni sul multilinguismo” p. 63; von Falkenhausen, “I documenti napoletani”, p. 118.

53 Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis*, ch. 1, p. 148.

54 *Ibid.*, ch. 110, p. 280, ch. 115, p. 286.

out a prominent career for himself in the imperial palace in Constantinople.⁵⁵ People literate in both languages must obviously have been rare in Byzantine Ravenna. After the fall of the exarchate Byzantine influence on Ravenna seems to have ended completely. Thus, it is understandable that only a few traces of Greek can be found in the modern dialects of Emilia-Romagna.⁵⁶

1.2 Rome

During the first decades of the 7th century Rome remained a Latin city. Even the funeral inscription of Theodore, a Greek official from Byzantium who died in Rome in 619 was written in Latin: *Theodorus vir clarissimus grecus Vizanteus qui fuit fidelis et carus amicus multorum rei publicae iudicum*.⁵⁷ Pope Gregory I (590–604) affirmed on several occasions that he did not know Greek.⁵⁸ This cannot be entirely true. Although the pope did not have a literary Greek education, he must have been able to communicate in Greek, since at the beginning of his ecclesiastical career he spent several years as the *apocrisarius* of the Roman church in Constantinople (580–586/7); and even during his pontificate remained in close contact with the imperial court, Byzantine officials, and Greek bishops in the east.⁵⁹ He even used Greek expressions in his letters, such as *sinthichia* (συνθήκη = treaty, pact),⁶⁰ a word not to my knowledge used in late antique Latin texts. He most likely refused to use Greek out of fear that the increased Hellenisation of the empire might damage or diminish the *auctoritas Romana* and *pontificia*.⁶¹ In fact, according to Paulus Diaconus, Emperor Maurice (582–602) was “*primus ex Graecorum genere in imperio confirmatus*”.⁶²

55 Ibid., ch. 120 pp. 291–292.

56 Lazard, “Grecismi dell’Esarcato di Ravenna”, pp. 59–74.

57 Silvagni, *Monumenta epigraphica*, vol. 1, fig. 12.2.

58 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 7.29, p. 487: *quamvis Graecae linguae nescius*; 11. 55, p. 960: *nam nos nec Graece novimus nec aliquod opus aliquando Graece conscripsimus*.

59 Boesch Gajano, *Gregorio Magno*, pp. 44–48; Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 1. 4–7, pp. 4–10; 1. 24–25, pp. 22–34; 1. 28–31, pp. 36–38; 3.51–52, pp. 196–199; 3.61–65, pp. 209–216; 5.30, pp. 296–297; 5. 36–39, pp. 304–318; 5. 41–46, pp. 320–340; 6. 15–17, pp. 384–387; 6.64, pp. 439–440; 7.4–6, pp. 446–453; 7. 11, p. 460; 7.15, pp. 465–466; 7.22–31, pp. 472–495; 7. 37, pp. 500–502; 8.2, pp. 514–517; 8.28–29, pp. 549–553; 9.4, pp. 565–566; 9.136, pp. 685–687; 9.176, p. 733; 10.14, pp. 840–842; 10.21, pp. 852–856; 11.1–2, pp. 857–860; 11.27–28, pp. 902–917; 11. 16, p. 990; 13.32–33, pp. 1033–1035; 11.39–44, pp. 1042–1050.

60 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 1.30, p. 37.

61 Dagens, “Grégoire le Grand”, pp. 244–246.

62 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 3.15, ed. L. Capo, *Storia dei Longobardi*, Milan 1992, p. 144.

However, after the Persian, and later, Arab conquest of Palestine, Syria, and Egypt during the first half of the 7th century, Rome became one of the favoured destinations of the many, mostly orthodox and Greek-speaking refugees from the eastern regions of the empire. This immigration is best known through the writings of orthodox monks and theologians who came to Rome to organise the opposition against Monotheletism, such as Maximus the Confessor, Sophronius of Damascus (who became patriarch of Jerusalem), and John Moschos.⁶³ Better prepared than the Roman clergy to understand and discuss the subtleties of Byzantine theology, these refugee priests and monks had an enormous impact on the Roman cultural scene: thirty-six Greek and Armenian abbots, priests, deacons and monks were not only present at the First Lateran Council (649), but they also had prepared a first draft of the acts in Greek, which was only later translated into Latin.⁶⁴ Greek monasteries were founded in Rome, the most important being St. Anastasius *ad Aquas Salvias*, St. Caesarius, St. Erasmus, St. Sabas, and St. Silvester *in Capite*.⁶⁵ In the period from the mid-7th to the second half of the 8th century, the Roman church was in fact run by Greek-speaking clerics and lay officials, for Greek was essential in the political and theological discussions between Rome and Byzantium. In the years between 642 and 772, thirteen of the twenty-two popes were Greek-speakers: some were of Syriac or Palestinian origin,⁶⁶ others were Greeks from Sicily,⁶⁷ and others were simply said to be *natione Graecus*.⁶⁸ Many members of the Roman clergy from that period had Greek or Oriental names as well.⁶⁹ Popes Leo II (681–683) and Gregory III (731–741) were said explicitly to have been *Greca Latinaque lingua eruditus*.⁷⁰ Greek-speaking clerics, abbots and monks were often sent on diplomatic missions to Constantinople and other destinations.⁷¹

63 Booth, *Crisis of Empire*.

64 ACO 2, vol. 1, pp. 50–51, 57; Riedinger, “In welcher Richtung”, pp. 149–164.

65 Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp. 33–48, 88–91, 119–131, 281–290, 302–312; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, passim.

66 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, pp. 331, 366, 371, 388, 389, 415; *Enciclopedia dei papi*, vol. 1, pp. 594–598, 625–626, 633–637, 640–647, 651–656.

67 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, pp. 350, 358, 368, 468; *Enciclopedia dei papi*, vol. 1, pp. 612–620, 627–629, 677–681.

68 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, pp. 383, 385, 426; *Enciclopedia dei papi*, vol. 1, pp. 637–640, 656–659.

69 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, pp. 389–390, 423.

70 *Ibid.*, pp. 359, 415.

71 For instance the later popes John V and Constantine: *Enciclopedia dei papi*, vol. 1, p. 625, pp. 641–642; *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 493.

Despite the Greek origin and education of many popes of the 7th and 8th century, the official language of the Roman church remained Latin, except perhaps for some liturgical innovations.⁷² All the official pontifical inscriptions and texts concerning *acta synodalia*, church foundations and renovations, the depositions of relics,⁷³ funeral inscriptions,⁷⁴ diplomatic correspondence,⁷⁵ and pontifical lead seals⁷⁶ were in Latin. It was apparently quite exceptional that Leo III ordered two silver tablets to be fixed on the porch of St. Peter's, each inscribed with the creed *unum quidem litteris Graecis et alium Latinis*.⁷⁷

Conversely, this Greek environment encouraged some Latin clerics to learn Greek. Thus, private conversations were often in Greek: Eddius Stephanus, author of the *Vita Wilfridi*, writing about the hearing of the bishop of York at a Roman Synod in 704 describes the embarrassment of the English delegation when the Roman clerics *inter se graecisantes et subridentes, nos autem celantes, multa loqui ceperunt*.⁷⁸ In a like manner, private dedicatory and funeral inscriptions⁷⁹ or the graffiti of pilgrims in the catacombs were sometimes written in Greek;⁸⁰ in St. Maria Antiqua and St. Sabas the frescoes with legends in Greek are still visible.⁸¹

The presence in Rome of well-educated, bilingual Greek and Latin clerics and officials encouraged intellectual activities: for example, Greek manuscripts were copied and preserved in Roman libraries.⁸² Moreover, many Greek texts, in particular hagiographical, were translated into Latin by pontifical officials

72 Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome*, pp. 250–254. In the *Liber pontificalis* the festivities of the Virgin were mentioned with their Greek names: *Cheretismos* – *Χαιρετισμός* (Annunciation), or *Ypopanti* – *Ὑπαπαντή* (Presentation of Christ in the Temple): *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 2, pp. 2, 146.

73 Silvagni, *Monumenta epigraphica*, tavv. XIII, 1–3, XIV, 2, XXXIV, 1; *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, pp. 379–380, 422–423, 483; *Enciclopedia dei papi*, vol. 1, pp. 633, 645, 653–654.

74 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, pp. 335, 358, 367, 386, III, p. 99; Ballardini, “Un oratorio per la Theotokos”, pp. 94–116.

75 ACO 2, vol. 2/1, pp. 52–53.

76 Serafini, *Le monete e le bolle plumbee pontificie*, pp. 1–3.

77 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 2, p. 26; Peri, “Il simbolo epigrafico”, pp. 191–222.

78 *Vita Wilfridi*, ch. 53, p. 247.

79 Guillou, *Recueil*, nos. 116, 118, pp. 126–130; von Falkenhausen, “Notes on the Byzantine Inscription”, pp. 87–91; D’Aiuto, “Per una riconsiderazione”, pp. 553–612.

80 Carletti, “*Viatores ad martyres*”, pp. 206, 217.

81 Romanelli/Nordhagen, *S. Maria Antiqua*; Bordi, *Gli affreschi di San Saba*, pp. 87–111.

82 *Codex Carolinus*, ep. 24, p. 529; Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, pp. 827–839; Alexakis, *Codex Parisinus Graecus 115*; Lai, “Nuove osservazioni”, pp. 673–690. The cod. Vat. Gr. 1666 is claimed to have been written in Rome: Canart/Lucà, *Codici greci*, no. 4, p. 42.

such as the *consiliarius* Boniface⁸³ and others.⁸⁴ In contrast, Pope Zacharias translated the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great into Greek,⁸⁵ a text which was to become a bestseller in Byzantium. Yet new texts were also composed in Greek, such as the *Life* of Gregory of Agrigento, written by the priest Leontios of St. Sabas, which was copied in many Byzantine manuscripts and even translated into Armenian.⁸⁶

Greek presence and cultural activity did not stop after the fall of the exarchate and the seizure of power in Rome by the Carolingians. Throughout the 9th century, conflicts between Rome and Byzantium concerning theological problems such as the Second Iconoclasm, questions of church politics like the Photian Schism and the Christianisation of Bulgaria kept pontifical diplomats busy, and many Greek pilgrims and monks moved to Rome in order to venerate the tombs of the apostles or to plead their cases before the popes.⁸⁷ Theodore the Studite was in close contact with Greek correspondents in Rome,⁸⁸ and prominent Byzantine intellectuals such as Methodios, who became patriarch of Constantinople (843–847), and Constantine the Philosopher, missionary to the Slavs who died in Rome in 869, spent many years there. The Greek monk, Saint Blasius of Amorion, was trained as a calligrapher in the Roman monastery of St. Caesarius⁸⁹ and Greek inscriptions of excellent quality continued to be produced.⁹⁰ Conversely, bilingual clerics continued to translate Greek texts into Latin,⁹¹ the most productive being the Roman church politician, antipope and diplomat Anastasius Bibliothecarius († 879?).⁹² However, it appears that he was one of the last great representatives of the bilingual Roman clergy.

1.3 *Naples*

Strabo tells us (6.1.2) that in his time the Greek language had survived only in Taranto, Reggio, and Naples: *νυνὶ δὲ πλὴν Τάραντος, καὶ Ῥηγίου καὶ Νεαπόλεως*

83 Berschin, "Bonifatius consiliarius", pp. 25–40.

84 Faraggiana di Sarzana, "Gli insegnamenti dei padri del deserto", pp. 587–602; Lequeux, "La plus ancienne traduction latine (BHL 410b)", pp. 37–44.

85 Gregorio Magno, *Vita di S. Benedetto nella versione greca di papa Zaccaria*, ed. G. Rigotti, Alessandria 2001.

86 Leontius, *Vita Gregorii*; Cosentino, "Quando e perché fu scritta", pp. 17–36.

87 Von Falkenhausen, "Roma greca", pp. 58–62.

88 Mango, "La culture grecque et l'Occident", pp. 715–716.

89 *PBMZ* 1, 21177.

90 D'Aiuto, "Per una riconsiderazione", pp. 588–606.

91 Chiesa, "Traduzioni e traduttori a Roma", pp. 455–487; Del Buono, "Giovanni VIII", pp. 546–563.

92 Neil, *Seventh-Century Popes*, pp. 44–91; Forai, *The Interpreter of the Popes*.

ἐκβαρβαρῶσθαι συμβέβηκεν ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ μὲν Λευκάνους καὶ Βρεττίους κατέχειν.⁹³

In the centuries that followed Naples became increasingly Latinised. In fact, most of the local inscriptions dating from the early 3rd century are in Latin,⁹⁴ with the exception of a few examples of graffiti in the catacombs of S. Gennaro.⁹⁵ During its Byzantine period Naples was the seat of a *dux* who was generally – but not always – sent from Constantinople and became a stronghold against the Lombard invasion and later Carolingian pretensions, being an important harbour on the itinerary from Rome towards Sicily and Byzantium. Perhaps because of the continuous confrontation with the Lombards, the 8th century was marked by a certain revival of Greek language and tradition in early medieval Naples, although the city remained solidly Latin. Local sources – all written in Latin – insisted upon the Greek origins of the town: the name of the ancient Greek colony, *Parthenope*, is constantly used in medieval documents, chronicles, and hagiography.⁹⁶ The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the town in the 1160s, knew that Naples was founded by the Greeks,⁹⁷ and even the *Cronaca di Partenope*, a vernacular chronicle written about 1350, describes *in extenso* the Greek foundation of the town and a Greek inscription on the temple of Apollo built by the Emperor Tiberius.⁹⁸ Moreover, a number of Greek inscriptions from the 8th century have survived, such as the funeral inscription of the Duke Theodore († 721) and the dedication of an unnamed church by Kampoulos and his wife Konstantina.⁹⁹ There are also the Greek lead seals of the Dukes Cosmas (670–672),¹⁰⁰ Andrew (672–677), George (731–740), and Gregory (767–794), though at least Gregory was of local origin.¹⁰¹ During the 8th or early 9th century the Neapolitan mint issued light *folleis* with the inscription NEΑΠΟΛΙΣ.¹⁰²

In contrast to what is attested for Rome and Sicily, there is no explicit evidence that Greek-speaking refugees from Syria, Palestine, and Egypt settled in Naples; yet several Greek monasteries existed in the town: Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, Sts. Theodore and Sebastian, St. Demetrius, St. Anastasius, St. Antonius, and

93 Poccetti, “Il declino (o i presunti declini) della magna Grecia”, pp. 77–159.

94 Lepore, “La vita politica e sociale”, pp. 289–290; Leiwo, *Neapolitana*, pp. 133–167, et passim.

95 Fasola, *Le catacombe di S. Gennaro*, p. 120.

96 Capasso, *Monumenta*, indice analitico, pp. 1153–1154.

97 Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, p. 8.

98 *The ‘Cronaca di Partenope’*, pp. 165–172.

99 Guillou, *Recueil*, nos. 121–122, pp. 134–136.

100 Laurent, *Les sceaux byzantins*, no. 106, pp. 107–108.

101 Capasso, *Monumenta*, vol. 2/2, pp. 303–305.

102 Rovelli, “Naples, ville et atelier monétaire”, p. 703.

the nunnery Sts. Marcellinus and Petrus, but it seems that at least until the end of the 10th century most of the monks or nuns who lived there following the *regula s. Basilii* were locals.¹⁰³ The practising of the Greek liturgy is often referred to in early and even late medieval texts: “*Graeca Latinaque pars sacerdotalis et monachica turba*”, “*psalmodie cantus utriusque linguarum Graece et Latine*”¹⁰⁴ or “*per totam noctem unanimes Graecam Latinamque psalmodiam sonoris vocibus concreparunt*”¹⁰⁵ or “*alternantibus choris Latinis et Graecis*.”¹⁰⁶ In Naples the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin (September 8th) was called *festivitas s. Marie Genissi* (γένεσις).¹⁰⁷ Although the local hagiography was written in Latin, apparently Neapolitans were very interested in eastern saints and Greek hagiography, as evidenced from their ecclesiastical calendar,¹⁰⁸ the dedication of some of their churches, and the numerous Latin versions of Greek saints’ *Lives* translated by competent and dedicated bilingual clerics.¹⁰⁹

There must have been an appreciable number of bilingual persons in early-medieval Naples, but as with the contemporary sources for Rome and Ravenna, the 9th- and 10th-century Neapolitan chronicles distinguish as exceptional those people, generally the local dukes and members of their family as being bilingual in speech and script. Duke Sergius I (840–864) *litteris quam Graecis quam Latinis favorabiliter eruditus est, ita ut si casu librum graecis exaratum elementis in manibus sumeret, latine hunc inoffense cursimque legeret, et Latinos libros graeco expedite sermone rimaretur*. His son, the *magister militum* Gregory (850–870) was *ut genitor in Graeca Latinaque lingua peritissimus*.¹¹⁰ Bishop Stephen III (897/8–911), who belonged to the same family, *Graeca Latinaque lingua tam in litteris quam etiam in communi locutione pollebat*.¹¹¹ He even used a Greek lead seal.¹¹²

103 Von Falkenhausen, “I documenti napoletani”, pp. 109–115.

104 *Vita et translatio s. Athanasii*, pp. 132, 150, 184–185.

105 Capasso, *Monumenta*, vol. 1, p. 433 (*Translatio s. Sosii*).

106 *Ibid.*, p. 421 (*Translatio s. Severini*). According to the early 14th century *Chronicon di S. Maria del Principio* even then at Easter Sunday in some Neapolitan churches the *Credo* was sung in *ydimate greco*: Monti, “Il cosiddetto ‘Chronicon di S. Maria del Principio’”, p. 142; *The ‘Cronaca di Partenope’*, p. 217.

107 Capasso, *Monumenta*, vol. 2/1, p. 286, n. 391.

108 Mallardo, *Il calendario marmoreo*, pp. 32–41, et passim; Luongo, “Il calendario marmoreo napoletano”, pp. 1–24.

109 Chiesa, “Le traduzioni dal greco”, pp. 67–86; Pietro Suddiacono Napoletano, *L’opera agiografica*, ed. E. D’Angelo, Florence 2002.

110 *Vita et translatio s. Athanasii*, pp. 120–121.

111 Dümmler, *Auxilius und Vulgarius*, p. 99.

112 Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux*, no. 920, pp. 726–727.

Though all the charters and documents issued in Naples were strictly Latin, many of them bear the signatures of witnesses in Latin written in Greek letters. The first known example is a papyrus from Ravenna (early 7th century), signed in Greek letters by the *illustris* Stephanos, a Greek resident in Naples.¹¹³ The writing of Greek in Latin and Latin in Greek letters was a common practice in late antiquity,¹¹⁴ and as we have seen in the 6th and early 7th century some witnesses in Ravenna wrote their Latin signatures in Greek letters.¹¹⁵ In Naples this usage was common practice and utilized in almost a third of all known signatures from the 9th, 10th and 11th century, and was abandoned only in the 12th. Most of the persons who signed in Greek letters belonged to the local aristocracy (*militia*), or were monks or abbots in the local Greek monasteries.¹¹⁶ There is no reason to believe that they were of Greek origin, or normally Greek-speaking, but obviously they felt confident maintaining the tradition of writing in Greek, generally in capital letters, but occasionally also in minuscule script. The 17th-century summary of a Neapolitan document of 1041 – now lost – which established burial rules of the Neapolitan nunnery of SS. Marcellinus and Peter remarks, “*quod omnes monache grece seu qui sciunt licteras grecas monasterii SS. Marcellini et Petri sepeliantur in monasterio S. Sebastiani de Napoli secundum quod fuit consuetudo.*”¹¹⁷ Apparently, Greek nuns and nuns who could read and/or write in Greek were considered to have the same ethnic or cultural identity.

During the 10th century many Greek refugees from Sicily and Calabria settled in Campania. The Arab invasion, incursions, and the subsequent economic instability compelled them to leave their homes. Presumably some of them established themselves in Naples. In fact, at the end of the 10th century in some Neapolitan documents, which remain Latin, abbots and monks of the local monasteries which followed the *regula s. Basilii* begin to sign their names and titles not only in Greek letters, but also in Greek language itself.¹¹⁸ Secular witnesses however never imitated this practice.

Given the general Byzantine influence on the cultural life of early-medieval Naples, it is not surprising that we find numerous Greek loanwords or expressions in Latin documents and narrative texts which were written there. Some

113 Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri*, vol. 1, pp. 18–19, pp. 334–343.

114 Leiwo, “The mixed Languages”, pp. 293–301; Feissel, “Écrire grec en alphabet latin”, pp. 213–230.

115 See above, notes 43–44.

116 Luzzati Laganà, “Le firme greche”, pp. 729–752; von Falkenhausen, “I documenti napoletani”, pp. 112–114.

117 Capasso, *Monumenta*, vol. 2/ 1, no. 473, p. 339.

118 Von Falkenhausen, “I documenti napoletani”, pp. 114–116.

concern personal names, such as feminine names ending in -u (*Blactu, Drosu, Maru, Megalu, Petru, Militu*),¹¹⁹ or names with the Greek prefixes κύρ (*Cyra Pitru*), καλός (*Caloleo*), or παπᾶς (*Papaleo*).¹²⁰ Others are connected with church organisation (*igumenus* – ἡγούμενος, *dipticus* – δίπτυχον), shipbuilding and navigation (*naupегius* – ναυπηγός, *tassidium* – ταξίδιον), or the redaction of legal documents (*merissi divisionis* – μέρεσις, *chartula exafalia ydiosceri* – ἀσφάλεια ἰδιοχείρη).¹²¹ Sometimes the Greek words became part of the colloquial speech: the *Vita maior* of the Neapolitan bishop Athanasius I (849–872) describes the interrogation of an excommunicated priest by the pontifical legate, who commands: “*Syllemticos interrogatus, syllemticos responde*.”¹²² The Greek adverb συλληπτικῶς (punctually) had apparently become a colloquialism.

1.4 Sicily and Calabria

In Sicily – in particular in the eastern part of the island – and Calabria, the Greek language had survived during Roman and late antique period, as is evident from a certain number of Greek inscriptions dating from that time.¹²³ Greek presence in Sicily is attested also by some letters of Gregory the Great: for instance, in 598 the pope wrote to the bishop of Syracuse: “*Veniens quidam de Sicilia dixit mihi, quod aliqui amici eius vel Graeci vel Latini nescio, quasi sub zelo sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, de meis dispositionibus murmurarent dicentes: quomodo ecclesiam Constantinopolitanam disponit comprimere, qui eius consuetudines per omnia sequitur?*”¹²⁴ In another letter he mentions “*epistolas Graeco sermone dictatas*” written to him from Sicily by the *magister militum* Zitta.¹²⁵ Obviously, Greek-speaking citizens were quite common in late 6th-century Syracuse, although the local aristocracy and the ecclesiastical hierarchy seem to have been prevalingly Latin. After the Persian, then Arab conquest of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, many well educated, Greek-speaking orthodox refugees from those provinces moved to the west. Some of them spent time in Sicily on their way to Rome, but others settled there definitively.¹²⁶ Their presence is

119 Varvaro/Sornicola, “Considerazioni sul multilinguismo”, p. 62.

120 Von Falkenhausen, “I documenti napoletani”, p. 117.

121 Ibid., pp. 118–119.

122 *Vita et translatio s. Athanasii*, pp. 138, 53, n. 207.

123 Varvaro, *Lingua e storia*, pp. 52–56; Fanciullo, “Latinità e grecità”, pp. 671–703; Agnello, *Silloge*; Korhonen, “Greek and Latin”, pp. 116–135; Rizzone, *Opus Christi edificabit*; Buonocore, “Tradizione ed evoluzione”, pp. 229–254.

124 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 9.26, p. 586.

125 Ibid., 10.10, p. 836.

126 Pope Sergius I (687–701) was *natione Syrus, Antiochiae regionis, ortus ex patre Tiberio in Panormo Siciliae: Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 371.

attested in particular through the introduction of many elements of the Greek liturgy of Palestine transmitted in many southern Italian manuscripts.¹²⁷

In the 640s the first known Greek bishop of Syracuse, Zosimus, was ordained,¹²⁸ an event followed by a progressive Hellenisation of the Sicilian church.¹²⁹ Zosimus, however must have been bilingual, for according to his *Life* he spoke in Latin to Paul, abbot of a local monastery.¹³⁰ In 681 at the Sixth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople, Theophanes, the abbot of the monastery St. Peter *ad Baias* in Syracuse was appointed patriarch of Antioch.¹³¹ Obviously, he must have been a Greek. Although the lead seals of Sicilian bishops and clergy of the 7th century bear Latin legends,¹³² the owners need not have been necessarily Latin: the Sicilian dioceses belonged to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome and as we have seen, all contemporary Greek popes used Latin seals.¹³³ However, sometime during the 730s or somewhat later the dioceses of Calabria and Sicily, together with those of Illyricum were transferred from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome to the patriarchate of Constantinople.¹³⁴ Henceforth, the archbishops and bishops of Sicily and Calabria behaved in an official capacity as Greeks, attended the councils of the church of Constantinople,¹³⁵ and used Greek lead seals.¹³⁶

127 Jacob, "L'evoluzione dei libri liturgici", pp. 51–58; id., "La prière pour les troupeaux", pp. 471–486.

128 Acconcia Longo, "La Vita di Zosimo", pp. 9–22.

129 Ead., "Il contributo dell'agiografia", pp. 179–208.

130 *AASS Martii*, vol 3, ch. 15, col. 838.

131 *PMBZ* I, 8082.

132 Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux*, nos. 883–884, pp. 692–694 (the bishops John and Maurice of Syracuse), no. 892, pp. 699–700 (the deacon John), no. 893, p. 701 (bishop George of Catania), no. 899, p. 706 (bishop Theodore of Messina).

133 See above, note 76.

134 The exact date of the transfer of the dioceses of *Illyricum*, Sicily and Calabria is not evident: in general it is connected with the confiscation of the *patrimonia pontificia* by Leo III in 732/733: Anastos, "The Transfer of Illyricum", pp. 14–33, whereas Venance Grumel proposes a date just after the fall of the Exarchate of Ravenna in 751: Grumel, "L'annexion de l'Illyricum oriental", pp. 191–200. The reason for transferring the dioceses to the patriarchate of Constantinople might have been that these areas which still belonged to the Empire were partly or entirely Greek in language and cult. At the same time the patriarch or the emperor had tried to extend ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Constantinople on Naples as well, albeit without lasting success: in the end Naples was too close to Rome: von Falkenhausen, "Chiesa greca e Chiesa latina", pp. 151–155.

135 Lamberz, *Die Bischofslisten*, pp. 46–48.

136 Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux*, nos. 885–891, pp. 694–699 (Syracuse), nos. 893–896, pp. 701–704 (Catania), nos. 897–898, pp. 704–705 (Taormina), no. 900, p. 707 (Messina), no. 901, pp. 707–708 (Termini), no. 902, pp. 708–709 (Lipari).

The early medieval literature of Sicily (philology,¹³⁷ hymnology,¹³⁸ hagiography,¹³⁹ and other narrative texts¹⁴⁰) was written in Greek; it circulated, was read, and also copied in the eastern part of the empire. Theodore the Studite quoted from the Life of Saint Pancratius of Taormina,¹⁴¹ which was later translated into Georgian on Mount Athos by Euthymios the Iberian (ca. 955–1028),¹⁴² while the philological and narrative essays of the monk and γραμματικός Theodosius were read and copied in Constantinople.¹⁴³ Some Sicilian intellectuals who had moved to Byzantium during the 9th century in order to pursue their education or to flee the Arab invasion, such as the future patriarch Methodios (843–847), the poet Constantine Sikelos and the hymnographer Joseph,¹⁴⁴ were to become important figures in the Byzantine church and literature.

Latin, although no longer the literary language in Sicily, was however not forgotten. The author of the hagiographical novel about the Life of Saint Pancratius, the first bishop of Taormina, written in eastern Sicily in the 8th century (before 815) mentions with satisfaction the conversion to Christianity of the learned Neophytos, γραμματεὺς τῆς τε Ῥωμαϊκῆς καὶ Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, τὴν γραφὴν ἐπιστάμενος καὶ διερμηνεύων.¹⁴⁵ The same text describes the arrival in Taormina of Avar prisoners taken by the local governor during a war against Dyrrrachion and Athens. The people of Taormina ask them whether they were pagans or Christians and continue: “ἡμεῖς Χριστιανοὶ ἐσμέν καὶ Χριστὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν, καὶ ἐὰν μάθετε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὸ Ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ Ῥωμαϊστί, ποιοῦμεν ὑμᾶς Χριστιανούς,” “ἐπεὶ τῶν δύο γλωσσῶν ἡ λέξις ἦν τῇ τῶν Ταυρομενιτῶν πόλει.”¹⁴⁶ Thus, part of the population of Taormina must have been Latin-speaking. Bilingualism in Greek and Latin is a topic also in the *Life* of the famous Sicilian monk and miracle worker Saint Philip of Agira.¹⁴⁷

137 De Andrés, “Carta de Teodosio el gramático”, pp. 377–395.

138 Acconcia Longo, “Il Concilio calcedonese”, pp. 320–326.

139 Re, “Italo-Greek Hagiography”, pp. 227–258.

140 Zuretti, “Ἰταλοελληνικά. La espugnazione di Siracusa”, pp. 165–173. There is however no reason to attribute to the bishop Gregory of Agrigento the *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, written probably in Alexandria between 530–630: Pseudo-Gregorius Agrigentinus seu Pseudo-Gregorius Nyssensis, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, eds. G.H. Ettlinger – J. Noret, (Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, 56), Turnhout 2007, pp. LIII–LXI.

141 Acconcia Longo, “Siracusa e Taormina”, pp. 53–74.

142 Van Esbroeck, /Zanetti, “Le dossier hagiographique”, pp. 167–169.

143 Von Falkenhausen, “La conquista di Siracusa”, pp. 835–848.

144 *PMBZ* II, 23510, 23741.

145 *Vita Pancratii*, p. 336; Acconcia Longo, “L’antichità pagana”, p. 95.

146 *Vita Pancratii*, pp. 316–318.

147 *Vita Philippi Agirensis*, ed. C. Pasini, *Vita di s. Filippo d’Agira attribuita al monaco Eusebio. Introduzione, edizione critica, traduzione e note* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 214), Rome 1981, pp. 136–138; *Analecta hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 10.

If 8th- and 9th-century Sicily was a culturally flourishing province of the Byzantine Empire, little is known about contemporary Calabria, which is poorly documented for the period between the 6th and the 9th century. The region had suffered during the Lombard invasion and some Calabrians had moved to Sicily. Some Greek lead seals and inscriptions of Byzantine officers and civil servants of that period have survived,¹⁴⁸ such as the epitaph of the δούξ Sergios.¹⁴⁹ In 680 Pope Agathon sent two Calabrian bishops, Abundantius of Tempsa and John of Reggio as his representatives to the council of Constantinople;¹⁵⁰ perhaps they were chosen because they knew Greek. In any case, after the transference of the Calabrian dioceses to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Constantinople, together with those of Sicily and the Illyricum, the bishops of Calabria were present at the Councils of Nicaea (787)¹⁵¹ and Constantinople (869/870).¹⁵² Archbishop Leo of Reggio, a correspondent of the Patriarch Photios, who attended the Constantinopolitan council of 879/880, was a learned man, a γραμματικός,¹⁵³ but not necessarily a native of Calabria.

As for Greek or Latin literature in Calabria, nothing is known for that period, but the close contact with Sicily is evident: a long insert in the *Life* of Saint Pancratius of Taormina describes the mythical foundation of Tauriana,¹⁵⁴ and the same text mentions the apostolic ordination of Stephen, the first bishop of Reggio.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, the author of the *Life* and *Miracles* of Saint Phantinos of Tauriana, written probably at the end of the 8th century, was not Calabrian, but presumably a bishop of Syracuse.¹⁵⁶

2 The Later 9th through the 11th Century

During the last decades of the 9th century, Apulia and Calabria were recovered by the Byzantine Empire from the Lombards and Arabs. The language

Canones Maii, ed. C. Nikas, Rome 1973, p. 129, vv. 84–90. On bilingualism in early medieval Sicilian hagiography: Milazzo, “Bilinguismo”, pp. 77–110.

148 Zacos/Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 1, nos. 1477, 1976, 2310, 2397, 2488, 2551, 2626, 2635, 2649; Zacos, G., *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 2, no. 271.

149 Buonocore, “Tradizione”, pp. 251–252.

150 *PMBZ* I, 73, 2725.

151 The archbishop of Reggio and the bishops of Vibo Valentia, Tauriana, Gerace, Crotone, Tropea and Nicotera (Lamberz, “Die Bischofslisten”, pp. 46–48).

152 Reggio, Gerace, Squillace, Crotone (*IP*, vol. 10, pp. 16, 51, 55, 85).

153 *PBMZ* II, 24331.

154 Angiò, “La Vita di Tauro” pp. 117–143; *Vita Pancratii*, pp. 418–442.

155 Acconcia Longo, “La leggenda di s. Stefano di Reggio”, pp. 105–119; *Vita Pancratii*, p. 454.

156 Ead., “La Vita e i Miracoli di s. Fantino di Tauriana”, pp. 23–36.

scene however was all but homogeneous. Northern and central Apulia were solidly Latin and the population lived according to Lombard law.¹⁵⁷ The name of the new Byzantine province in southern Italy, created after the conquest of Benevento, the capital of the Lombard principality, θέμα Λογγιβαρδίας, is telling. Moreover, it seems that the relatively brief Arabic occupation of Bari, Taranto, and a few other places, had no lasting effect on the spoken or written language. Southern Apulia and Salento must have been prevalingly Greek, though local documentation for the Byzantine period is rare. Taranto apparently had a mixed Greek- and Latin-speaking population, though the Greek-speakers seem to have been predominant. Calabria, finally, appears to have been predominantly Greek.

2.1 *Northern and Central Apulia*

As in previous times in the Exarchate of Ravenna, the governor of the province (στρατηγὸς Λογγιβαρδίας and later κατεπάνω or δοῦξ Ἰταλίας) and some of the more important officials and military commanders were sent from Constantinople, each holding office for a few years.¹⁵⁸ Few of them knew the local language, and if they were bilingual, as for instance the δοῦξ Argyros (1051–1058), who was Italian by origin but educated in Byzantium,¹⁵⁹ this is mentioned with admiration in the sources.¹⁶⁰ All governors used Greek lead seals,¹⁶¹ and all the charters and sentences issued by them were in Greek, although a Latin translation was occasionally provided.¹⁶² Their residence was in Bari, the administrative capital of the province.

The dioceses of northern and central Apulia, including Brindisi and Taranto, remained under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome¹⁶³ and the liturgy continued to be Latin, though some Greek churches and monasteries were founded or sponsored by the Byzantine governors, or by Greeks who had moved to Apulia from other parts of Italy or the empire. Bishops and clergy were Latin and generally local, even though some of them, to judge from

157 Several fragments of a Greek translation of the *Edictus Rothari* have been preserved in a southern Italian manuscript (Paris. BN gr. 1384): *MGH, Leges*, vol. 4, pp. 225–234; Princi Braccini, “Persistenze”, pp. 238–251.

158 Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione*, pp. 76–100; ead., “In Italia per la carriera”, pp. 103–124.

159 Ead., *La dominazione bizantina*, pp. 97–98; ead., “In Italia per la carriera”, pp. 117–119.

160 Tritz, “Hagiographische Quellen”, p. 361: “*sapientia et disciplina in greco et latino usque ad unguem politus*”.

161 N. Oikonomides, *Dated Byzantine Lead Seals*, Washington D.C. 1986, nos. 70, 73, 81–82, 89, pp. 74, 76–77, 82–83, 88; Nesbitt/Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, nos. 2.4–3.4, pp. 17–19.

162 Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, pp. 176–209; Crisci, /Degni, “Documenti greci”, pp. 489–494, figs. 1–va.

163 *IP*, vol. 9, pp. 288–405.

their names – as for instance the archbishops Chrysostomus of Bari and Trani (993–after 999) and Dionysius of Taranto (1008–after 1028) – might have had a Greek background.

The locally-written sources, private documents, judgements of local courts, and the rare narrative texts, such as the three versions of the *Annals of Bari*, the only known narrative historical text written in Byzantine Apulia,¹⁶⁴ were Latin. One can however observe a difference between the cities on the Adriatic coast and the hinterland. Byzantium was chiefly interested in the security and control of the coast; thus, Byzantine presence and influence was more in evidence in places like Trani, and in particular the capital Bari, rather than in places such as Troia or Bitonto. Although the lower and middle administration of the *thema* was run by locals, and most of the soldiers and lower and intermediate officers were enlisted locally, some officers, civil servants, familiars, or courtiers of the governors, as well as businessmen from Constantinople or the eastern provinces of the empire settled in Bari, some temporarily, others for life. As a result, more Greek inscriptions have been found in Bari than in any other town in northern or central Apulia.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, the private documents from Bari (and to a lesser extent, Trani) bear more Greek signatures¹⁶⁶ – even in the case of witnesses with Lombard names – and mention holders of Byzantine honorary titles and military or civil offices with increasing frequency. Even the Latin archbishops and clergy had honorary imperial titles such as *σύγκελλος*, *πρωτοσύγκελλος*, or *βασιλικὸς κληρικός*.¹⁶⁷ Archbishop Bisantius (1025–1035), according to the *Annals of Bari*, “*cunctae urbis custos et defensor, atque terribilis et sine metu contra Graecos*,”¹⁶⁸ used a Greek lead seal.¹⁶⁹ In Bari Greek was fashionable, while in other parts of northern and central Apulia the Greek language seems to have been almost completely absent. We have also two private documents in Greek issued in Bari in the 11th century; however, these were written by private scribes, not by official notaries. The clients were foreigners, who had no permanent residence in the town: a Greek soldier from Constantinople and a Greek woman from Stilo in Calabria.¹⁷⁰ Byzantine Bari remained a Latin city.

164 *Annales Barenses*, pp. 51–56; *Annales Lupi Protospatharii*, pp. 52–63; *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, pp. 147–156; D'Angelo, “Prolegomena”, pp. 167–185.

165 Guillou, *Recueil*, pp. 154–164.

166 Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*, p. 173.

167 Von Falkenhausen, “Bari bizantina”, pp. 195–227.

168 *Annales Barenses*, p. 54.

169 Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux*, no. 923, pp. 730–731. His successor Nicholas, however, used Latin seals: *ibid.* nos. 924–925, pp. 731–733.

170 Trinchera, *Syllabus*, no. 25, pp. 27–29; *CDB*, vol. 4, no. 48, pp. 92–94.

As in the Exarchate of Ravenna, Greek technical terms are found in the various local Latin documents of Byzantine Apulia, often but not exclusively related to administrative procedures or taxes, or administrative and military charges: *sigillum* – σιγίλλιον, *protimesis* – προτίμησις, *hectage* or *eptage* *dominica* – ἑκταγή, *pricium*, *prekium* or *pirrichium* – προίκιον, *taxidium* – ταξίδιον, and others.¹⁷¹ Moreover, all the names of Byzantine military or civil ranks and responsibilities such as *τουρμάρχης*, *ἐκ προσώπου*, *τοποτηρητής* or *πρωτοσπαθάριος*, etc. were more or less successfully transcribed into Latin. *Iudex* was often called *critis* – κριτής. In a Latin document issued in Bari in 1105 the plural of *critis* is given as *critades*, in vernacular Greek *κριτάδες*,¹⁷² which appears to be a rather early attestation of that form. In the same document the accusative is given as *critin* (κριτήν).

2.2 Salento

Salento was occupied by the Lombards for only a short period during the 8th century. Byzantium had strenuously defended Otranto, the principal harbour in southern Italy on the itinerary from Constantinople to Sicily. In 758 the Lombards returned this town of utmost strategical importance to the Byzantine authorities.¹⁷³ During the 9th century the church of Otranto was transferred to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Constantinople; archbishop Markos attended the council of 879/80.¹⁷⁴ Several Greek lead seals of archbishops and the later metropolitans of Otranto have been preserved;¹⁷⁵ one belonged to Markos, a monk from Constantinople (early 10th century), who was a gifted poet and *μελωδός*.¹⁷⁶ In the eighties of the 9th century the small town of Gallipoli had been partly repopulated with immigrants from Herakleia in the Pontos,¹⁷⁷ and somewhat later the local bishop became suffragan of the Byzantine metropolitan of Santa Severina in Calabria.¹⁷⁸ Yet a few miles further north, the bishopric of Oria remained Latin. Bishop Theodosius, who had been sent to Constantinople on a diplomatic mission by Pope Hadrian III (884–885)¹⁷⁹ celebrated a local synod in 887 where he exhorted his priests to strictly

171 Von Falkenhausen, “Le istituzioni bizantine in Puglia”, pp. 207–208.

172 *CDB*, vol. 5, no. 43, pp. 75–79 (Bari, 1105).

173 Von Falkenhausen, “Tra Occidente e Oriente”, pp. 17–30.

174 *PMBZ* II, 24993.

175 Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux*, nos. 921–922, pp. 727–730; Zacos, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 2, no. 273, p. 168.

176 Cesaretti, “Da ‘Marco d’Otranto’ a Demetrio”, pp. 183–194.

177 Jacob, “Une mention”, pp. 229–235.

178 Laurent, “A propos de la métropole de Santa Severina”, pp. 176–183.

179 *IP*, vol. 9, pp. 386–387.

observe celibacy,¹⁸⁰ presumably in opposition to the Byzantine practice. In 968 the archbishop of Otranto was promoted metropolitan over the suffragans Acerenza, Tursi, Gravina, Matera, and Tricarico, but it seems that, except for Tursi, the Greek language and liturgy never spread in these dioceses.¹⁸¹

Unfortunately, no private or public documents in either Latin or Greek have been preserved in Salento. However, thanks to the unceasing research of André Jacob, some inscriptions – all in Greek – have been found, read and published in scholarly editions.¹⁸² All the legends of the frescoes in the church of St. Peter in Otranto are in Greek.¹⁸³ Still, it is only in the Norman and Hohenstaufen period that the Greekness of Salento became fully evident through many Greek manuscripts copied and read in that area,¹⁸⁴ as well as in the Greek documents,¹⁸⁵ the composition of Greek poetry,¹⁸⁶ Greek theological treatises, and translations of Greek texts into Latin.¹⁸⁷ Some of the Greek intellectuals at the court of Frederick II, such as John of Otranto, were of Salentine origin,¹⁸⁸ and in the 14th and 15th century Greek was still being spoken, written, and taught in Salento.¹⁸⁹

2.3 *Taranto*

Taranto was a special case. According to Strabo (6.1.2) it was, together with Naples and Reggio Calabria, one of the towns of southern Italy where the Greek language still persisted in his period. However, only a few Greek inscriptions of

180 *Synodus Orietana*, ed. A. Amelli, in *Spicilegium Casinense*, vol. 1, Montecassino 1888, p. 380.

181 *IP*, vol. 9, pp. 408, 453, 468–469, 472, 481.

182 Jacob, “Inscriptions byzantines datées”, pp. 41–51; id., “L’inscription métrique de l’enfeu de Carpignano”, pp. 103–122; id., “La consécration de Santa Maria della Croce à Casaranello”, pp. 147–163; id., “La révolte de Georges Maniakès”, pp. 163–176. A catalogue of medieval inscriptions of the Salento in Latin, Greek and Hebrew has been published by Safran, *The Medieval Salento*, pp. 239–336.

183 Safran, *San Pietro at Otranto*.

184 Jacob, “Culture grecque et manuscrits”, pp. 53–77; id., “Une bibliothèque médiévale”, pp. 285–313.

185 Trinchera, *Syllabus*, App. 1, nos. 1–15, pp. 511–530.

186 *Poeti bizantini di Terra d'Otranto nel secolo XIII*, ed. M. Gigante, Naples 1979; Acconica Longo/Jacob, “Une anthologie byzantine”, pp. 149–228; Acconica Longo, “Un nuovo codice con poesie salentine”, pp. 123–170; Jacob, “Une épigramme de Palaganus d'Otrante”, pp. 185–203; Acconica Longo, “Poesia greca nel Salento medievale”, pp. 245–279.

187 Hoeck/Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto*, pp. 69–109; Nectarius, *Dialogus contra Iudaeum*, ed. M. Chronz, *Νεκταρίου ἡγουμένου μονῆς Κασούλων (Νικολάου Ὑδρουντινοῦ) Διάλεξις κατὰ Ἰουδαίων*, Athen 2009; Jacob, “La traduction de la liturgie de saint Basile”, pp. 49–107.

188 Von Falkenhausen, “Tra Occidente e Oriente”, pp. 57–58.

189 Jacob, “Testimonianze bizantine nel Basso Salento”, pp. 49–69.

the Roman period have survived, though many Greek personal names appear in Latin inscriptions.¹⁹⁰ The harbour lost its importance during Roman times. During the 7th century Taranto was occupied by the Lombards and more briefly by the Arabs in the 9th century. In 886/887, a few years after the Byzantine reconquest, the commander in chief, the *patricius* George, tried to transfer the bishopric from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome to the patriarchate of Constantinople.¹⁹¹ The reason for this initiative might have been that part of the town's population was Greek. In fact, there have been preserved several seventh-century Latin-Greek lead seals with the bilingual legend *Θεοτόκε βοήθει Πωμανοῦ / episcopi Tranti*,¹⁹² which have generally been attributed to a bishop of Taranto. But the attempt of the *patricius* failed. Taranto remained under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome, and all known bishops (later archbishops) of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine period were Latin, as was part of the local clergy,¹⁹³ though there were many Greek priests and clerics as well, and apparently more Greek than Latin monasteries.

The population, however, was divided: some lived under Lombard law, others under Byzantine law.¹⁹⁴ In contrast with other cities in Byzantine Italy, in Taranto Greek and Latin coexisted as literary languages: the Latin documents were written by clerics attached to the court of the archbishop, while those written in Greek were normally issued by the official *ταβουλάριοι* of the town. The quality of language, script, and lay-out of the Greek documents of Taranto is particularly elegant and attests to the excellent notarial training of the local *ταβουλάριοι*.¹⁹⁵ Furthermore, many more Greek than Latin documents were issued in Taranto. I know of only two Latin documents issued in the city during the Byzantine period, – one of which was an archbishop's charter¹⁹⁶ – and of nineteen in Greek, not counting the charters issued by the Byzantine catepans. For the Norman and early Hohenstaufen period – the last Greek document known to us dates to 1228 – the proportion Latin to Greek documents is twelve to forty-eight, and again, seven of the Latin documents are archbishops'

190 Lombardo, "Nomi, cognomi e soprannomi grecanici", pp. 71–84.

191 *IP*, vol. 9, p. 437.

192 Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux*, no. 926, pp. 733–734; Nesbitt/Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, no. 11, 1, pp. 38–39; Zacos/Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 1/2, no. 2340, pp. 1281–1282, who suggest the reading Ζώηλος.

193 Guerrieri, *Possedimenti*, p. 191: a document of archbishop Dionisius (1028) is signed by 11 clerics in Latin and by four officials in Greek, while a Greek document of John, the Latin archdeacon and *grammaticus* (1061), is signed by five Latin clerics and three Greek witnesses: Trinchera, *Syllabus*, no. 45, pp. 58–59.

194 Guerrieri, *Possedimenti*, p. 190; Leccisotti, "Le pergamene", p. 12.

195 Magistrale, *Le pergamene*, pp. 153, 163, 169.

196 Guerrieri, *Possedimenti*, pp. 188–191; Leccisotti, "Le pergamene", no. 2, pp. 12–13.

charters.¹⁹⁷ It seems that Greek was especially used by members of the upper class: for the Byzantine period I know of eighteen Greek signatures of persons who either themselves or their fathers held a Byzantine office or honorary title, compared to only one written in Latin. In Bari for the same category, the proportion is thirty-seven signatures written in Latin as compared to twenty-six Greek signatures. This explains the statement of the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the town in the 1160s that the habitants of Taranto were Greek.¹⁹⁸ The coexistence of Latin and Greek in the town created the cultural background for Norman high civil servants such as *Judex Tarentinus* or Κριτὴς Ταραντινός, who was *magister justiciarius* of the *regalis magna curia* in the years 1159 to 1171 and issued Latin judgements which he signed in Greek. He owned a Greek library, and at the end of his life became a monk in the Greek monastery of St. Saviour *de Lingua Phari* in Messina.¹⁹⁹ The *Miracula* of Saint Cataldus, patron saint of Taranto, mentions the *miles egregius de Taranto, dominus Bedengarius ... eloquentissimus jurisque peritus* who was ordered to Palermo by the king *ad transferendum quoddam de Graeco in Latinum volumen*.²⁰⁰

Although Tarentine notaries ceased issuing Greek documents during the Hohenstaufen period, the Greek language did not disappear: during the 13th century Nicholas, a priest from Taranto, wrote a Greek treatise in defence of the Greek liturgy for marriage and Easter;²⁰¹ moreover, until the 16th century the monks of the Greek monastery of St. Vito del Pizzo, near Taranto, continued to write notes in Greek on the margins of a liturgical Greek manuscript (cod. Paris. Gr. 1624),²⁰² and the modern dialect of Taranto still preserves many Grecisms.²⁰³

2.4 Calabria

Calabria remained an entirely Greek province after the Byzantine reconquest. Byzantine law was applied and the administration was run by Greek officials, those further up on the hierarchy were sent from Byzantium, while those who filled the medium and lower ranks were generally local. Some names are known from Greek lead seals.²⁰⁴ The Calabrian church continued to be

197 Von Falkenhausen, "Un inedito documento greco". pp. 10–12; Magistrale, *Le pergamene*, nos. 2, 8, 10–14, pp. 7–9, 27–30, 35–59.

198 Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, p. 9.

199 Jamison, "Judex Tarentinus", pp. 289–344 (reprint: pp. 467–522).

200 AASS *Maii*, vol. 2, ch. 24, col. 572.

201 Quaranta, "In difesa dei matrimoni greci", pp. 91–117.

202 Jacob, "Les annales du monastère de San Vito del Pizzo", pp. 123–153.

203 Alessio, "Etimologie tarantine", pp. 85–96.

204 Nesbitt/Oikonomides, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, nos. 4.2, 4.6, 4.9, pp. 19–21.

under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople, and all known bishops, archbishops, and metropolitans had Greek lead seals.²⁰⁵ Some of them attended local synods in Constantinople.²⁰⁶ Still, in northern Calabria, particularly the northwest region, the Latin language might have survived to a certain extent, for in 989 Pope John xv declared the bishop of Cosenza a suffragan of the archbishop of Salerno. Yet there is no evidence that the archbishops of Salerno ever succeeded in appointing Latin bishops in Calabria. The name of only one Latin bishop of Cosenza (early 10th century) is known during the Byzantine period,²⁰⁷ and neither Greek nor Latin documents or seals from the dioceses seem to have survived. According to the Life of Saint Nilus, a Greek monk from Rossano (ca. 910–1004), he was offered the Latin archbishopric of Capua. In addition, he is said to have discussed problems of ecclesiastical discipline with the monks of Montecassino.²⁰⁸ Albeit a productive Greek scribe²⁰⁹ and hymnographer,²¹⁰ it is presumed that Nilus was not completely devoid of Latin linguistic skills.

All written records from Byzantine Calabria, however are in Greek: all known public and private documents are Greek, styled according to the Byzantine model, and to my knowledge, there are never signatures of witnesses in Latin.²¹¹ I do not know of any Latin inscription from Calabria dating from the 9th to the 11th century, but there are several which were written in Greek.²¹² Many Greek manuscripts, prevailingly liturgical, were copied in Calabria,²¹³ but apparently no Latin ones. As for literature, there was quite a boom in hagiography, particularly the *Lives* of the Greek monks, who founded

205 Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux*, nos. 905–911, pp. 711–716 (archbishops and metropolitans of Reggio), no. 912, pp. 717–718 (archbishop of Santa Severina), no. 913, pp. 718–719 (bishop of Vibona), nos. 914–915, pp. 720–721 (bishops of Rossano).

206 Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione*, pp. 163–164.

207 *IP*, vol. 10, pp. 109–110.

208 *Vita Nili*: see *Βίος και πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νεΐλου τοῦ Νέου*, ed. G. Giovanelli, Grottaferrata, 1972, pp. 112, 115–117.

209 Lucà, “Attività scrittoria e culturale a Rossano”, pp. 25–73.

210 *Poesie di San Nilo iunior e di Paolo monaco abbatte di Grottaferrata*, ed. S. Gassisi, (Innografi italo-greci, 1), Rome 1906; Acconcia Longo, “Gli innografi di Grottaferrata”, pp. 317–320.

211 Trinchera, *Syllabus*, nos. 13, 15, 29, 37–38, 40, 43–44, 46, pp. 13, 15–17, 33–34, 45–48, 49–51, 55–58, 60–61; *CAG*, vol. 1; *CAG*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 19–24; *CAG*, vol. 3; *CAG*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 31–42; *CAG*, vol. 6, no. 7, pp. 41–47; C. Rognoni, *Les actes privés grecs de l'Archivo Ducal Medinaceli (Tolède)*, vol. 1. *Les monastères de Saint-Pancrace de Briatico, de Saint-Philippe-de-Bojôannès et de Saint-Nicolas-des-Drosi (Calabre, XI^e–XII^e siècles)*, Paris 2004, nos. 1–10, pp. 26–114, nos. 25–27, pp. 189–207.

212 Guillou, *Recueil*, nos. 132–134, pp. 144–145, nos. 136–142, pp. 146–153.

213 Follieri, “Attività scrittoria calabrese fra X e XI secolo”, pp. 103–142 (reprinted in ead., *Byzantina et Italo-graeca*, pp. 337–376).

local monasteries.²¹⁴ Some of these *Bioi*, such as the Life of Saint Nilus the Younger, are of excellent quality concerning style, narrative skill, and historical information.

Although Sicily was occupied and ruled by the Muslims, many Greeks, especially from eastern Sicily, were in close contact with Calabria: in the 10th and 11th centuries some of them moved to Calabria, as did, for instance, the families and friends of Saint Sabas the Younger²¹⁵ and Saint Philaretos.²¹⁶ Meanwhile, monks from various Sicilian communities established their monasteries τῶν Συρακουσίων or τῶν Ταυρομενιτῶν in Calabria;²¹⁷ while a πρωτοπαπᾶς Σικελίας was known to have been active in Oppido (1051–1057);²¹⁸ and the Sicilian cleric Theodore copied a manuscript (cod. Vat. Gr. 1650) for archbishop Nicholas γαίας Καλαβρίτιδος Ῥηγίουπόλεις καὶ Σικελίας Θρηνακρίτιδος χώρας in 1037.²¹⁹ The so-called *Chronicon Siculo-saracenum* or *Chronicle of Cambridge*, which describes in a terse, annalistic style the Arab conquest of Sicily and the various Arab attacks on and invasions in Calabria from the 9th to the end of the 10th century must have been composed in such a cultural environment. The text is preserved in two Greek redactions: one of the manuscripts was most likely accessible in Calabria since it was copied in Cassano (prov. of Cosenza) in the first third of the 11th century, but since there also exists an Arabic translation of a slightly different redaction, the text must have been circulating in Sicily as well.²²⁰

After the Norman conquest Greek remained the principal language of Calabria for more than a century: most of the private documents continued to be written in Greek, and the same can be said about the charters of the Norman dukes, counts, and barons.²²¹ The Greek language was enriched by

214 Re, "Italo-Greek Hagiography", pp. 234–248; Efthymiades, "L'hagiographie grecque de l'Italie", pp. 383–391.

215 Orestes patriarcha Hierosolymitanus, *Historia et laudes*, p. 14.

216 Nilus, *Vita Philareti*, p. 50.

217 Orestes patriarcha Hierosolymitanus, *Historia et laudes*, pp. 39, 46.

218 CAG, vol. 3, nos. 5, 7, 9, 11, 14, 23, 24, 26, 30, 39, 41, pp. 55, 62, 68, 75, 82, 105, 109, 118, 131, 159, 167.

219 Lake/Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, vol. 7, Pl. 516.

220 *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ed. P. Schreiner, 3 vols. (CFHB, 12/1–3) Vienna 1975, 1: pp. 331–340; *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula. Versione italiana*, ed. M. Amari, vol. 1, Turin 1880, pp. 277–293.

221 J. Becker, *Documenti latini e greci del conte Ruggero I di Calabria e Sicilia* (Ricerche dell'Istituto Storico Germanico di Roma, 9), Roma 2013; von Falkenhausen, "I Greci in Calabria", pp. 21–50; ead., "I diplomi dei re normanni", pp. 252–308.

various French or Latin technical terms related to the new form of government: φαίδον, φίον, φαίον – *feudum, fief*, τερρέριος, τερρέρης – *terrarius, terrier*, σεργέντης – *serjent*, βισκόμης – *vicecomes*, καπριλίγγας – *chamberlenc*.²²² While the new political élite spoke French or Latin, the local population continued to use Greek. A note in the preamble of the *Roman de Troie* in ancient French says: “*par toute Sezille parolle on encore en plusours leus grizois, par toute Calabre li paisant ne parlent se grizois non.*”²²³

2.5 *Campania and Latium*

Despite the reconquest of southern Italy by Basil I, Campania never really became integrated within the Byzantine territories. However, during the 10th and 11th century many Greek refugees from Calabria and Sicily, which had been conquered and invaded by the Arabs, settled in Campania, in particular in the principality of Salerno, as well as in Naples and along the Amalfitan coast. Others went to Latium and Rome. The immigrants seem to have been quite welcome in their new environment, where there was apparently enough land to be cultivated. Their presence is well attested in the archival documentation and by hagiography.²²⁴ *Greci* – peasants, artisans, priests, and monks – are mentioned in local documents,²²⁵ Greek monasteries were founded,²²⁶ the most important being Grottaferrata near Rome.²²⁷ For a short period (1036–1038), even Montecassino had a Greek abbot. In these monasteries the Greek liturgy was celebrated,²²⁸ Greek manuscripts were copied, read, and preserved,²²⁹ Latin saints’ *Lives* were translated into Greek,²³⁰ new saints’

222 Von Falkenhausen, “L’incidenza”, pp. 224–228.

223 *Le Roman de Troie en prose*, ed. L. Costans/E. Faral, vol. 1, Paris 1922, p. 4.

224 Follieri, “I santi dell’Italia greca”, pp. 14–25, 31.

225 Palmieri, “Mobilità etnica e mobilità sociale”, pp. 78–80; Marchionibus, *Il Cilento bizantino*, pp. 39–40; Carleo, *Repertorio delle pergamene*, pp. 31, 46, 47, 62, 72, 85, 105, 108, 139, 154, 164, 166, 207, 234; Peters-Custot, “L’identité”, pp. 89–91.

226 Von Falkenhausen, “La documentazione greca”, pp. 161–181; ead., “Greek monasticism in Campania”, pp. 78–95.

227 Parenti, *Il monastero di Grottaferrata*.

228 Cherubini, *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Gallucanta*, nos. 76–77, 88, pp. 195, 199, 221.

229 Ibid., nos., 76, 88, 126, pp. 194–198, 220–221, 310; Cereteli/Sobolevski, *Exempla codicum Graecorum*, vol. 2, p. 7; Cappelli, “Attraverso sottoscrizioni”, pp. 45–47; Follieri, “Ciriaco ὁ μέλιος”, pp. 502–528; ead., “Due codici greci”, pp. 159–221. Both articles are reprinted in: ead., *Byzantina et Italograeca*, pp. 131–161 and pp. 273–336; Perria, “Copisti della ‘Scuola Niliiana’”, pp. 46–57.

230 Von Falkenhausen, “S. Erasmo a Bisanzio”, pp. 79–92; Prinzi, *Il dossier innologico*; ead., “Una redazione inedita”, pp. 59–102.

Lives,²³¹ hymns,²³² and short theological treatises were composed and written in Greek.²³³ Nevertheless, the official written language in these areas remained Latin. The monasteries' legal documents were all in Latin. Occasionally an abbot or monk would sign in Greek, while Greek notes were sometimes written on the verso of a document to facilitate its archival registration.²³⁴ Neither in Latium nor in Campania did these immigrants have a lasting linguistic impact and when, after the Norman conquest of southern Italy, no newcomers arrived from Calabria or Sicily, most of the Greeks progressively adapted to their Latin environment, while their monasteries were Latinised.²³⁵

2.6 *After the Byzantines*

Following the Norman conquest the surviving smattering of Greek disappeared quickly in northern and central Apulia but, as has been said before, in other parts of the former Byzantine provinces of southern Italy, such as in Sicily, Calabria, Salento, and Taranto, Greek was still being spoken and written in the subsequent centuries,²³⁶ and there also exist a few texts in the local Romance vernacular written in Greek characters.²³⁷ There have been intense discussions about whether the Greek dialects still spoken in some remote villages in the Aspromonte and in Salento until the last century were a heritage of the Doric colonisation of the 8th century BC²³⁸ or of Byzantine importation.²³⁹ What has been said, clearly suggests, in my view, that only in those areas which once had belonged to *Magna Graecia* did the presence of the Byzantine administration and the Greek church have any lasting impact on the local language.

231 *La Vita di san Bartolomeo di Grottaferrata (BHG e Novum Auctarium BHG 233)*, ed. E. Paroli, Roma 2008.

232 Acconcia Longo, "Gli innografi di Grottaferrata", pp. 317–328; Prinzi "I canoni di Giovanni Rossanese", pp. 161–301.

233 Lucà, "Le *Βουλαι* di Bartolomeo il Giovane", pp. 81–121.

234 Cherubini, *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Gallucanta*, no. 41, p. 145, no. 62, p. 172, no. 88, p. 219, no. 89, p. 225, et passim; von Falkenhausen, "Montecassino e Bisanzio", pp. 81–84.

235 Vitolo, "La latinizzazione", pp. 437–450.

236 Von Falkenhausen, "Una Babele di Lingue", pp. 13–35.

237 Distilo, *Κάτα Λατίνον*.

238 Rohlfs, *Grammatica storica dei dialetti italogreci*, pp. 211–221.

239 Parlangei, *Storia linguistica*, pp. 59–68.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- ACO 2, vol. 1: *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum*, ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin 1984; vol. 2, 1–2: *Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum tertium*, ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin 1990.
- Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. D. Mauskopf Deliyannis (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievals, 199), Turnhout 2006.
- Annales Baresnes*, ed. G.H. Pertz, in *MHG*, SS, vol. 5, Hannover 1846, pp. 51–56.
- Annales Lupi Protospatharii*, ed. G.H. Pertz, in *MHG*, vol. 5, Hannover 1846, pp. 52–63.
- Anonymi Barensis Chronicon*, in *RIS*¹, vol. 5, Milan 1724, pp. 147–156.
- Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, ed. M.N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela. Critical Text, Translation and Commentary*, London 1907.
- CAG, vol. 1: Guillou, A., *Saint-Nicolas de Donnoso (1031–1060/1061)*, Vatican City 1967; vol. 2: id., *Saint-Nicodème de Kellarana (1023/1024–1232)*, Vatican City 1968; vol. 3: id., *La Théotokos de Hagia-Agathè (1050–1064/1065)*, Vatican City 1972; vol. 4: id., *Le brébion de la métropole byzantine de Règion (vers 1050)*, Vatican City 1974; vol. 5: id., *Saint-Jean-Théristès (1054–1264)*, Vatican City 1980; vol. 6: id., *Les actes grecs des fonds Aldobrandini et Miraglia (XI^e–XIII^e s.)*, Vatican City 2009.
- Capasso, B., *Monumenta ad Neapolitani Ducatus historiam pertinentia*, reed. R. Pilone, Salerno 2008.
- Cherubini, P., *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Gallucanta (secc. IX–XII)*, Altavilla Silentina 1990.
- CDB, vol. 1: *Le pergamene del duomo di Bari (952–1264)*, ed. G.B. Nitto de Rossi/F. Nitti de Vito, Bari 1897; vol. 4: *Le pergamene di San Nicola di Bari: periodo greco (939–1300)*, ed. F. Nitti di Vito, Bari 1900; vol. 5: *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari. 2. Periodo normanno (1075–1194)*, Bari 1902.
- CJC, vol. 3, *Novellae*, eds. R. Schoell/G. Kroll, Berlin 1895.
- Codex Carolinus*, ed. W. Gundlach, in *MHG*, vol. 3, Berlin 1892.
- Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, ed. D. Norberg (*Corpus Christianorum CXL–CXLA*), Turnhout 1982.
- Guillou, A., *Recueil des inscriptions grecques médiévales d'Italie* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 222), Rome 1996.
- Leontius, *Vita Gregorii*, ed. A. Berger, *Leontios Presbyter von Rom, Das Leben des heiligen Gregorios von Agrigent*, (Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten 60), Berlin 1995.
- Le "Liber Pontificalis"*. Texte, introduction et commentaire, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols., Paris 1886 (reprint 1955).
- Magistrale, F., *Le pergamene dell'Archivio arcivescovile di Taranto (1083–1258)*, 2 vols., Galatina 1999.

- Nesbitt, J., *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. 6. *Emperors, Patriarchs of Constantinople, Addenda*, Washington, D.C. 2009.
- Nesbitt, J./ Oikonomides, N., *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. 1. *Italy, North of the Balkans, North of the Black Sea*, Washington, D.C. 1991.
- Nilus, *Vita Philareti*, ed. U. Martino, *Nilo, Vita di s. Filareto di Seminara*, Reggio Calabria 1993.
- Oikonomides, N., *Dated Byzantine Lead Seals*, Washington, D.C. 1986.
- Orestes patriarcha Hierosolymitanus, *Historia et laudes ss. Sabae et Macarii iuniorum e Sicilia*, ed. I. Cozza-Luzi, Rome 1893.
- Silvagni, A., *Monumenta epigraphica christiana saeculo XIII antiquiora quae in Italiae finibus adhuc extant*, vol. 1, Vatican City 1943.
- The 'Cronaca di Partenope'. *An Introduction to and Critical Edition of the First Vernacular History of Naples* (c. 1350), ed. S. Kelly (The Medieval Mediterranean, 89), Leiden – Boston 2011.
- Tjäder, J.-O., *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, (Acta Instituti Romani regni Sueciae, ser. in 4°, XIX, 1–2), vol. 1, Lund 1954; vol. 2, Stockholm 1982.
- Trinchera, F., *Syllabus Graecarum membranarum*, ed., Naples 1865.
- Vita et translatio s. Athanasii Neapolitani episcopi (BHL 735 e 737) sec. X*, ed. A. Vuolo, (Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo. Fonti per la storia dell'Italia medievale, 16), Rome 2001.
- Vita Pancratii*, ed. C.J. Stallman/C.J. Burke, *The Life of St Pancratius of Taormina. Greek Text, English Translation and Commentary*, (Byzantina Australiana, 22), Leiden 2018.
- Vita Wifridi I episcopi Eboracensis auctore Stephano*, ed. W. Levison, in *MGH, ss. rer. Merov.*, vol. 6, Hannover 1913.
- Zacos, G. /Veglery, A., *Byzantine Lead Seals*, 2 vols., Basel 1972 – Bern 1984.

Secondary Literature

- Acconcia Longo, A., "Gli innografi di Grottaferrata", in *Atti del Congresso internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano*, Rossano-Grottaferrata 1989, pp. 317–328.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "Il Concilio calcedonese in un antico contacio per S. Eufemia", *Analecta Bollandiana* 96 (1978), 305–337.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "Il contributo dell'agiografia alla storia delle diocesi italogreche", in ead., *Ricerche di agiografia*, pp. 179–208.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "L'antichità pagana nell'agiografia italogreca di età iconoclasta", in ead., *Ricerche di agiografia*, pp. 85–103.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "La leggenda di s. Stefano di Reggio", in ead., *Ricerche di agiografia*, pp. 105–119.

- Acconcia Longo, A., "La Vita di Zosimo vescovo di Siracusa: un esempio di 'agiografia storica'", in ead., *Ricerche di agiografia*, pp. 9–22.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "La Vita e i miracoli di s. Fantino di Tauriana e l'identificazione dell'imperatore Leone 'eretico'", in ead., *Ricerche di agiografia*, pp. 23–36.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "Poesia greca nel Salento medievale", *Rivista di Studi bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. 51 (2014), 245–279.
- Acconcia Longo, A., *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca* (Testi e Studi Bizantino-Neoellenici, 13), Rome 2003.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "Un nuovo codice con poesie salentine (Laur. 58, 25) e l'assedio di Gallipoli del 1268–1269", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. 20–21 (1983–1984), 123–170.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "Siracusa e Taormina nell'agiografia italogreca", in ead., *Ricerche di agiografia*, pp. 53–74.
- Acconcia Longo, A./ Jacob, A., "Une anthologie byzantine du XIV siècle: le Vaticanus gr. 1276", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. 17–18 (1980–1982), 149–228.
- Agnello, S.L., *Silloge di iscrizioni paleocristiane della Sicilia*, Rome 1953.
- Alessio, G., "Etimologie tarantine", *Archivio storico pugliese* 4, 2 (1951), 85–96.
- Alexakis, A., *Codex Parisinus Graecus 115 and Its Archetype* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 34), Washington, D.C. 1996.
- Anastos, M., "The Transfer of Illyricum, Calabria and Sicily to the Jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 732–733", *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 9 (1957), 14–33.
- Angiò, F., "La Vita di Tauro dall'anonima Vita di s. Pancrazio di Taormina", *Sileno. Rivista di Studi Classici e Cristiani* 20 (1994), 117–143.
- Azzara, C./Gasparri, S., *Le leggi dei Longobardi. Storia, memoria e diritto di un popolo germanico*, Milan 1992.
- Ballardini, A., "Un oratorio per la *Theotokos*: Giovanni VII (705–707) committente a S. Pietro", in A. Quintavalle (ed.), *Medioevo: i committenti*, Milan 2011, pp. 94–116.
- Berschin, W., "Bonifatius consiliarius. Ein römischer Übersetzer in der byzantinischen Epoche des Papsttums", in A. Lehner /W. Berschin (eds.), *Lateinische Kultur im VIII. Jahrhundert. Traube-Gedenkschrift*, St. Ottilien 1989, pp. 25–40.
- Bjornlie, M.S., *Politics and Tradition between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople. A Study of Cassiodorus and the Variae, 527–554*, Cambridge 2013.
- Boesch Gajano, S., *Gregorio Magno. Alle origini del Medioevo*, Rome 2004.
- Bonfil, R., "Cultura ebraica e cultura cristiana in Italia meridionale nell'alto Medioevo", in C.D. Fonseca/ M. Luzzati/G. Tamani/C. Colafemmina (eds.), *L'Ebraismo dell'Italia Meridionale Peninsulare dalle origini al 1541. Società, Economia, Cultura*, Galatina 1996, pp. 115–160 (reprinted in Bonfil, R., *Tra due mondi. Cultura ebraica e cultura cristiana nel Medioevo*, Naples 1996, pp. 3–64).

- Booth, Ph., *Crisis of Empire. Doctrine and Dissent at the End of Late Antiquity*, Berkley 2013.
- Bordi, G., *Gli affreschi di San Saba. Dove e come erano*, Milan 2008.
- Brown, T.S., *Gentlemen and Officers. Imperial Administration and Aristocratic power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554–800*, Hertford 1984.
- Buonocore, M., “Tradizione ed evoluzione grafico-formale dell'epigrafia greca d'età romana nell'area di Regium – Locri”, *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s., 45 (1991), 229–254.
- Burgarella, F., “Il senato”, in *Roma nell'alto Medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, 48), Spoleto 2001, pp. 121–178.
- Canart, P./Lucà, S., *Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale*, Rome 2000.
- Cappelli, B., “Attraverso sottoscrizioni e note di alcuni manoscritti italo-greci”, *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. 11 (1957), 37–50.
- Caracausi, G., *Lessico greco della Sicilia e dell'Italia meridionale (secoli X–XIV)*, Palermo 1990.
- Carleo, C., *Repertorio delle pergamene dell'Archivio Cavense. Periodo normanno: 1077–1194*, Badia di Cava 2007.
- Carletti, C., “*Viatores ad martyres*. Testimonianze scritte altomedievali nelle catacombe romane”, in G. Cavallo/C. Mango (eds.), *Epigrafia medievale greca e latina. Ideologia e funzione*, Spoleto 1995, pp. 197–225.
- Cereteli, G./Sobolevski, S., *Exempla codicum Graecorum*, vol. 2: *codices Petropolitani*, Moscow 1913.
- Cesaretti, P., “Da ‘Marco d'Otranto’ a Demetrio. Alcune note di lettura su poeti bizantini del Salento”, *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. 37 (2000), 183–194.
- Chiesa, P., “Le traduzioni dal greco: l'evoluzione della scuola napoletana del X secolo”, in W. Berschin (ed.), *Lateinische Kultur im X. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1991, pp. 67–86.
- Chiesa, P., “Traduzioni e traduttori a Roma nell'alto medioevo”, in *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente* (Settimane CISAM, 49), Spoleto 2002, pp. 455–487.
- Colafemmina, C., “Inni sinagogali e usi penitenziali nella Puglia ebraica dei secoli IX–X. Il caso di Oria”, in *Bizantini, Longobardi e Arabi in Puglia nell'Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto 2012, pp. 297–316.
- Colafemmina, C., *The Jews in Calabria* (Studia Post Biblica, 49), Leiden 2012.
- Corolla, A./Peduto, P., “Aspetti dell'insediamento tra il tardoantico e l'alto Medioevo nel territorio del gastaldato di Rota nei dintorni di Salerno”, in *Atti del VI Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, Florence 2012, pp. 528–532.
- Cosentino, S., “Quando e perché fu scritta la *Vita* di Gregorio di Agrigento?”, *Quaderni Digitali di Archeologia Post-Classica* 10/1 (2018), 17–36.
- Crisci, E./Degni, P., “Documenti greci orientali e documenti greci occidentali. Materiali per un confronto”, in F. Magistrale/C. Drago/P. Fioretti (eds.), *Libri, documenti, epigrafi medievali: possibilità di studi comparativi*, Spoleto 2002, pp. 483–528.

- Dagens, C., "Grégoire le Grand et le monde oriental", *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 17 (1981) 243–252.
- D'Aiuto, F., "Per una riconsiderazione dell'epigrafia greca medievale di Roma: le iscrizioni su pietra", in C. Carbonetti/ S. Lucà/ M. Signorini (eds.), *Roma e il suo territorio nel Medioevo. Le fonti scritte fra tradizione e innovazione*, Spoleto 2015, pp. 553–612.
- D'Angelo, E., "Prolegomena to a New Edition of Lupus Protospatharius's 'Annales'", in M.W. Herren/C.J. McDonough/R.G. Arthur (eds.), *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century* (Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 5, 1), Turnhout 2002, pp. 167–185.
- De Andrés, G., "Carta de Teodosio el gramático (s. IX) sobre el léxico de los cánones de san Juan Damasceno, según el código Complutense Villamil n.º 30", *Emerita* 41 (1973), 377–395.
- Deichmann, F.W., *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes. Kommentar, 3. Teil. Geschichte, Topographie, Kunst und Kultur*, Wiesbaden 1989.
- Del Buono, G., "Giovanni VIII e le pitture di S. Maria de Secundicerio a Roma: realizzazione artistica di un progetto ecumenico", *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Rendiconti*, IX, 21 (2010), 546–563.
- Dilcher, G., "Langobardisches Recht", in A. Erler/E. Kaufmann (eds.), *Handwörterbuch zur Deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. 2, Berlin 1978, pp. 1607–1618.
- Distilo, R., *Κάτα Λατίνον. Prove di filologia greco-romana*, Roma 1990.
- Dönitz, S., *Überlieferung und Rezeption des Sefer Yosippon* (Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism, 29), Tübingen 2013.
- Dümmeler, E., *Auxilius und Vulgarius. Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Papsttums im Anfange des 10. Jahrhunderts*, Lipsia 1866.
- Elfhymiadēs, S., "L'hagiographie grecque d'Italie (VII–XIV siècle)", in *Corpus Christianorum. Hagiographies*, vol. 7, Turnhout 2017, pp. 345–421.
- Ekonomou, A.J., *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes. Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, AD 590–732*, Plymouth 2007.
- Enciclopedia dei papi*, 3 vols., Rome 2000.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Bari bizantina: profilo di un capoluogo di provincia (secoli IX–XI)", in G. Rossetti (ed.), *Spazio, società, potere nell'Italia dei Comuni*, Naples 1986, pp. 125–227.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Chiesa greca e Chiesa latina in Sicilia prima della conquista araba", *Archivio Storico Siracusano*, n.s. 5 (1978/1979), 137–155.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Gli Ebrei nell'Italia meridionale bizantina", in G. De Sensi Sestito (ed.), *Gli Ebrei nella Calabria medievale*, Soveria Mannelli 2013, pp. 21–34.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Greek monasticism in Campania and Latium from the tenth to the fifteenth century", in B. Crostini/I. Angeli Murzaku (eds.), *Greek Monasticism in southern Italy. The Life of Neilos in Context*, London 2018, pp. 78–95.

- Falkenhausen, von, V., "I Bizantini in Italia", in G. Cavallo et. al., *I Bizantini in Italia*, Milan 1982, pp. 3–136.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "I diplomi dei re normanni in lingua greca", in G. De Gregorio/O. Kresten, *Documenti medievali greci e latini. Studi comparativi*, Spoleto 1998, pp. 252–308.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "I documenti napoletani come fonte per lo studio delle interferenze greco-latine (IX–XII secolo)", in R. Sornicola /P. Greco (eds.), *La lingua dei documenti notarili alto-medievali dell'Italia meridionale. Bilancio degli studi e prospettive di ricerca*, Cimitile 2012, pp. 107–126.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "I Greci in Calabria fra XIII e XIV secolo", *Quaderni Petrarqueschi* 12–13 (2002–2003), 21–50.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "In Italia per la carriera. Funzionari e militari di origini orientali nell'Italia meridionale bizantina", in R. Gentile Messina (ed.), *Bisanzio e le periferie dell'impero*, Acireale 2011, pp. 103–124.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "La conquista di Siracusa (878) nella memoria storica di Costantinopoli", in M. Palma/C. Vismara (eds.), *Per Gabriella. Studi in ricordo di Gabriella Braga*, vol. 2 (Collana di studi umanistici, 6), Cassino, 2013 pp. 835–848.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "La documentazione greca della Badia di Cava e il monachesimo italo-greco dei secoli XI–XII", in M. Galante/G. Vitolo/G.Z. Zanichelli (eds.), *Riforma della chiesa, esperienze monastiche e poteri locali. La Badia di Cava nei secoli XI–XII*, (Millennio Medievale, 99. Strumenti e studi, n.s. 36), Florence 2014, pp. 161–181.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo*, Bari 1978.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "L'incidenza della conquista normanna sulla terminologia giuridica e agraria nell'Italia meridionale e in Sicilia", in V. Fumagalli/G. Rossetti (eds.), *Medioevo rurale. Sulle tracce della civiltà contadina*, Bologna 1980, pp. 221–245.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Le istituzioni bizantine in Puglia nell'Alto Medioevo", in *Bizantini, Longobardi e Arabi in Puglia nell'Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto 2012, pp. 185–209.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Montecassino e Bisanzio dal IX al XII secolo", in F. Avagliano/O. Pecere (eds.), *L'età dell'abate Desiderio*, vol. 3/1: *Storia, arte e cultura* (Miscellanea Cassinese, 67), Montecassino 1992, pp. 69–107.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Notes on the Byzantine Inscription from Orbetello", in E. Fentress (ed.), *Cosa*, vol. 5: *An Intermittent Town. Excavations 1991–1997* (Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplement 2), Ann Arbor 2003, pp. 87–91.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Reggio bizantina e normanna", in *Calabria bizantina. Testimonianze d'arte e strutture di territori*, Soveria Mannelli 1991, pp. 249–282.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "S. Erasmo a Bisanzio", *Formianum* 3 (1995), 79–92.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Tra Occidente e Oriente. Otranto in epoca bizantina", in H. Houben (ed.), *Otranto nel Medioevo tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, Galatina 2007, pp. 17–30.

- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Un inedito documento greco del monastero di S. Vito del Pizzo (Taranto)," *Cenacolo*, n.s. 7 (1995), 7–20.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Una Babele di Lingue: a chi l'ultima parola? Plurilinguismo sacro e profano nel regno normanno-svevo", *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 76 (2010), 13–35.
- Fanciullo, F., "Latinità e grecità in Calabria", in S. Settis (ed.), *Storia della Calabria antica. Età italica e romana*, Roma 1994, pp. 671–703.
- Faraggiana di Sarzana, C., "Gli insegnamenti dei padri del deserto nella Roma altomedievale (secc. V–IX): vie e modi di diffusione", in *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente* (Settimane CISAM, 49), Spoleto 2002, pp. 587–602.
- Fasola, U.M., *Le catacombe di S. Gennaro a Capodimonte*, Rome 1974.
- Feissel, D., "Écrire grec en alphabet latin: le cas des documents proto-byzantins", in F. Biville/J.C. Decouret/ G. Rougemont (eds.), *Bilinguisme gréco-latin et épigraphie* (Collection de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 37), Lyon 2008, pp. 213–230.
- Ferrari, G., *Early Roman Monasteries. Notes for the history of the monasteries and convents at Rome from the V through the X century* (Studi di Antichità Cristiana, pubblicati per cura del Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 23), Vatican City 1957.
- Fleischer, E., "Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in Italy. Remarks concerning its Emergence and Characteristics", in *Italia Iudaica. Gli Ebrei in Sicilia sino all'espulsione del 1492*, Rome 1995, pp. 415–426.
- Follieri, E., "Attività scrittoria calabrese fra X e XI secolo", in *Calabria bizantina. Tradizione di pietà e tradizione scrittoria nella Calabria greca medievale*, Reggio Calabria 1983, pp. 103–142 (reprint in ead., *Byzantina et italo-graeca*, pp. 337–376).
- Follieri, E., *Byzantina et Italograeca. Studi di filologia e di paleografia*, (eds.) A. Acconcia Longo/L. Perria/A. Luzzi, (Storia e Letteratura. Raccolta di Studi e Testi 195), Rome 1997.
- Follieri, E., "Ciriaco ὁ μελαίος", in *Zetesis. Bijdragen op het gebied van de klassieke filologie, filosofie, byzantinistiek, patrologie en theologie. Door collega's en vrienden aangeboden aan prof. dr. Emile Strijcker naar aanleiding van zijn vijfenzestigste verjaardag*, Antwerpen 1973, pp. 502–528 (reprint in ead., *Byzantina et Italograeca*, pp. 131–161).
- Follieri, E., "Due codici greci già cassinesi oggi alla Biblioteca Vaticana: gli Ottob. gr. 250 e 251", in *Palaeographica, Diplomatica et Archivistica. Studi in onore di Giulio Battelli*, vol. 1 (Storia e Letteratura. Raccolta di Studi e Testi 139), Rome 1979, pp. 159–221 (reprint in ead., *Byzantina et Italograeca*, pp. 273–336).
- Follieri, E., "I santi dell'Italia greca", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. 34 (1997), 3–36.
- Forrai, R., *The Interpreter of the Popes. The Translation Project of Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, (PhD Thesis, Central European University), Budapest 2008.

- Francovich Onesti, N., *Vestigia longobarde in Italia (568–774). Lessico e antroponimia*, Rome 2000.
- Ghignoli, A./Bougard, F., “Elementi romani nei documenti longobardi?”, in J.-M. Martin/ A. Peters-Custot/ V. Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 1. *La fabrique documentaire* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome – 449), Rome 2011, pp. 241–301.
- Grumel, V., “L'annexion de l'Illyricum oriental, de la Sicile et de la Calabre au Patriarchat de Constantinople”, *Recherches de Sciences Religieuses* 40 (1951/1952), 191–200.
- Guerrieri, F., *Possedimenti temporali e spirituali dei Benedettini di Cava nelle Puglie*, vol. 1. *Terra d'Otranto*, Trani 1900.
- Hack, A.T., *Codex Carolinus. Päpstliche Epistolographie im 8. Jahrhundert* (Päpste und Papsttum 35/2), Stuttgart 2007.
- Haubrichs, W., “Langobardic personal names: given names and name-giving among the Langobards”, in G. Ausenda/P. Delogu/C. Wickham (eds.), *The Langobards before the Frankish conquest. An ethnographic perspective*, Woodbridge 2009, pp. 195–250.
- Hoeck, J.-M./Loenertz, R.-J., *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, Abt von Casole. Beiträge zur Geschichte der ost-westlichen Beziehungen unter Innozenz III. und Friedrich II.*, (Studia Patristica et Byzantina, 11), Ettal 1965.
- Ieraci Bio, A.M., “La medicina dello Stretto (Filippo Xeros ed Eufemio Siculo)”, in F. Burgarella/A.M. Ieraci Bio (eds.), *La cultura scientifica e tecnica nell'Italia meridionale bizantina*, Soveria Mannelli, 2006, pp. 109–123.
- IP, vol. 9: *Samnium – Apulia – Lucania*, ed. W. Holtzmann, Berlin 1962; vol. 10: *Calabria – Insulae*, ed. D. Girgensohn, Tübingen 1975.
- Jacob, A., “Culture grecque et manuscrits en Terre d'Otrante”, in *Atti del III^o Congresso Internazionale di Studi Salentini*, Lecce 1980, pp. 53–77.
- Jacob, A., “Inscriptions byzantines datées de la province de Lecce (Carpignano, Cavallino, San Cesareo)”, *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali storiche e filologiche*, s. VIII, 37, fasc. 1–2 (1982), 42–61.
- Jacob, A., “La consécration de Santa Maria della Croce à Casaranello et l'ancien diocèse de Gallipoli”, *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. 25 (1988), 147–163.
- Jacob, A., “La traduction de la liturgie de saint Basile par Nicolas d'Otrante”, *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 38 (1967), 49–107.
- Jacob, A., “L'evoluzione dei libri liturgici bizantini in Calabria ed in Sicilia dall' VIII al XVI secolo, con particolare riferimento ai riti eucaristici”, in *Calabria bizantina. Vita religiosa e strutture amministrative*, Reggio Calabria 1974, pp. 47–69.
- Jacob, A., “L'inscription métrique de l'enfeu de Carpignano”, *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. 20–21 (1983–1984), 103–122.
- Jacob, A., “La révolte de Georges Maniakès et le topotérète de la flotte Constantin dans une inscription inédite de la Terre d'Otrante”, *Νέα Πώμη. Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 4 (2007), 163–176.

- Jacob, A., "La prière pour les troupeaux de l'Euchologe Barberini: quelques remarques sur le texte e son histoire", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 77 (2011), 471–486.
- Jacob, A., "Les annales du monastère de San Vito del Pizzo, près de Tarente, d'après les notes marginales du *Parisinus gr.* 1624", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. 30 (1993), 123–153.
- Jacob, A., "Testimonianze bizantine nel Basso Salento", in *Il Basso Salento. Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa*, Galatina 1982, pp. 49–69.
- Jacob, A., "Une bibliothèque médiévale de Terre d'Otrante (*Parisinus gr.* 549)", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. 22–23 (1985–1986), pp. 285–313.
- Jacob, A., "Une épigramme de Palaganus d'Otrante dans l'Aristénète de Vienne et le problème de l'Odyssée de Heidelberg", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. 25 (1988), 185–203.
- Jacob, A., "Une mention d'Ugento dans la Chronique de Skylitzes", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 35 (1977), 229–235.
- Jamison, E., "Judex Tarentinus. the career of *Judex Tarentinus magne curie magister iusticiarius* and the emergence of the Sicilian *regalis magna curia* under William I and the regency of Margaret of Navarra, 1156–1172", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 53 (1967) 289–344 (reprint in ead., *Studies on the History of Medieval Sicily and South Italy*, [eds.] D. Clementi/ Th. Kölzer, Aalen 1992, pp. 467–522).
- Kislinger, E., *Regionalgeschichte als Quellenproblem. Die Chronik von Monembasia und das sizilianische Demenna. Eine historisch-topographische Studie* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Kl. Denkschriften, 294), Vienna 2001.
- Korhonen, K., "Greek and Latin in the Urban and Rural Epigraphy of Byzantine Sicily", *Acta Byzantina Fennica*, n.s. 3 (2009–2010), 116–135.
- Lacerenza, G. (ed.), *Šabbetai Donnolo. Scienza e cultura ebraica nell'Italia del secolo X* (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale". Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici. *Series Minor*, 66), Naples 2004.
- Lai, A., "Nuove osservazioni a proposito dell'origine romana del ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. gr. 35", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 110/2 (2017), 673–690.
- Lake, K./Lake, S., *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200, vol. 7. Manuscripts in Rome*, 1, Boston 1937.
- Lamberz, E., *Die Bischofslisten des VII. Ökumenischen Konzils (Nicum II)*, (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Kl. Abhandlungen. Neue Folge, 124), Munich 2004.
- Laurent, V., "A propos de la métropole de Santa Severina en Calabre (quelques remarques)", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 22 (1964), 176–183.
- Laurent, V., *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, vol. 5/1: L'Église, Paris 1963.
- Laurent, V., *Les sceaux byzantins du Médaillier Vatican* (Medagliere della Biblioteca Vaticana, 1), Vatican City 1962.

- Lazard, S., "De l'origine des hellénismes d'Agnello", *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 40 (1976), 255–298.
- Lazard, S., "Grecismi dell'Esarcato di Ravenna", *Studi Romagnoli* 31 (1980), 59–74.
- Lazard, S., "Les byzantinismes lexicaux de l'Exarchat de Ravenne et de la Pentapole", *Byzantion* 56 (1986), 354–426.
- Leccisotti, T., "Le pergamene latine di Taranto nell'archivio di Montecassino", *Archivio Storico Pugliese* 14 (1961), 3–49.
- Leiwo, M., *Neapolitana. A Study of Population and Language in Graeco-Roman Naples*, (Commentationes Humanarum Literarum, 102), Helsinki 1994.
- Leiwo, M., "The mixed Languages in Roman Inscriptions", in H. Solin/O. Salomies/U.-M. Liertz (eds.), *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini* (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, 104), Helsinki 1995, pp. 293–301.
- Lepore, E., "La vita politica e sociale", in *Storia di Napoli*, vol. 1, Naples 1967, pp. 139–371.
- Lequeux, X., "La plus ancienne traduction latine (BHL 410b) des actes grecs du martyr Anastase le Perse. L'œuvre d'un interprète grec?" *Analecta Bollandiana* 121 (2003), 37–44.
- Lombardo, A.M., "Nomi, cognomi e soprannomi grecanici nella Taranto romana", *Cenacolo*, n.s. 11 (1999), 71–84.
- Lucà, S., "Attività scrittorica e culturale a Rossano: da S. Nilo a S. Bartolomeo da Simeri", in *Atti del Congresso internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano*, Rossano 1989, pp. 25–73.
- Lucà, S., "Le Βουλαι̃ di Bartolomeo il Giovane, IV egumeno di Grottaferrata, conservate nell'Angel. Gr. 41", *Νέα Πώμη. Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 9 (2012), 81–121.
- Luongo, G., "Il calendario marmoreo napoletano. Un approccio linguistico", *Bollettino Linguistico Campano*, 13–14 (2008), 1–24.
- Luzzati Laganà, F., "Le firme greche nei documenti del Ducato di Napoli", *Studi Medievali*, ser. III, 33 (1982), 729–752.
- Mallardo, D., *Il calendario marmoreo di Napoli* (Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae, 18), Rome 1947.
- Mancuso, P., "Hebrew Science in Early Medieval South Italy: Greco-Latin Astrological Lore in Hebrew Garb", *Sefer Yuhasin. Review for the History of the Jews in South Italy*, n.s. 1 (2013), pp. 35–50.
- Mango, C., *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome*, London 1980.
- Mango, C., "La culture grecque et l'Occident au VIII^e siècle", in *I problemi dell'Occidente nel secolo VIII* (Settimane CISAM, 20), Spoleto 1973, pp. 683–721.
- Marazzi, F., "Sigilli dei depositi di VII e VIII secolo dell'edera della Crypta Balbi", in M.S. Arena/P. Delogu/L. Paroli/M. Ricci/L. Sagui/L. Venditelli (eds.), *Roma dall'Antichità al Medioevo. Archeologia e storia nel Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi*, Rome 2001, pp. 257–265.
- Marchionibus, M.R., *Il Cilento bizantino. Monastero di S. Maria de Pactano*, Vatolla Salerno 2004.

- Martin, J.-M., *La Pouille du VI^e au XII^e siècles* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 179), Paris 1993.
- Milazzo, V., "Bilinguismo e agiografia siciliana", in V. Milazzo/F. Scorza Barcellona (eds.), *Bilinguismo e scritture agiografiche. Raccolta di studi* (Sanctorum. Scritture, pratiche, immagini, 4), Rome 2018, pp. 77–110.
- Monti, G.M., "Il cosiddetto 'Chronicon di S. Maria del Principio', fonte della 'Cronaca' di Partenope", in id., *Dai Normanni agli Aragonesi. Terza serie di studi storico-giuridici*, Trani 1936, pp. 117–145.
- Neil, B., *Seventh-Century Popes and Martyrs: The Political Hagiography of Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, Turnhout 2006.
- Oikonomides, N., "L'épigraphie des bulles de plomb byzantines", in G. Cavallo / C. Mango (eds.), *Epigrafia medievale greca e latina. Ideologia e funzione*, Spoleto 1995, pp. 153–168.
- Palmieri, S., "Mobilità etnica e mobilità sociale nel Mezzogiorno longobardo", *Archivio Storico per la Province Napoletane*, s. III, 20 (1981), 31–104.
- Parenti, S., *Il monastero di Grottaferrata nel Medioevo (1004–1462). Segni e percorsi di una identità* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 274), Rome 2005.
- Parlangeli, O., *Storia linguistica e storia politica nell'Italia meridionale*, Messina 1960.
- Peri, V., "Il simbolo epigrafico di s. Leone III nelle basiliche romane dei SS. Pietro e Paolo", *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 45 (1969), 191–222.
- Perria, L., "Copisti della 'Scuola Niliana'", in *Atti del Congresso internazionale su s. Nilo di Rossano*, Rossano 1989, pp. 15–23.
- Peters-Custot, A., "L'identité d'une communauté minoritaire au Moyen Âge. La population grecque de la principauté lombarde de Salerne (IX^e–XII^e siècles)", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 121–1 (2009), 83–97.
- Piemontese, A.M., "Codici greco-latino-arabi in Italia fra XI e XV secolo", in F. Magistrale / C. Drago/P. Fioretti (eds.), *Libri, documenti, epigrafi medievali: possibilità di studi comparati*, Spoleto 2002, pp. 445–466.
- Poccetti, P., "Il declino (o i presunti declini) della magna Grecia: aspetti della fenomenologia linguistica", in *Tramonto della Magna Grecia* (Atti del XLIV Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia), Taranto 2005, pp. 77–159.
- Pohl, W., "Geschichte und Identität im Langobardenreich", in id./P. Erhart (eds.), *Die Langobarden. Herrschaft und Identität*, (Österr. AW. Phil.-hist. Kl. Denkschriften 329. Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 9), Vienna 2005, pp. 556–566.
- Pohl, W., "Origo gentis Langobardorum", in F. Lo Monaco/F. Mores (eds.), *I Longobardi e la storia. Percorsi attraverso le fonti*, Rome 2012, pp. 105–121.
- Prigent, V., "L'usage du sceau de plomb dans les régions italiennes de tradition byzantine au haut Moyen Âge", in J.-M. Martin/A. Peters-Custot/E. Prigent (eds.), *L'heritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 1. La fabrique documentaire (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 449), Rome 2011, pp. 207–240.

- Princi Braccini, G., "Persistenze di effetti della dominazione longobarda nell'Italia meridionale", in A. Zironi (ed.), *Wentilseo. I Germani sulle sponde del "Mare Nostrum"*, Padua 2001, pp. 225–264.
- Prinzi A., "I canoni di Giovanni Rossanese in onore di san Bartolomeo di Grottaferrata", in *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. 50 (2013) [2014], 161–301.
- Prinzi, A., *Il dossier innologico e agiografico dei santi martiri di Terracina Cesareo e Giuliano (BHG 284^o–285 e)*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Rome-Tor Vergata 2015/2016.
- Prinzi, A., "Una redazione inedita della *Passio SS. Caesarii et Iuliani*: la *Passio graeca minor* (BHG 285d) trädita dal ms. *Ambr: D 92 sup.*", in *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. 53 (2016) [2017], 59–102.
- Quaranta, F., "In difesa dei matrimoni greci e del mattutino pasquale. Un testo inedito del XIII secolo", *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 5, 2 (2001), 91–117.
- Re, M., "Italo-Greek Hagiography", in St. Efthymiadis (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. 1. *Periods and Places*, Farnham 2011, pp. 227–258.
- Riedinger, R., "In welcher Richtung wurden die Akten der Lateransynode von 649 übersetzt, und in welcher Schrift war der lateinische Text dieser Akten geschrieben", in *Martino I papa (649–653) e il suo tempo*, Spoleto 1992, pp. 149–164.
- Rizzone, V.C., *Opus Christi edificabit. Stati e funzioni dei cristiani di Sicilia attraverso l'apporto dell'epigrafia (secoli IV–VI)*, Catania 2011.
- Rohlf, G., *Grammatica storica dei dialetti italogreci*, München 1977.
- Romanelli, P./Nordhagen, P.J., *S. Maria Antiqua*, Rome 1964.
- Rovelli, A., "Naples, ville et atelier monétaire de l'époque byzantine", *Travaux et mémoires* 16 (2010) [Mélanges Cécile Morrison], 693–711.
- Safran, L., *San Pietro at Otranto. Byzantine Art in South Italy – San Pietro of Otranto. Arte bizantina in Italia meridionale*, Rome 1992.
- Safran, L., *The Medieval Salento. Art and Identity in Southern Italy*, Philadelphia 2014.
- Sansterre, J.-M., *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VI^e s.–fin du IX^e s.)*, 2 vols., Bruxelles 1983.
- Sansterre, J.-M., "Une mention peu connue d'un exarque d'Italie", *Byzantion* 55 (1985), 267–268.
- Stepanova, E.V., "Seals with Latin inscriptions in the Hermitage collection", *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 3 (1993), 29–39.
- Taborelli, L., *Šabbetay bar Avraham, un medico-farmacopola e il suo trattato "Sefer ha-mirqahôt"*, (Collana di Studi Archeologici 8), Nepi 2019.
- Tonghini, C., "Gli Arabi ad Amantea: elementi di documentazione materiale", *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 57/1–2 (1997), 203–230.
- Tritz, H., "Hagiographische Quellen zur Geschichte Papst Leos IX.", *Studi Gregoriani* 4 (1952).

- Van Esbroeck, M./Zanetti, U., "Le dossier hagiographique de S. Pancrace de Taormine", in S. Pricoco (ed.), *Storia della Sicilia e tradizione agiografica nella tarda antichità*, Soveria Mannelli 1988, pp. 155–169.
- Varvaro, A., *Lingua e storia in Sicilia. (Dalle guerre puniche alla conquista normanna)*, Palermo 1981.
- Varvaro, A. /Sornicola, R., "Considerazioni sul multilinguismo in Sicilia e a Napoli nel primo Medioevo", *Bollettino Linguistico Campano* 13/14 (2008), 49–66.
- Villa, C., "Cultura classica e tradizioni longobarde: tra latino e volgari", in P. Chiesa (ed.), *Paolo Diacono. Uno scrittore fra tradizione longobarda e rinnovamento carolingio*, Udine 2000, pp. 575–600.
- Vitolo, G., "La latinizzazione dei monasteri italo-greci del Mezzogiorno medievale. L'esempio di S. Nicola di Gallocanta presso Salerno", *Benedictina* 29 (1982), 437–450.
- Zuretti, C.O., "Ἰταλοελληνικά. La espugnazione di Siracusa nell'880. Testo greco della lettera del monaco Teodosio", in *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, vol. 1, Palermo 1910, pp. 165–173.

Bishops, Cities, and Historical Memory in Byzantine Italy

Deborah M. Deliyannis

It has been often noted that as the Western Roman Empire crumbled, bishops emerged as leaders in urban communities, sometimes alongside secular authorities, sometimes by themselves. We have been able to identify this phenomenon thanks to the fact that in many parts of western Europe bishops are commemorated in texts, images, or inscriptions that have highlighted their historical roles as leaders, builders, and politicians. In fact, any discussion of the role of bishops in the cities of Byzantine Italy suffers from a circular problem: many of the written texts that survive from this period are by or about bishops, and these texts provide most of the information that we have about cities. This is not to say that bishops were not important in cities, but that the historical record is skewed in their favor.

It should be noted that there are two kinds of episcopal commemoration. Firstly, the entire episcopal sequence of city could be commemorated by the establishment of a common burial place, through publicly displayed lists of the sequence of bishops, and through portraits of the entire sequence of bishops, examples of which are known from liturgical textiles as well as those found on the walls of churches or residences. Secondly, individual bishops, including but not limited to saints, could be commemorated in pictures and inscriptions (often in churches that they were credited with having built), and at their tombs. The same distinction is found in historical texts: the Roman *Liber pontificalis* and its imitations relates the biographies of all the bishops of a particular see in chronological order, whereas a *vita* of a saint describes only one individual.

The study of the commemoration of bishops in Italy goes back at least to the time of Louis Duchesne, who in addition to publishing the standard edition of the Roman *Liber pontificalis* also authored several articles on the dioceses of Italy in late antiquity.¹ The most significant study, however, was Jean-Charles Picard's 1988 book *Le Souvenir des évêques*, which considers all forms of public

¹ E.g. Duchesne, "Les évêchés" in 1903–5, and also Lanzoni, *Le diocesi d'Italia* in 1927.

commemoration of bishops in the cities of northern Italy from 432 to the 10th century. Picard notes in his study that the existence of lists of bishops, the recollection of where they were buried, and the existence of cults of saintly bishops all indicate that they formed a chronological axis on which the history of a city could be constructed.²

Was there a particular phenomenon of episcopal commemoration in “Byzantine Italy”? On the one hand, the three cities for which we have the most information about bishops and episcopal commemoration – Rome, Ravenna, and Naples – were all part of Byzantine Italy before 730, although the key texts for Ravenna and Naples were written after Byzantine rule had ended. Aside from these three cities, there is relatively little evidence for any episcopal commemoration before the 11th century; Picard makes no distinction between Byzantine and non-Byzantine (i.e., Lombard) parts of Italy in his study. In cities that were more important politically or ecclesiastically, more was known about earlier bishops, but with the exception of Naples, historical memory of bishops has more to do with ecclesiastical rivalries (Rome vs. Constantinople, Ravenna vs. Rome, Grado vs. Cividale, etc.) rather than with the role of the bishop within the city. On the other hand, it is clear that textual, funerary, and monumental commemoration served a domestic audience, so to some extent the high status of a bishop in the wider ecclesiastical world was expected to increase his local status as well.

The issues that will be considered in this chapter are as follows. In what ways were bishops publicly commemorated in historical and other texts, in inscriptions and/or architectural patronage, etc.? When did the veneration of certain bishops as saints manifest itself, and in what ways (hagiography, churches)? And lastly, what can this tell us about the role of the bishop in these cities? We will see that at the time of the Byzantine reconquest of Italy several cities, including Rome, Ravenna, Naples, Canosa, and Poreč, had bishops who actively promoted their predecessors through church-building and by the creation of lists of bishops in both text and portraiture. However, after the year 600, excepting Rome and Ravenna (for specific political reasons), most sees did not pay much attention to their episcopal heritage until the 9th and 10th centuries, when new political and ecclesiastical configurations were reshaping the roles of bishops on the peninsula.

² Picard, *Souvenir*, pp. 2–3.

1 Rome

Up through the 530s, the popes were pastoral and ecclesiastical leaders in a city dominated by either imperial officials or by the Roman Senate, much like the patriarchs of Constantinople. However, after the Byzantine reconquest of Italy, the Senate disappeared, and the papacy emerged as the entity that increasingly administered not just church-related matters but also charities, infrastructure projects, justice, and eventually foreign affairs for Rome. There were particular historical circumstances that led to this situation, most notably the fact that the Byzantine exarchs resided in and ruled from Ravenna rather than Rome; but the fact that Rome's population underwent a dramatic decline was also significant, especially following the Gothic War, so that many aspects of urban management changed. As we will see, one of the striking things about Rome is that although the pope's role and circumstances were in many ways unique, the papacy nevertheless came to serve as a model for other episcopal sees in Italy. Papal self-consciousness is often said to have developed during the 5th century, when the Western Roman Empire still existed; those ideas influenced the later development of papal ideology.³ Thus, it was ecclesiastical concerns that initially shaped the self-presentation of the popes at Rome. When, under Byzantine rule, the papal political role developed, it was added to the pre-existing pastoral and ecclesiastical roles; and while the meaning of local rituals, ceremonies, and commemorations changed over time, the popes always had one eye on their local status and another on how they were perceived by the larger world.

In the 4th and 5th centuries, Rome was slowly "Christianized," and a network of saints, many of whom were identified as former popes, was being memorialized in churches and poetic inscriptions. Pope Damasus (366–84) was a prime mover of this activity, which also established the pope as the patron of these shrines;⁴ by the 520s, popes such as Felix IV commemorated their foundation activities with portraits of themselves as well as with poetic inscriptions. The burial of Pope Gelasius (492–496) in St. Peter's Basilica, during the Acacian Schism (484–519) when the rivalry between the popes and patriarchs of Constantinople was particularly intense, established what became a continuous tradition thereafter. The Acacian Schism primarily concerned the question of papal primacy, and burial at St. Peter's emphasized the connection between current popes and the apostle, so this was clearly a tradition

³ Noble, "Morbidity and Vitality."

⁴ There is a large recent literature on Damasus and Rome; see most recently Ságghy, "*Renovatio memoriae*," and Diefenbach, "Urbs und ecclesia."

developed with an eye to the outside world. It also strengthened a physical sense of papal continuity inside Rome, and this continuity became another key argument in support of papal primacy.⁵ These trends came together in the early 6th century in written form. *Vitae, passiones*, and other types of narratives about saintly popes were produced.⁶ Most notably, a history of the popes, now known as the *Liber pontificalis*, was begun in the 510s and recorded the memory of burials, saints, church construction, and other activities by which the popes commemorated themselves.⁷

Thus, by the time the Byzantines regained control of Rome after the Gothic War, the city had funerary, historical, hagiographical, liturgical, and monumental traditions honoring past and current popes. These traditions were continued and expanded by the popes of the Byzantine period, usually in connection with ecclesiastical conflicts with Constantinople.

However, the city that the Byzantines obtained was very different from the city of the late empire and Ostrogothic period. Rome changed hands four times in the course of the Gothic War, which, combined with the plague, led to a dramatic depopulation, the disappearance of the senate after 580, and a complete reorganization of the city's social order. In the later 6th and 7th centuries, Rome was part of the Byzantine exarchate, led by a resident duke, and at least in an official capacity a secular-military administration. The fact that Rome was now part of the Eastern Empire meant that the emperors involved themselves more in its ecclesiastical affairs. During and after the Gothic War, Justinian twice directly appointed popes, Vigilius (537–55) and Pelagius I (555–61), and he required approval of Pelagius' elected successor John III. These events led to the expectation that all subsequent popes had to be approved by the emperor or, after 684, by the emperor's representative in Italy, the exarch of Ravenna.⁸ From the reign of Leo I in the 5th century, the popes

5 It is interesting to note that in the 440s, Sozomen says that the patriarchs were being buried in the Church of the Apostles in Constantinople (Sozomenus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 2.34 ed. J. Bidéz/G. Ch. Hansen, *Kirchengeschichte*, Berlin 1969); moreover, in a letter to Pope Leo I in 450, the empress Pulcheria comments that "in gloriosa civitate Constantinopoli sanctae memoriae episcopi Flaviani corpus allatum est, et in basilica Apostolorum, in qua consueverunt praecessores episcopi sepeliri, competenter est positum" (Leo I, *epistula* 77, in *PL* 54, col. 907). Thus, the idea of an apostolic church as a patriarchal burial place may be an instance of Rome copying Constantinople.

6 Wirbelauer, *Zwei Päpste in Rom*; Blair Dixon, "Memory and authority", p. 64; and Sessa, "Domestic conversions", pp. 86–88.

7 See Deliyannis, "The Roman *Liber pontificalis*."

8 Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes*, p. 43 and p. 65, n. 17, who notes that the late 7th-century *Liber Diurnus* of Rome contains a formula for a new pope to profess his faith to the exarch.

had maintained a permanent representative in Constantinople, and several of these *apocrisarii* subsequently became popes.⁹ There were thus direct relations between the popes and Constantinople throughout the Byzantine period.

Our sources for Rome in this period consist almost entirely of papal documents and texts, and the picture that emerges is one in which the popes assumed ever greater responsibility for the infrastructure, population management, and eventually the foreign affairs of the city. Even if this state of affairs simply reflects the surviving sources, it nevertheless shows that those sources effectively portray the popes as urban as well as ecclesiastical leaders.¹⁰ As an example of this, we can see what happened to the *Liber pontificalis* in the Byzantine period. The early parts of this text were revised in the 540s; the *vitae* of the 6th-century popes increasingly recount the political situation of Italy as it related to the popes. The text was then laid aside for almost eighty years, until the reign of the controversial Pope Honorius I. The *vitae* of the popes from 560 to 625 (including the notable Pope Gregory I) consist only of short historical and administrative notices. At the time of Honorius, and thus at the time of the beginning of the monothelite controversy, the *Liber pontificalis* was taken up again, and *vitae* were written after the death (or even before the death) of each pope. They maintain the categories of information from the earlier *vitae*, include even more detailed accounts of both diplomatic and ecclesiastic activity, and notably also continued the practice of listing the lengthy lists of architectural and artistic patronage. It is worth noting that at the same time that the *Liber pontificalis* was revived, portraits of popes offering churches to Christ also reappeared, as seen at Sant'Agnese by Honorius I and at the chapel of St. Venantius at the Lateran by John IV and Theodore.¹¹

It is clear throughout the *vitae* of the 7th century that papal history was being deployed as an argument for papal primacy vis-à-vis Constantinople, with the *Liber pontificalis* as a key piece of evidence in the argument for doctrinal purity. In essence, the *Liber pontificalis* served as an apology for Pope Honorius and his successors in the monothelite controversy.¹² That doctrinal issues were the main drivers of Rome's historical memory can also be seen in the cult of saintly bishops in the 7th century. The mid-7th-century *Notitia ecclesiarum urbis Romae* describes churches and catacombs containing the tombs

9 The most famous example is Gregory I, but others include Vigilius, Pelagius I, Sabinian, Boniface III, Theodore I, and Martin I.

10 See Noble, *Republic*, pp. 212–41.

11 Other examples include San Lorenzo *fuori le mura* (579–90), an oratory to the Virgin in St. Peter's (705–7), and others into the Carolingian period; for a complete list, see Deliyannis, "Ecclesius of Ravenna."

12 See Deliyannis, "The Roman *Liber pontificalis*."

of twenty-three saintly popes, indicating that the cult of these saints was flourishing at this time for the most part still in the catacombs and churches outside the city walls.¹³ One of those popes was Leo I, who was viewed as a champion of orthodoxy in the face of imperial aggression thanks to the letters and the *Tome* that he sent to Constantinople in connection with the Council of Chalcedon. Veneration of Leo was aggressively promoted during the Quinisext Controversy; in 688, Pope Sergius I (687–701) had Leo's body translated from its place near the entrance into a chapel dedicated in his honor at the east end of St. Peter's.¹⁴ Pope John VII (705–707), who refused to accept the results of the Quinisext Council, decorated the church of Santa Maria Antiqua with pictures of Leo, Martin I, an unidentified pope, and himself – in other words, popes who had resisted imperial attempts to define orthodoxy.¹⁵

Popes continued to be buried almost exclusively at St. Peter's throughout this period. In addition to Leo I, Gregory I also became the subject of particular veneration in the 8th century. Perhaps this was stimulated by the Anglo-Saxons, who viewed Gregory as the instigator of their conversion to Christianity, as there is no evidence of previous veneration in the *Liber pontificalis*' account of Gregory; however, by the middle of the 8th century the *Notitia* says that he had his own altar in St. Peter's, while his body was translated into its own chapel in 827–41.¹⁶

Throughout the Byzantine period, the popes maintained the traditions that they had already developed, serving as a potential model for other sees with issues and ambitions that required episcopal commemoration. Visitors to Rome, such as the author of the *Notitia*, were impressed by Rome's history of saintly popes, and the text of the *Liber pontificalis* influenced authors such as Gregory of Tours in the late 6th century, Bede in the early 8th century, and the many authors who wrote imitations during the Carolingian age.

2 Ravenna

Ravenna was the capital of Byzantine Italy from 540 to the 720s. The exarch and his army were based in Ravenna, and the city's prelate, who around 553 was made an archbishop by the emperor Justinian, ranked second only to the

13 Picard, "Étude sur l'emplacement", pp. 739 and 743. Note that two saints so identified were not popes, and several identified as martyrs were not martyrs.

14 Llewellyn, *Rome*, p. 171.

15 Noble, *Republic*, p. 19.

16 Picard, "Étude sur l'emplacement", pp. 756–63.

pope in the Italian hierarchy. In the first few decades of Byzantine rule, from 540 to 600, the archbishops of Ravenna created a history of the see almost from scratch, portraying themselves in a variety of media both as historical and as current leaders of the city. This commemoration was so successful that today we know more about the archbishops than we do about any other individuals who lived in Ravenna. Ironically, since our sources are almost entirely based on episcopal commemoration, we know much more about their aspirations than about the role they actually played in civic life.

Indeed, one reason that we know as much as we do about the bishops of Ravenna is that in the 830s a priest named Agnellus wrote a history of his see beginning from its legendary foundation to his own day. Known as the *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, it was modelled directly upon the Roman *Liber pontificalis* because, as we will see, by the 9th century Ravenna's archbishops and the popes had been locked in a rivalry that reached its most intense phase during the Byzantine period. Agnellus therefore attempted to demonstrate that Ravenna's see was almost as ancient as Rome's, that Ravenna's first bishop was directly sent by Saint Peter, and that Ravenna had just as many saints on its roster as Rome. He was able to make these claims because of the extraordinary wealth of evidence for Ravenna's episcopal history that had been produced in written, epigraphic, and monumental form by the bishops of the Byzantine era.

The earliest bishop of Ravenna attested in an external source was Severus, who is listed as having been present at the Council of Sardica in 343.¹⁷ A very large cathedral complex was built in the early 5th century, probably immediately after the imperial court moved to Ravenna around 402; the cathedral was known as the Ursiana, after its founder, Bishop Ursus. From this period onward, we know the names and the dates of most of the bishops. At some point in the early 5th century the bishop of Ravenna was given metropolitan status; the first evidence of a bishop acting as a metropolitan by consecrating other bishops comes from sermons delivered by Peter I (c. 431–50), one of Ravenna's great bishops, who, after the time of Agnellus, was known as Chrysologus, or 'golden word.'¹⁸

Before 540, Ravenna had acquired a variety of churches dedicated to standard Christian saints and themes which were built during the imperial and Ostrogothic periods by emperors, empresses, kings, or wealthy members of their courts. Previously, Ravenna had no local saints of its own, although the tombs of some of the early bishops, such as the founders Apollinaris and

17 Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 38–39.

18 Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 84–88.

Severus, were commemorated by small shrines. Agnellus also tells us that some of the churches containing episcopal tombs had pictures of the bishops in them. It is striking, though, that Peter Chrysologus (ca. 431–450) was not even buried in Ravenna, but in his hometown of Imola. All of this was to change dramatically just before and in the immediate aftermath of the Byzantine reconquest.

One of the most fascinating of Ravenna's bishops is Ecclesius (522–532), who worked well with the Ostrogothic king Theoderic, accompanied the pope to Constantinople in 523, and then continued to cooperate with Theoderic's daughter and successor, Amalasuintha. After his return from Constantinople, Ecclesius set about founding a number of churches with the clear agenda of promoting Ravenna's local history. Most notably, he founded or greatly enlarged a church dedicated to Saint Vitalis, a martyr who was a victim of Roman persecution said to be buried at Ravenna; a *Passio* was probably written at the same time as the church's construction. San Vitale was a magnificent octagonal church whose style and decoration recalled contemporary buildings in Constantinople. This splendid church was decorated with mosaics by Ecclesius' successors in a way that emphasized the preeminent role of the bishops in the world. Although most of the money was donated by a wealthy banker named Julian, the mosaic in the apse's semi-dome depicts Ecclesius offering a model of the church to Christ. This format was clearly inspired by an analogous mosaic in Sts. Cosmas and Damian in Rome, erected only a few years previously by Pope Felix IV.¹⁹ The rest of the presbytery's mosaics depict the celebration of the Eucharist utilizing Old Testament types, culminating in the depiction of Emperor Justinian and his wife Theodora offering the elements of the mass around the altar. Thus, the mosaic serves as a monument to the Byzantine reconquest, but Justinian's procession is led by an archbishop, which was probably originally a portrait intended to feature Ecclesius' successor Ursicinus (533–6) but was modified to depict Maximian (546–57) and labelled with his name. Although the church celebrates the martyr Vitalis, the real message of its decoration is the authority given to the bishop through the Eucharistic rite.²⁰

Ursicinus, again with the help of Julian the banker, founded an even more significant church to the south of Ravenna's port city of Classe. It seems to have replaced a small shrine built over a tomb²¹ and was dedicated to Saint

19 Deliyannis, "Ecclesius and San Vitale."

20 Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 223–50.

21 This is somewhat controversial, for the church and this issue, see Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 259–74.

Apollinaris, who had been considered the founder of the see at least since the early 5th century, when Peter Chrysologus dedicated a sermon to him.²² Certainly Maximian enthusiastically continued and expanded the concept to create an imposing shrine to the memory of Ravenna's episcopal leaders. The mosaic decoration of the apse, probably put in shortly before the church was dedicated in 549, depicts Apollinaris as an archbishop, wearing the palium and acting as a witness to the Transfiguration of Christ. Below the apse, between the windows are depictions of four notable bishops of Ravenna: Ecclesius, Ursus (the founder of the cathedral), Severus, and Ursicinus. Hence, the entire composition is a glorification of the past and present see of Ravenna.

Not only did Classe become the site of the cult of a saintly bishop, it also became the burial place of Ravenna's archbishops. As we have seen in Rome, having a unique burial site for all of a see's bishops was one way of emphasizing the continuity of the episcopal line. Ravenna imitated Rome's burial of the popes in St. Peter's: beginning in the late 6th century, Ravenna's archbishops were buried in ornate marble sarcophagi in the narthex or chapels flanking the narthex of Sant'Apollinare in Classe (today they these sarcophagi line the aisles inside the church).²³ In addition, other churches or chapels were built immediately to the south around the same time as the construction of Sant'Apollinare in honor of the early bishop-saints Probus and Elechadius, churches which were said by Agnellus to have contained the bodies of several of Ravenna's earliest bishops. Visitors on their way to Ravenna from the south would pass this imposing complex of burial churches, and their first impression of the city would be the antiquity and importance of Ravenna's bishops.

During the reign of Maximian episcopal commemoration reached its peak.²⁴ Maximian had been appointed by Justinian, then elevated to the rank of archbishop, during the Three Chapters controversy. Perhaps it was because of this elevation that Maximian shaped, or even created, an image of Ravenna's episcopal see that eventually came to dominate later historical discourse. In addition to overseeing the final phase of decoration of San Vitale and Sant'Apollinare in Classe, Maximian appears to have been the first to compile a list of the bishops of Ravenna. He was responsible for several commemorative pieces on which sequences of Ravenna's bishops were depicted: an altar cloth with pictures of all his predecessors; an inscription upon a building in

22 Peter Chrysologus, *Sermo* 128, ed. A. Olivar, *Collection sermonum* (*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, SL 24B), Turnhout 1984, pp. 789–91.

23 For a study of these and other Ravennate episcopal sarcophagi, see Schoolman, "Reassessing the Sarcophagi".

24 Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 209–13.

the episcopal palace known as the *Domus Tricollis* that listed all bishops who had helped on the building; the images of some of the earlier bishops in the basilicas of Classe; and the identification of the tombs belonging to the earliest bishops. He ordered a magnificent ivory throne for the cathedral, which bears his monogram and is decorated with scenes from the Old Testament story of Joseph, long interpreted as a type of the bishop.²⁵

Maximian's successors continued to add to the historical and monumental memory of Ravenna's bishops: Archbishop Agnellus (557–570) rebuilt the apse of Sant'Agata, and decorated it with a portrait of John I, who was buried there, while a large basilica in Classe in honor of Saint Severus was constructed on the site of a small earlier chapel by Peter III (570–578) and completed by John II in 582. This aggrandizement led to increased strife with Rome over Ravenna's ecclesiastical autonomy. Pope Gregory I rebuked two of Ravenna's archbishops for wearing the pallium too much and also rebuked the bishop of Milan for mentioning John of Ravenna's name during the mass, as would be done for a patriarch.²⁶ The struggle was taken up again in the mid-7th century under Archbishop Maurus (642–71), who initiated a historical project to demonstrate his see's importance: it is possible that a false Diploma of Valentinian III granting metropolitan rights to Ravenna's bishop dates to his reign, and it is also quite likely that the *Passio* of Saint Apollinaris which tells how he was sent to Ravenna by Saint Peter and then martyred, was composed at this time,²⁷ perhaps on the occasion when Maurus translated the body of the saint from the narthex to the center of the church. Maurus' attempts at aggrandizing the archbishopric apparently paid off when in 666 Emperor Constans II granted a privilege of autocephaly to the see of Ravenna. Maurus' successor Reparatus (671–77) continued his policies for a period of time while maintaining close relationships with the emperors in Constantinople. This, too, was commemorated by a new mosaic in the apse of Sant'Apollinare in Classe depicting a bishop of Ravenna receiving a scroll from a set of emperors. It is possible that it commemorates Maurus receiving the *typus* of autocephaly, or that it depicts Reparatus receiving various privileges;²⁸ whichever it is, the scene itself recalls

25 Ibid., pp. 213–18.

26 Ibid., pp. 210–11; Markus, *Gregory the Great*, pp. 143–56, on Gregory's relations with the bishops of Ravenna.

27 Most scholars accept a date in the mid-7th century for the Diploma, although it has also been suggested that it dates to the *pallium* controversy at the end of the 6th century; see Deliyannis, ed., *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, pp. 102–103. The debate over the date of the *passio* is summarized in *ibid.*, pp. 39–42.

28 See Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 271–73.

the mosaic of Justinian mosaic in San Vitale and in general emphasizes the very close relations between the bishop and the emperors.

Antagonism between Ravenna and Rome did not cease after autocephaly was revoked in 682, although the complicated political and ecclesiastic factors throughout the 8th century meant that in some cases the popes and the archbishops had to work together. Archbishop Felix (709–25), blinded by the emperor after his dispute with the pope, saw to the publication of the sermons of Peter Chrysologus, thus promoting Ravenna's parallel to Leo I shortly after the latter's reburial in St. Peter's. The disappearance of the exarch from Ravenna left the archbishop as the sole authority figure in the city; in this period the popes were actively disseminating the *Liber pontificalis* to support their claims to authority in Italy, but in Ravenna it was only Agnellus, in the 830s, who took up the cause of autocephaly and created a text that could correct the misrepresentation of recent history in the *Liber pontificalis* and correctly present the entire span of Ravenna's episcopal history.²⁹

3 Other Bishops of the Exarchate and Venetia

Although there is an abundance of documentation for Ravenna and Rome, the two principal cities of the exarchate, we know relatively little about the other episcopal sees in the exarchate.³⁰ Picard noted that in northern Italy (including both the exarchate and the Lombard kingdom, but not Rome) there were more than sixty sees, but only eighteen of them preserve any evidence of a continuous episcopal list, often transmitted in a much later historical text or manuscript.³¹ On the other hand, there are only four lists for the rest of Italy, a region which includes Rome and Naples.³² Of these sixty sees, only twenty-two of them developed a cult of a holy bishop or bishops prior to the 10th century.³³ In most cases, these cults date to the 9th or 10th centuries with

29 Deliyannis, "The *Liber pontificalis* of the Church of Ravenna."

30 Lanzoni, *Le diocesi d'Italia*, exhaustively documented the dioceses and critically examined the sources for them. See Thacker, "Popes, Patriarchs and Archbishops."

31 Of those 18 sees, only the following were under Byzantine rule: Altinum/Torcello (c. 1000 and 12th century), Aquileia/Grado (c. 1000), Bologna (list dates from 14th century), Como (14th century), Olivolo (c. 1000), Poreč (11th century), Reggio Emilia (12th century).

32 Picard, *Souvenir*, p. 395.

33 Of those 22 sees, only the following only the following were under Byzantine rule: Altinum/Torcello (attested after 639), Aquileia/Grado (Hermagoras attested in the 6th century, Valerian), Bologna (Petronius only attested after 1141), Como (Abundius only attested after 818), Forlì (Mercurialis, only attested in 9th century), Forlimpopoli (Rufillus only attested in 980s), Modena (Geminianus attested in 782), Poreč (Maurus attested in

no evidence documenting earlier veneration; in other words, within a political, cultural, or ecclesiastic situation that had nothing to do with Byzantine rule. In fact, Picard does not distinguish between Byzantine and Lombard cities in his analysis.

Of these cities, only those related to or descended from Aquileia developed traditions of episcopal commemoration, and these had to do with the complex political and ecclesiastical circumstances of the 6th through 11th centuries. Aquileia had been an important see in northern Italy since the 4th century, and in the 5th and 6th centuries its bishop was recognized as the metropolitan of a wide area of northern Italy, alongside the bishop of Milan.³⁴ During the Three Chapters Controversy the bishops of Milan and Aquileia broke with the Church; when the Lombards invaded northern Italy the patriarch of Aquileia moved to Grado, where a cathedral was built and dedicated to Saint Euphemia, with an inscription commemorating Bishop Helias as its most important patron.³⁵ These bishops began to use the title Patriarch of Aquileia and to officiate as metropolitans over the bishops of Venetia and Histria. After 607, this patriarch had a rival in Lombard-dominated Aquileia, a see which was moved to Cividale in 737, where it remained until the 13th century.

The rivalry between Grado and Cividale seems to have inspired various instances of historical commemoration. A list going back to the mid-3rd century was kept at least from the 6th century, showing the continuity which existed between those two cities and the pre-Lombard patriarchs at Aquileia. It was quoted by Paul the Deacon in the 8th century, and John the Deacon sometime around the beginning of the year 1000.³⁶ The legend that the first martyr-bishop Hermagoras was consecrated by Saint Mark (the disciple of Peter) had already been established by the time of Paul the Deacon in the 8th century³⁷ and had probably been created in reaction to the story of Apollinaris of Ravenna and the metropolitan rivalry between Ravenna and Aquileia in the 6th century.³⁸ The body of Hermagoras was supposedly moved from Aquileia to Grado in 610

mid-6th century), Reggio Emilia (Prosper attested in 9th century), Rimini (Gaudentius attested c. 700).

34 See especially Sotinel, *Identité civique*.

35 Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental*, p. 226; Sotinel, *Identité civique*, pp. 344–45, notes that although many secular patrons were commemorated in the floor mosaics, the bishop stands out as the *fundator*.

36 Picard, *Souvenir*, pp. 412–26.

37 Paulus Diaconus, *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, prologue, p. 261.

38 See Dale, *Relics, Prayer, and Politics*, pp. 7–8; Sotinel, “The Three Chapters”, p. 118, and Picard, *Souvenir*, pp. 689–91.

at the time of the splitting of the patriarchate.³⁹ The Hieronymian Martyrology lists a *Valerianus episcopus et confessor* for Aquileia, although there is no other mention of his cult; it is assumed that he was the Valerian who died in 388 and therefore one of the earliest bishops to be commemorated as a confessor-saint.⁴⁰ The 11th-century *Chronica patriarcharum Gradensium* notes that most of Grado's patriarchs were buried in the cathedral of St. Euphemia, which became therefore a commemorative site for its bishops.⁴¹

The history of the see of Aquileia was deployed during the struggle for authority between Grado and Cividale; the latter of which, after 773, was under Frankish control. In 827, the patriarch of Aquileia/Cividale called a synod at Mantua, at which many forged documents were presented to support his claim that his see was the rightful heir to the ancient metropolitanate of Aquileia. A *passio* for Hermagoras was also written at this time. This synod, supported by the pope, proclaimed the supremacy of Cividale over Grado. In the document, the Carolingian emperors who engineered the synod specifically stated that "the clerics and the lay nobles chosen by the people of Istria came to the holy synod asking that they, freed from the most pernicious bond of the Greeks, might return to Aquileia, their metropolitan city to which they had been subject in ancient times ..." ⁴² Despite the result of this synod, the issue was not resolved, but continued to be disputed even after the 11th century; a later dispute resulted in the production of the *Chronica patriarcharum Gradensium*, which listed the patriarchs from the time of the flight from Aquileia to Grado.

The Venetian lagoon remained nominally under Byzantine control until the 9th century, with its churches under the authority of the patriarch of Aquileia/Grado, who himself was under the jurisdiction of the pope. Settlement in the Venetian lagoons resulted in the creation of new episcopal sees, or the transfer of old sees to new locations. For example, after the Lombard invasion, Bishop Paul of Altinum was said to have brought the body of Altinum's saintly bishop Heliodorus to Torcello, where a new cathedral was completed in 639, and a list of its bishops was maintained after that point.⁴³ In 774, an episcopal see was established for Olivolo, part of what became the city of Venice, and a list of its

39 Told in the 11th-century *Chronica patriarcharum Gradensium*, 6, p. 394. Hermagoras' relics were forcibly returned to Aquileia in 1024, after which liturgical celebrations and altars were established there in honor of the founding bishop.

40 Sotinel, *Identité civique*, pp. 215–16, who compares him to St. Maurus at Poreč, also in the fifth century.

41 *Chronica patriarcharum Gradensium*, passim, pp. 393–7.

42 Cited in Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 89–90.

43 Picard, *Souvenir*, pp. 400–10; Heliodorus is only mentioned for the first time in a 12th-century text.

bishops was also maintained.⁴⁴ Venice was a firm supporter of the rights of the patriarchs of Grado, but the city managed to insert itself into these politics in a bold way. In response to the synod of Mantua of 827, the Venetians arranged for the theft of the body of Saint Mark from Muslim-ruled Alexandria and built a church in his honor in the new capital of Venice. Since Mark was the legendary founder of Aquileia through his disciple Hermagoras, this reinforced the status of the patriarch of Grado, but by appropriating the relics of Saint Mark, Venice bypassed, in an interesting way, episcopal politics almost entirely, establishing a new religious identity for Venice that was independent of the hierarchical struggles of the past.⁴⁵

Finally, we must consider the interesting case of Poreč (Parentium), whose surviving evidence shows very close connections with Ravenna.⁴⁶ Poreč was part of the Roman province of Venetia et Histria, and the see was attached to Aquileia and later Grado. Little is known about the history of Poreč's see, but it seems to have had a cathedral dating to the 4th century, with a baptistery and episcopal palace from the 5th century; and a late 4th- or early 5th-century inscription survives commemorating Saint Maurus as an early bishop of Poreč whose relics were buried under the altar.⁴⁷ In the mid-6th century Bishop Eufraſius rebuilt this complex. Eufraſius was an interesting character; he took the side of Aquileia in the Three Chapters Controversy and was accused by Pope Pelagius I in 559 of murder. Eufraſius certainly had pretensions to authority, because the new cathedral that he built, which survives in large part, clearly shows the artistic and epigraphic influence of Rome and Ravenna. An inscription in the apse names Eufraſius as the patron of the church, above this inscription is a scene which depicts Saint Maurus offering a crown while Eufraſius offers a model of the church to the Virgin and Child. Additionally, Eufraſius' monogram appears on the capitals of the columns. All of these were elements which were also found in contemporary churches at Ravenna. That he was the most famous early bishop of Poreč is demonstrated by a forged document (based upon earlier examples) dating to 1222 purporting to contain signatures of all the bishops from Eufraſius up to that date⁴⁸ Beyond this we know very little about the history of Poreč and are left unaware as to whether all such cities had comparable episcopal commemoration that no longer survives, or whether Poreč was unique for reasons that we cannot determine.

44 Picard, *Souvenir*, pp. 403–4.

45 Dale, *Relics, Prayer, and Politics*, p. 9.

46 See Terry/Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor*.

47 Picard, *Souvenir*, pp. 652–4, who notes that the *Liber pontificalis*, *Vita Iohannis IV*, says that that pope brought Maurus' relics from *Histria* to Rome.

48 Picard, *Souvenir*, pp. 477–80.

4 Naples

Naples became Byzantine territory when it was conquered by Belisarius' army in 536. Imperial officials, headed by a *dux* (duke) were originally appointed by Constantinople, but in 661 Emperor Constans II granted the city the right to be ruled by a locally elected duke who was to be subordinate to the emperor and mint coins with the emperors' portraits on them. This situation continued through the tumultuous mid-8th century; unlike Rome and Ravenna, Naples remained loyal to the empire at the start of the Iconoclast controversy. Emperor Leo III tried to make Naples' bishop an archbishop in 717, but Bishop Sergius renounced this by order of the pope; later, in 763, Bishop Paul II was refused admittance to the city because he had been consecrated by the pope.⁴⁹ However, upon Paul's death in 766, Duke Stephen II made himself bishop and gave the dukedom to his son; the family controlled Naples intermittently until 832. After that date, there was a struggle between competing factions in the city, but in 840 a new duke, Sergius I, was elected and inaugurated the rule of his own family that lasted until 1137. While Byzantine authority over Naples was occasionally claimed, it had no force.

The dynasty begun by Sergius I controlled not only the ducal office, but also the episcopate. His ally John IV was bishop from 841–849, followed by Sergius' twenty-one-year-old son Athanasius (849–872), who was venerated as a saint and was followed by the even more controversial family member Athanasius II (875–898). In the tumultuous 9th century the bishops instituted a program of episcopal commemoration in order to raise the status of the bishops within Naples. One element of this program was the composition of a *gesta episcoporum*, which is our main source of information concerning commemoration in Naples. As at Ravenna, the Naples *Gesta* shows us hints of earlier commemoration of the bishops of Naples.

According to the *Gesta*, the first bishop of Naples was Aspren, but no dates are provided for him or his next nine successors.⁵⁰ There is no evidence demonstrating that Aspren was honored or commemorated in any manner until the 9th century.⁵¹ The eleventh bishop, Zosimus, is said to have lived at the time

49 Granier, "Naples aux IX^e et X^e siècles", p. 126; *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* 36 (p. 422) and 41 (pp. 424–5).

50 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, 2 (p. 403).

51 Granier, "Lieux de mémoire", p. 71, notes that this is not unusual; in northern Italy, other than Ravenna, early bishop-saints were commemorated at Grado only around 700, and at Pavia in the 9th century. Aspren's name is listed on the marble liturgical calendar made by Bishop Athanasius I before 872, and in the *Vita* of Athanasius there is mention of the fact that Aspren was ordained by St. Peter; the earliest full legend of Aspren was not

of the conversion of Constantine, and it was during his reign that the emperor built the church of Santa Restituta.⁵² From the early 5th century, the most highly venerated saint in Naples was Saint Januarius, a bishop of Benevento who was martyred at Pozzuoli, supposedly under Diocletian's rule.⁵³ Bishop John I of Naples (405–432) is said in the *Gesta* to have brought Januarius' relics to Naples, to have built an extramural chapel in his honor within one of the city's main catacombs, and to have been buried there himself. This shrine, extensively modified in later centuries, continued to be a center of local veneration and also became the site where Naples' bishops were buried and venerated.⁵⁴ The *Gesta* states that the remains of many of the early bishops were translated from there into the *ecclesia Stephanía* by Bishop John IV in the 840s, at the time that the text was written; however, it does not say that they were all necessarily treated as saints.⁵⁵

In 1971, archaeologists working at the shrine of San Gennaro discovered what appears to be the original *cubiculum* where Januarius and John I were buried. There were a total of eighteen tombs in the chamber, four (presumably the earliest, and dated to before the 6th century) decorated with mosaic portraits of their occupants, one of whom is thought to have been Quodvultdeus of Carthage.⁵⁶ In the 6th century, a large basilica was attached to the tomb chambers, although the *Gesta* does not tell us which bishop did this.⁵⁷ This basilica was later known as the "Basilica dei vescovi" because it contained

composed until c. 1100 (Granier, "Saints fondateurs"); this is found in the *Vita* of Bishop Athanasius I, composed shortly after the latter's death in 872.

52 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, 3, p. 404; *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, *Vita Silvestri* 32, p. 186, says that Constantine built a basilica, an aqueduct, and a forum at Naples.

53 Acta of his life were written in the 6th and 8th centuries (Granier, "Naples aux IX^e et X^e siècles", cites *BHL* 4132, *AASS, Septembris*, vol. 6, pp. 870–1 and *BHL* 4115–9, *ibid.*, 866–70).

54 See, e.g. Bruzelius/Tronzo, *Medieval Naples*, pp. 12–23; D'Ovidio, "Devotion and Memory"; Granier, "Lieux de mémoire", p. 80, who sees this as an imitation of crypts containing saints and papal burials at Rome.

55 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, 59, p. 432: "Corpora quoque suorum predecessorum de sepulcris, in quibus iacuerunt, levavit, et in ecclesia Stephanía singillatim collocans, aptavit unicuique arcuatam tumulum ac desuper eorum effigies depinxit." Oddly, John IV seems nevertheless to have been buried at St. Januarius: *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, 62. Even more curiously (or perhaps not, given the political situation), Athanasius I was buried at Montecassino. On the translation to the cathedral, see Granier, "Lieux de mémoire", pp. 86–87. Those mentioned as being translated are Aspren, Epithimitus, Marus, Agrippinus, Ephevus, Fortunatus (from his own church), Maximus (from Fortunatus), John I (from Januarius), and Soter (from Holy Apostles).

56 Granier, "Lieux de mémoire", pp. 80–82; D'Ovidio, "Devotion and Memory."

57 D'Ovidio says that the consensus is that it was John II (c. 533–55). Granier, "Lieux de mémoire", p. 75, assumes that because the church is mentioned in a topographical notice for the year 486, that it must have existed then, but this need not be the case.

pictures of the first fourteen bishops of Naples, up to John I, painted in the vault along with their numbers in the series. Two of these pictures and four of the numbers still survive, and the style of the paintings dates them to the 6th century. This series of portraits is often compared to that which was supposedly commissioned by Laurentius in the church of San Paolo *fuori le mura* at Rome, also in the early 6th century.⁵⁸ It is significant, therefore, that the *Gesta* tells us that when John IV moved the bodies of early bishops to the cathedral, “ac desuper eorum effigies depinxit.”⁵⁹ The tradition of having the bishops' portraits installed in the place where they were buried was continued even as bodies were moved around.

Other bits of information from the *Gesta* about the bishops before the 760s tells us that by the 760s some of them were considered saints and had their own shrines. Bishop Agrippinus, the sixth bishop and a supposed contemporary of Januarius, was the first bishop to be considered a saint.⁶⁰ By the 840s there was a church dedicated to him next to that of Saint Januarius, built at an unknown date.⁶¹ His *Liber miraculorum* was originally composed before 760, and his sanctity was clearly established when his body was translated into the cathedral.⁶² Evidence from the 9th and 10th centuries shows that the pairing of Agrippinus the confessor and Januarius the martyr was seen as highly significant.⁶³ The *Gesta* also tells us that the body of Fortunatus, the ninth bishop, was transferred to the cathedral from a church built in his honor at the site of his original burial located four stades outside the city; curiously, we know nothing more about this bishop.⁶⁴ There is also pre-*Gesta* evidence of veneration of Severus, the twelfth bishop (c. 363–408). The *Gesta* tells us that he reigned forty-six years, built four elaborate churches, and was once buried in an extra-mural church dedicated in his name, but at the time the text was written he had recently been translated into the church of St. George inside the city, which some now call the Severiana.⁶⁵ Precisely when veneration of

58 Granier, “Lieux de mémoire”, p. 82; D'Ovidio, “Devotion and Memory”, pp. 93–94. On the series at Rome, see Wirbelauer, *Zwei Päpste in Rom*, pp. 155–59.

59 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, 59, p. 432.

60 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, 2, pp. 403–4.

61 There is a reference in the *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* that Bishop Victor (around the year 486) built a church dedicated to Saint Stephen next to the churches of Saint Agrippinus and Saint Januarius, but this does not provide evidence that these churches existed in 486 (contra Granier, “Naples aux IX^e et X^e siècles”, p. 118 and “Lieux de mémoire”, p. 75), only that they existed in the 840s.

62 Granier, “Lieux de mémoire”, p. 67; *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* 2, p. 404.

63 See esp. Granier, “Lieux de mémoire.”

64 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, 2, p. 403.

65 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, 4, p. 405.

Severus began is impossible to determine, but his surviving *Vita* was perhaps composed in the 8th century.⁶⁶

In addition to listing bishops who were saints, the *Gesta* also credits most of the bishops with having built at least one church in or around the city.⁶⁷ The 20th bishop, Stephen I (ca. 500), is credited with building the church dedicated to the Savior, which was named after him, the *Stephania*.⁶⁸ The very fact that a major church was named after its patron-bishop is an indication of the claims being made by the bishops to urban leadership. The *Gesta* notes that this church was attached to the *episcopium*, which is the first mention of the episcopal palace in this text, and which must therefore also have been close to the cathedral, or perhaps was the cathedral. Another reference in the *Gesta* says that the *Stephania* was next to the baptistery.⁶⁹

However, between 500 and 768, which was the main period of Byzantine rule in Naples, we have no particular evidence for commemoration of the bishops. New activities take place only in the context of the rise of noble families that also controlled the episcopate during the breakdown of Byzantine authority in the wake of Iconoclasm. Bishop Stephen II (768–799) is said to have greatly aggrandized the episcopium; the *Stephania* burned down during his reign and was rebuilt.⁷⁰ More buildings were added to the episcopium by Stephen's successor Paul III (800–821).⁷¹ But it was at the time of Bishop John IV, the supporter of Duke Sergius I, that a full rethinking of Naples' episcopal past took place. As we have seen, John commissioned a history of the see of Naples and had the bodies of his predecessors moved from their original tombs to the cathedral.⁷²

The *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, as this text is known, was modeled upon the Roman *Liber pontificalis* and consists of a chronological series of notices concerning the bishops of Naples from the apostolic age to the late 9th

66 Granier, "Naples aux IX^e et X^e siècles", p. 114 and id., "La difficile genèse", pp. 270–71, observes that this *Vita* was based on a *Vita* of Severus, perhaps composed in the 8th century: *BHL* 7676–78, *AASS Aprilis*, vol. 3, pp. 775–81.

67 Granier, "La difficile genèse", p. 271 and Granier, "Lieux de mémoire."

68 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, 12, p. 409.

69 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, 25, p. 414.

70 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, 42, p. 425: "Si cuncta, quae in eodem sacro operatus est episcopio, scribere voluero, et fastidio sunt legentibus, et nos sicut inertes subcumbimus."

71 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, 46, p. 427. Granier, "Lieux de mémoire", pp. 85–86, suggests that these references to an *episcopium* may in fact refer to the episcopal burial ground and basilica at the shrine of St. Januarius.

72 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, 59, p. 432. On this episode, see Berto, "Utilius est veritatem proferre", pp. 54–55.

century. The first section, covering the years up to 762, was written by an anonymous author in the 840s. Between 896 and 903, a deacon named John wrote a continuation up to the year 872; and this text was subsequently continued by a sub-deacon named Peter up to an unknown point (the manuscript breaks off in 876) in the mid-10th century.⁷³ In contrast with the earlier sections, the later, post-Byzantine sections of the text include detailed narratives of the political and ecclesiastical controversies that beset the church of Naples in the 9th century between the bishops and the dukes of Naples, the Byzantines, and the popes.

The first part of the Naples *Gesta* begins with the supposed founder of the see, Aspren, and includes information for every bishop after him. However, this information is mostly not about the bishops, but instead consists of general historical material taken largely from the Roman *Liber pontificalis*, as well as other sources such as Bede's *Chronica* and Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*. By comparison, the second part of the *Gesta*, which starts with Bishop Paul in the year 762, tells us quite a lot about local affairs. We learn that Paul was a friend of the pope and appointed by him, and we also learn about the image controversy, which prevented him from being consecrated and resulted in a popular revolt against Byzantine authority.⁷⁴ From here on, most of the information is local and regards the accession of bishops, their patronage and burials, as well as the general political and ecclesiastical history and patronage undertaken by the ducal and consular families. Interestingly, we do not learn of any particular actions taken publicly to commemorate the episcopate in this period.

In 831 the body of Saint Januarius was captured by the Lombards and taken to Benevento, where it remained until 1129; despite this, the bishops of Naples continued to be buried in San Gennaro until the 10th century.⁷⁵ The loss of Januarius' relics gave rise to an intensification of interest in the bishop-saints, as seen in the 840s with the first composition of the *Gesta* as well as the translation of the bodies of several bishops from the San Gennaro catacomb and other locations to the *Stephania* cathedral. The *Gesta* lists several churches that by the 9th century were dedicated to Naples' early bishops as saints.

In sum, from the fragments of evidence that survive we can see that at Naples, as in Ravenna, episcopal commemoration began in the 6th century with the development of a martyr-shrine as a locus for episcopal burial and major churches sponsored by and named after bishops, and that the next few

73 See Granier, "La difficile genèse."

74 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, 41, pp. 424–5.

75 D'Ovidio, "Devotion and Memory", p. 88.

centuries witnessed the occasional construction of churches built in honor of saintly bishops of the past. Full historical treatment of the see, however, did not take place until the 9th century, in the context of local political and ecclesiastical crises.⁷⁶ These forms of commemoration were modeled upon Roman exemplars, but unlike at Ravenna, were not done in rivalry with Rome, but simply in emulation.

5 Southern Italy and Sicily

Direct Byzantine rule lasted the longest in the southern parts of Italy, yet ironically (or perhaps significantly), we know the least about the bishops of this region. Various scholars have traced the histories of the dioceses in this region,⁷⁷ showing that many sees that are named in papal documents or church council records from the 4th or 5th centuries disappear in the 6th and do not reappear until much later. In local historiography this disruption is blamed on the invasion of the “pagan” Lombards, and until recently historians have accepted this conclusion. Nowadays this disruption is more often seen as a result of the general depopulation and urban change that resulted from the plague and the Gothic War.⁷⁸ Whatever the case, the result is that we know very little about the bishops of southern Italy until the 8th or 9th centuries.⁷⁹ Even important and supposedly early Christian sees such as Reggio or Bari⁸⁰ do not preserve the names or burial places of their early bishops. Historians have concluded from this that the episcopate was weak and that the ecclesiastical network was decentralized and not vertically hierarchical.⁸¹ It is worth noting that, as in northern Italy, the same trends are generally seen both in Byzantine southern Italy and in Lombard cities such as Benevento, Capua, and Salerno.⁸²

76 The same can be said of Sorrento, which remained under the rule of Naples until the mid-9th century, after which it developed a tradition of veneration of its early bishop Renatus; see D'Angelo, “Agiografia”, pp. 84–5.

77 See Duchesne, “Les évêchés d'Italie”; Lanzoni, *Le diocesi d'Italia*; Fonseca, “Aspetti istituzionali”; Vitolo, “Vescovi e Diocesi”; Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*; D'Angelo, “Agiografia”.

78 Vitolo, “Vescovi e Diocesi”; Granier, “Évêques d'Italie méridionale latine.”

79 See, e.g., Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, p. 23.

80 Vitolo, “Vescovi e Diocesi”, p. 84; Martin, *La Pouille*, p. 245.

81 Ramseyer, *Transformation*, p. 11.

82 See esp. Granier, “Évêques d'Italie”; Granier, “Saints fondateurs”; Ramseyer, *Transformation*, pp. 42–54; and Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*. Benevento's episcopal saint Barbarian converted the Lombards to Christianity; Salerno's saint Quinigesius lived in the 490s; and Capua venerated bishop Priscus, who probably lived in the 550s but ended up in later tradition as a martyr sent by St. Peter.

Byzantine rule in southern Italy was marked by religious and political disputes between eastern-ruled churches and the popes, and an ecclesiastical organization that was in a continual state of change.⁸³ Iconoclasm was condemned at councils held in Rome in 731⁸⁴ and 769, and the popes stopped seeking imperial approval for elected candidates. At some point in the 8th century, the dioceses of Illyricum, southern Italy, and Sicily were transferred by the emperor from the pope's jurisdiction to the patriarch of Constantinople; there is no direct information regarding this transfer, but it must imply that those churches sided with the east on the issue of Iconoclasm.⁸⁵ Quarrels about jurisdiction over the churches of southern Italy were periodically revived, but there does not seem to have been much tension between Greek and Latin religious practices in the later 9th or 10th centuries unless political or ecclesiastical issues brought them to the fore.⁸⁶ The patriarchs of Constantinople had created a few metropolitan dioceses in southern Italy starting in the 9th century: Syracuse sometime in the 8th or 9th century, Reggio in 813–820, Otranto after 886, Bari in 953,⁸⁷ Taranto before 978, and Brindisi sometime in the late 10th century.⁸⁸ In reaction, but also as a result of local politics, the popes of the 10th century created Latin metropolitans: Capua in 966, Benevento and perhaps Naples in 969, Salerno ca. 983, and Amalfi in 987.⁸⁹ Struggles over jurisdiction continued into the 11th century, when the Norman conquest of both Byzantine and non-Byzantine territory was viewed with alarm by both the popes and the Byzantines. It was largely in the context of these ecclesiastical disputes that we see evidence of the promotion of bishops in southern Italian sees, but even here, the majority of appropriation of early bishop-saints happened after 1071.⁹⁰

83 D'Angelo, "Agiografia", p. 44.

84 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 2, *Vita Gregorii III*, 3, p. 416.

85 Anastos, "The Transfer", dated this event to 732–33, and is followed by most scholars. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, p. 90 n. 132, notes that our earliest source for this transfer is a letter from Pope Hadrian I (772–95) to Charlemagne, and that it might have happened in the 750s. Acconcia Longo, "I vescovi", pp. 140–43, argues instead that it happened in the 730s.

86 Ramseyer, *Transformation*, pp. 85–92.

87 The idea that Bari's prelate was an archbishop in 530 was a seventeenth-century idea that has been rejected; see Otranto, *Italia meridionale*, p. 178.

88 Vitolo, "Vescovi e Diocesi", pp. 119–20; Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 567–69.

89 Granier, "Naples aux IX^e et X^e siècles", pp. 127–28, who notes the first attestation of an Archbishop of Naples in 990. See also Granier, "Lieux de mémoire", p. 88 and Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, p. 12.

90 Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, pp. 68–71.

There are relatively few episcopal saints in Byzantine southern Italy, especially in Apulia. Saint Leucius was said by Paul the Deacon in the 8th century to have been sent by Saint Peter to Brindisi; his body was moved to Trani at that time and later to Lombard Benevento.⁹¹ Legends dating to after the 9th century describe Saint Peter as sending Amasianus to Taranto and Felix to Canosa.⁹²

Canosa presents a rare case in which we know something of the history of an episcopal see and of its most important episcopal saint, Sabinus.⁹³ This information exemplifies the complexities of defining “episcopal commemoration in Byzantine southern Italy.” Sabinus was bishop in the early-mid-sixth century, possibly ca. 514–66 (certainly 532–42), thus at the time of the Byzantine reconquest. He is already described as a saint in Gregory the Great’s *Dialogues*.⁹⁴ According to his 9th-century *vita*, he built a large and elaborate set of churches in the town, this construction activity has been confirmed by archaeology and particularly by his monogram on the bricks. These included the church of St. Peter, in which he and perhaps his successors were buried until the 7th century.⁹⁵ Canosa became part of the duchy of Benevento after the Lombard conquest. Sabinus’ relics were lost and rediscovered in the 680s by the Lombard duchess Theoderada, who built a chapel over them. A new cathedral was built by Bishop Peter in the early 9th century, and Sabinus’ body was moved there, as described in a text commissioned by Peter in 806–817.⁹⁶ After Canosa was sacked by the Muslims in the mid-9th century, Sabinus’ relics were taken to Bari, whereupon he became an episcopal saint for that city from that point onward. Bari was captured by the Byzantines in 871 and became the capital of Byzantine southern Italy, thus its bishop rose in the hierarchy, becoming a metropolitan in 953. However, during the 200-year period of Byzantine rule, there is no particular evidence for any additional commemoration of Sabinus; in fact, a later text states that his body was again “rediscovered” only after 1091.⁹⁷ Thus, on the one hand Sabinus himself seems to have been an active bishop-patron and commemorator of his see at the time of the Byzantine reconquest, when such activities were also seen in Rome, Ravenna, and Naples.

91 Paulus Diaconus, *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, prol., p. 261; see Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 129–30.

92 Martin, *La Pouille*, p. 129 n. 133, based on Lanzoni, *Le diocesi d'Italia*.

93 Volpe, “Architecture and Church Power”, p. 136.

94 Gregorius I, *Dialogi* 3.5, ed. A. De Vogüé, *Gregorii papae dialogorum libri quatuor de miraculis patrum Italicorum. Introduction, bibliographie et cartes*, 4 vols (Sources Chrésiennes, 260, 265), Paris 1979–1980, III: p. 274.

95 Volpe, “Il ruolo”.

96 Martin, *La Pouille*, p. 249; but Volpe, “Il ruolo”, p. 95.

97 Volpe, “Il ruolo”, p. 95.

On the other hand, during the later phase of Byzantine rule in the area, his cult does not seem to have attracted much attention.

There was a tradition of Greek hagiography in Calabria and Sicily, and before the Arab conquest, most of the saints in these texts were bishops, as particularly noted in texts written both in Greek and in Latin during the monothelite and Iconoclastic controversies, and thus in correspondence with the 8th-century transfer of these dioceses from Roman to Constantinopolitan jurisdiction.⁹⁸ Augusta Acconcia Longo has noted that between the end of the 7th century and the start of Iconoclasm, there was a burst of activity in Greek related to the apostolic origins of the sees of Syracuse, Taormina, Catania, Agrigento, Messina, Lentini, and Reggio, probably inspired by the autocephaly of Ravenna at this time.⁹⁹ In the 680s, Marcianus, the founder of the church of Syracuse who was sent by Saint Peter, had a shrine built in his honor. Syracuse, which was already the most important see in Sicily, was resisting Roman authority and would be made a metropolitanate by Constantinople in the 9th century, perhaps at the same time as Reggio, a diocese that had also developed an early legend of apostolic founding. Stephen's early *vita* is lost, but the Petrine origin of the see is mentioned in the *vita* of Saint Pancratius of Taormina, written ca. 787–815, which says that Saint Peter went to Ravenna, then Rome and Calabria, where he ordained Pancratius for Taormina and Stephen for Reggio before returning to Rome.¹⁰⁰ These Lives emphasize the priority of Rome and/or Saint Peter over the local sees. Other early bishop-martyrs are also known from Greek *vitae* written in the 8th or 9th centuries, such as Nico of Taormina and Berillus of Catania.¹⁰¹

The *vita* of Saint Pancratius was written within the context of Iconoclasm, specifically during the iconodule period after the Seventh Ecumenical Council. The text is very iconodule and stresses links between Taormina and Rome. Several other *vitae* of bishop-saints were also written during the period of Iconoclasm, and these did not celebrate early bishops, but rather those from the 7th and 8th centuries. An iconoclast-slanted *vita* for Leo, bishop of Catania, who probably lived around 600 but was presented as having lived ca. 720–40, was written ca. 813–30.¹⁰² Gregorius, bishop of Agrigento, had a Greek *vita* written around 800 that puts him in the 580s and 590s, as did Zosimus of Syracuse, who was bishop in the 640s and 650s and attended the anti-monothelite

98 Acconcia Longo, "I vescovi", p. 127; see also Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, pp. 37–40.

99 Acconcia Longo, "I vescovi", pp. 138–39.

100 Granier, "Saints fondateurs", p. 177; Acconcia Longo, "I vescovi", p. 145.

101 Follieri, "I santi dell'Italia greca", p. 100; Acconcia Longo, "I vescovi", pp. 131–32.

102 Follieri, "I santi dell'Italia greca", pp. 96–98; in fact, Leo II, bishop 765–85, is today considered to be the saint.

council at Rome of 649, although the *vita* does not discuss these events.¹⁰³ In other words, in the 9th century, cities in Sicily, whose bishops now came under the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople and who were gradually being appointed as metropolitans, were raising the status of their sees by identifying bishop-saints from whatever histories they could find, which primarily meant inventing apostolic founders or venerating more recent figures.

After the 9th century, however, most new saints in Calabria and Sicily were generally not local bishops, but ascetics.¹⁰⁴ This may well reflect the influence of Byzantine hagiographic traditions, but the result is a waning interest in episcopal saints in these areas until the post-Byzantine period.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. D.M. Deliyannis (*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 199), Turnhout 2004.
- Chronica Patriarcharum Gradensium*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH, SS rer. Lang. et Ital.*, Hannover 1878, pp. 392–397.
- Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH, SS rer. Lang. et Ital.*, Hannover 1878, pp. 398–436.
- Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, *Le « Liber Pontificalis ». Texte, introduction, et commentaire*, 2 vols., Paris 1886–1892 (repr., with a new third volume by Cyrille Vogel, Paris 1955).
- Paulus Diaconus, *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, prologue, ed. G.H. Pertz, in *MGH, SS.*, vol. 2, Hannover 1829, pp. 260–270.

Secondary Literature

- Acconcia Longo, A., “I vescovi nell’agiografia italogreca. Il contributo dell’agiografia alla storia delle diocesi italogreche”, in A. Jacob/J.-M. Martin/G. Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans L’Italie byzantine: acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l’École Française de Rome, 363), Rome 2006, pp. 127–53.
- Anastos, M.V., “The Transfer of Illyricum, Calabria, and Sicily to the Jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 732–33”, *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 9 (1957), 14–31.

103 Acconcia Longo, “I vescovi”, pp. 132–36 points out that Leo of Catania, Gregory of Agrigento, and Agatho of Lipari were all accused of crimes by Gregory the Great.

104 Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, pp. 107–138.

- Berto, L.A., "'Utilius est veritatem proferre.' A difficult memory to manage: narrating the relationships between bishops and dukes in early medieval Naples", *Viator* 39 (2008), 49–63.
- Blair Dixon, K., "Memory and authority in sixth-century Rome", in K. Cooper/J. Hillner (eds.), *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 59–76.
- Bruzelius, C./Tronzo, W., *Medieval Naples: An Architectural & Urban History, 400–1400*, New York 2011.
- Caillet, J., *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges: d'après l'épigraphie des pavements de mosaïque (IV^e–VII^e s.)*, (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 175), Rom 1993.
- D'Angelo, E., "Agiografia latina del mezzogiorno continentale d'Italia (750–1000)", in G. Philippart (ed.), *Hagiographies: histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, vol. 4, Turnhout 2006, pp. 41–134.
- D'Ovidio, S., "Devotion and Memory: Episcopal Portraits in the Catacombs of San Gennaro in Naples", in I. Foletti (ed.), *The Face of the Dead and the Early Christian World*, Rome 2013, pp. 85–106.
- Dale, T.E.A., *Relics, Prayer, and Politics in Medieval Venetia: Romanesque Painting in the Crypt of Aquileia Cathedral*, Princeton 1997.
- Deliyannis, D.M., "The *Liber pontificalis* of the Church of Ravenna and its Relation with the Roman Model", in F. Bougard/M. Sot (eds.), *Liber, gesta, histoire: Écrire l'histoire des évêques et des papes, de l'Antiquité au XXI^e siècle*, Brepols 2009, pp. 283–97.
- Deliyannis, D.M., *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2010.
- Deliyannis, D.M., "Ecclesius and San Vitale: the Episcopal Donor in Text and Image", in E. Gatti/S. Danielson (eds.), *Envisioning the Medieval Bishop*, Turnhout 2014, pp. 41–62.
- Deliyannis, D.M., "The Roman *Liber pontificalis*, Papal Primacy, and the Acacian Schism", *Viator* 45/3 (2014), 1–16.
- Diefenbach, S., "Urbs und ecclesia: Bezugspunkte kollektiver Heiligerinnerung im Rom des Bischofs Damasus (366–384)", in R. Behrwald/C. Witschel (eds.), *Rom in der Spätantike. Historische Erinnerung im städtischen Raum*, Stuttgart 2012, pp. 193–250.
- Duchesne, L., "Les évêchés d'Italie et l'invasion lombarde", *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École française de Rome* 23 (1903), 83–116 and 25 (1905), 365–401.
- Ekonomou, A.J., *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, A.D. 590–752*, Lanham, MD 2007.
- Follieri, E., "I santi dell'Italia greca", in A. Jacob/J.-M. Martin/G. Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans L'Italie byzantine: acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 363), Rome 2006, pp. 95–126.

- Fonseca, C.D., "Aspetti istituzionali dell'organizzazione ecclesiastica meridionale dal VI al IX secolo", in *Dalla prima alla seconda distruzione. Momenti e aspetti della storia cassinese (secc. VI–IX)* Montecassino 1987, pp. 297–316; (reprinted in id., *Particolarismo istituzionale e organizzazione ecclesiastica del Mezzogiorno medievale*, Galatina 1987, pp. 3–20).
- Geary, P.J., *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, rev. ed., Princeton 1990.
- Granier, T., "Évêques d'Italie méridionale latine, VII^e–IX^e siècles", in A. Wagner (ed.), *Les saints et l'histoire. Sources hagiographiques du haut Moyen Âge*, Rosny-sous-Bois 2004, pp. 141–51.
- Granier, T., "La difficile genèse de l'*Histoire des évêques de Naples* (milieu du IX^e–début du X^e siècle): le *scriptorium* et la famille des évêques", in F. Bouchard/M. Sot (eds.), *Liber, gesta, histoire. Écrire l'histoire des évêques et des papes, de l'Antiquité au XXI^e siècle*, Turnhout 2009, pp. 265–82.
- Granier, T., "Lieux de mémoire, lieux de culte à Naples aux V^e–X^e siècles: saint Janvier, saint Agrippin et le 'souvenir des évêques'", in C. Carozzi/H. Taviani-Carozzi (eds.), *Faire mémoire: Souvenir et commémoration au Moyen Âge*, Aix-en-Provence 1999, pp. 63–102.
- Granier, T., "Naples aux IX^e et X^e siècles: topographie religieuse et production hagiographique", in N. Coulet/O. Guyotjeannin (eds.), *La ville au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1998, pp. 113–31.
- Granier, T., "Saints fondateurs, récits d'origine et légendes apostoliques dans l'Italie méridionale des VIII^e–XII^e siècles", in E. Bozóký (ed.), *Hagiographie, idéologie et politique au Moyen Âge en Occident*, Turnhout 2012, pp. 165–83.
- Haldon, J., *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: the Transformation of a Culture*, Cambridge 1997.
- Lanzoni, F., *Le diocesi d'Italia dalle origini al principio del secolo VII (an. 604)*, Faenza 1927.
- Llewellyn, P., *Rome in the Dark Ages*, New York: 1970.
- Markus, R.A., *Gregory the Great and His World*, Cambridge 1997.
- Martin, J.-M., *La Pouille du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 179), Rome 1993.
- Noble, T.F.X., *The Republic of Saint Peter: the Birth of the Papal State, 680–825*, Philadelphia 1984.
- Noble, T.F.X., "Morbidity and Vitality in the History of the Early Medieval Papacy", *Catholic Historical Review* 81 (1995), 505–40.
- Oldfield, P., *Sanctity and Pilgrimage in Medieval Southern Italy, 1000–1200*, Cambridge 2014.
- Otranto, G., *Italia meridionale e Puglia paleocristiane: saggi storici*, Bari 1990.
- Picard, J.-Ch., "Étude sur l'emplacement des tombes des papes du III^e au X^e siècle", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 81 (1969), 725–82.

- Picard, J.-Ch., *Le Souvenir des évêques. Sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au X^e siècle* (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 268), Rome 1988.
- Ramseyer, V., *The Transformation of a Religious Landscape: Medieval Southern Italy, 850–1150*, Ithaca 2006.
- Sághy, M., “*Renovatio memoriae*: Pope Damasus and the Martyrs of Rome”, in R. Behrwald/C. Witschel (eds.), *Rom in der Spätantike. Historische Erinnerung im städtischen Raum*, Stuttgart 2012, pp. 251–66.
- Schoolman, E.M., “Reassessing the Sarcophagi of Ravenna”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 67 (2013), 49–74.
- Sessa, K., “Domestic conversions: households and bishops in the late antique ‘papal legends’”, in K. Cooper/J. Hillner (eds.), *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 79–114.
- Sotinel, C., *Identité civique et christianisme : Aquilée du III^e au VI^e siècle*, Rome 2005.
- Sotinel, C., “The Three Chapters and the Transformations of Italy”, in C. Chazelle/C. Cubitt (eds.), *The Crisis of the Oikoumene: The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean*, Turnhout 2007, pp. 85–120.
- Terry, A./Maguire, H., *Dynamic Splendor: The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč*, University Park, PA 2007.
- Thacker, A., “Popes, Patriarchs, and Archbishops and the Origins of the Cult of the Martyrs in Northern Italy”, in P. Clarke/T. Claydon (eds.), *Saints and Sanctity (Studies in Church History 47)*, Woodbridge 2011, pp. 51–57.
- Vitolo, G., “Vescovi e Diocesi”, in G. Galasso (ed.), *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, 3 vol., Naples 1990, pp. 73–151.
- Volpe, G., “Architecture and Church Power in Late Antiquity: Canosa and San Giusto (Apulia)”, in L. Lavan/L. Özgenel/A. Sarantis (eds.), *Housing in Late Antiquity*, Leiden 2007, pp. 131–68.
- Volpe, G., “Il ruolo dei vescovi nei processi di trasformazione del paesaggio urbano e rurale”, in G.P. Brogiolo/A. Chavarría Arnau (eds.), *Archeologia e società tra tardo antico e alto medioevo*, Mantua 2007, pp. 85–106.
- Wirbelauer, E., *Zwei Päpste in Rom. Der Konflikt zwischen Laurentius und Symmachus (498–514)*, Munich 1993.

Telling the Sanctity in Byzantine Italy

Mario Re

Early Christian hagiographical literature was composed of narratives concerning the martyrs who were victims of the pagan persecutions. Byzantine Italy was not an exception. From the most ancient texts dating back up to the 5th century AD, to the legendary Passions of later centuries, several narrations have been preserved, where the heroic deeds of the protagonists, typically martyrs or confessors, are set in Italy or Sicily. These works, written by unknown authors, nowadays exist in several versions in Latin and Greek; their narrative structure is essentially rigid, with the repetition of classic schemes that were implemented in this genre since its earliest days. Aside from being set in Italy, which is also the place where these protagonists die, these texts do not differ at all from other works on martyrs written elsewhere in the empire.¹

Almost all Passions that were supposedly written in Italy belong to a category of epic works according to Hyppolite Delehaye's classification,² except for the acta of St. Euplios, which concerned a martyr from Catania who lived during the time of the Diocletianic persecutions, whose reliability places it within the category of historical passions.³ Among the various existing versions, the oldest was written in Greek (*BHG* and *BHG Nov. Auct.* 629) and dates back to the 5th–6th centuries.⁴ It re-elaborates two short dialogues which occurred during the questioning undertaken by the protagonist, whereby the centrality of the Gospels, showed to the judges by Euplios himself, was emphasized. Its simple narrating scheme is typical of historically reliable narrations, consisting in sharp, alternating lines between the martyr and Calvisian, the corrector, followed by Euplios' execution by lapidation. In this final part, the presence of the unknown author becomes more evident. In later narrations, the original version was gradually enriched with various elements, thus acquiring the typical features of an epic passion.

1 Re, "Italo-Greek Hagiography", pp. 229–231. See also Milazzo, "La Sicilia: Agata e Lucia", pp. 262–263; Efthymiadis, "L'hagiographie grecque", pp. 354–365.

2 Delehaye, *Les passions des martyrs*, pp. 171–226; Detoraki, "Greek Passions", pp. 66–73.

3 Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, pp. 314–318; Pricoco, "Monaci e santi", p. 248.

4 Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Note agiografiche* 7, pp. 1–54; Corsaro, *Studi sui documenti agiografici*.

Lucia of Syracuse and Agatha of Catania were among the most praised and popular Sicilian martyrs. The *Passio I of St. Lucia* (BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 995) supposedly dates back to the end of the 5th century.⁵ This text consists of three macrosequences: the prequel (the healing of Lucia's mother, the selling of the family's assets, the fiancé's report), the questioning followed by the torturing, and ending with the final immolation. The saint's prophecy leads to the conclusion of this text, predicting the end of Emperors Maximian and Diocletian, as well as the establishment of her cult, carried out by the inhabitants of Syracuse. This narration, which is almost entirely deprived of concrete historical and geographical references, follows the traditional schemes of the *acta martyrum*. Some centuries later, namely around the 9th century, a new account of the martyr from Syracuse's passion was written. In this work (BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 995d) the background structure is totally altered, embracing the typical features of a panegyric, such as the rhetorical amplification of the material, a dramatic exasperation of narrative elements, the frequent mentioning of classic authors' quotations, as well as an affected style. As underlined by some scholars,⁶ this anonymous author was probably born in Syracuse and made use of a literary form (the genre of the *passio*) already codified and tested by time in order to attain a wide consideration among the believers' audience.

Both at the beginning and at the end of the narration of *Passio I of St. Lucia*, the memory of this saint is closely reminiscent of Saint Agatha's. Several Latin and Greek texts narrating the events related to the martyrdom of this saint have also been preserved. The probable oldest Greek version, *Passio BHG* and *BHG Nov. Auct.* 37 derive from the Latin version and dates between 6th and 8th century.⁷

Outside the Sicilian territory, the Roman martyrs were popular subjects and were often written about. However, the several texts in which they are protagonists are neither part of a whole corpus, nor were they intentionally conceived to celebrate Rome itself. In the oldest texts, previous versions seem to have been modified or rewritten, some of which have been attributed to the Greek monasteries that were located in the capital city.⁸ Among these texts, it is worth mentioning the ancient *Passio of St. Tatiana* (BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 1699), set in Emperor Alexander Severus' time and supposedly written in

5 *Passio I Luciae*, ed. G. Rossi Taibbi, *Martirio di Santa Lucia. Vita di Santa Marina* (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici. Testi, 6), Palermo 1959, pp. 49–71: pp. 18–23. See Milazzo, "La Sicilia: Agata e Lucia".

6 Rizzo Nervo, "Tradizione narrativa", p. 256.

7 See Crimi, "L'Encomio di S. Agata", p. 136.

8 See Halkin, *Légendes grecques*, pp. 7–8.

Rome in the 7th century,⁹ which incorporates the traditional repertoire typical of epic passions, such as accusations of witchcraft, innumerable tortures followed by miraculous events, and wild beasts falling at the saint's feet instead of devouring her. The *Passio of St. Sophie and Her Three Daughters* (Faith, Hope and Charity) is another interesting text. It has been preserved in Greek in three premetaphrastic versions (*BHG* and *BHG Nov. Auct.* 1637y, 1637x, 1637z), whose content is more linear and contains less *topoi* than the *Passio Tatianae*. Its original version was presumably written in Constantinople in the 4th century.¹⁰

Saint Vitus represents a particular typology of martyr. He was a seven-year-old child who displayed the typical features of *puer senex*, which are widely described in the earliest Christian literature.¹¹ The origin of this cult can be individuated at the sanctuary of Saint Vitus the Sele River, which marked the former border between Lucania and Campania. Several versions in Latin, as well as four versions in Greek, have been preserved. It is highly likely, although not certain, that the oldest version among those that survive (*BHG* 1876a) is a translation from Latin dating to the second half of the 6th century.¹² Little Vitus is the absolute protagonist of the story, with the characters of Modestos the tutor and Crescentia the wet nurse merely holding silent. The child carries out a series of spectacular prodigies and miraculous healings, thus humiliating the numerous antagonists whom he has to confront (his father, who was an uncompromising pagan, Valerian the Eparch, Emperor Diocletian). Among other Greek versions, *BHG* 1876, although of uncertain dating, is particularly interesting for its language style, with the constant use of sophisticated and rhetorically elaborated constructions, including some extremely unusual terms which were typical of the classic epical and tragic tradition.¹³

The *Passio of Vitus*, the *Martyrium of Lucia and Geminianus* (*BHG* 224; *BHL* e *BHL Nov. Suppl.* 4985–4990c) and the *Passio of St. Potitos* (*BHL* 6908), the latter only existing at the present time in Latin versions, are highly similar with regards to their plots. Besides the analogous events recounted in all the versions of the three above-mentioned texts, a highly significant element is worth mentioning: the presence of an otherwise unknown god called Arpas.¹⁴

9 Halkin, *Légendes grecques*, p. 11.

10 Lequeux, "Latin Hagiographical Literature", p. 11.

11 On this *topos* see Festugière, "Lieux communs littéraires", pp. 137–139; Scorza Barcellona, "Infanzia e martirio", pp. 59–83; Kalogeras, "What do they think about children?"; Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos*, pp. 88–92.

12 Re, "Note per un'edizione", pp. 1044–1047; *Passio Viti*, pp. 106–112, 124–149.

13 Re, "Note per un'edizione", pp. 1051–1052; *Passio Viti*, pp. 43–51, 202–229.

14 Re, "Note per un'edizione", p. 1043; *Passio Luciae et Geminiani*, pp. 84–89; *Passio Viti*, pp. 53–55.

The Greek version of the *Martyrium of Lucia and Geminianus*, as it exists at the present time, may have been deeply modified by a Sicilian hagiographer during the 8th–9th centuries from its original Latin version written in Rome at the end of the 7th century. It is associated with a church built on the Esquiline Hill, dedicated to Lucia from Syracuse during the time of Pope Honorius I (625–638). This circumstance may have facilitated the switch from the Syracusan martyr to the Roman widow, celebrated on the 16 of September, which is also the date when the church was built.¹⁵

The *Passio of St. Apollinaris* is also worth mentioning. It was written in Latin (*BHL* 623) and subsequently translated into Greek (*BHG* 2038).¹⁶ Although it fits into the scheme of the abovementioned legendary passions, this text is particularly interesting with regards to its main theme: the ordination performed by Saint Peter permitting Saint Apollinaris to evangelize Ravenna. Its related legend may have expanded throughout the 7th century, to support the attempts by Ravenna's clergy to gain the status of autocephaly from Rome, which was awarded by Costans II in 666 with a short-lived decree.¹⁷ The *Passio Apollinaris* is probably the first text in which the theme of the apostolic origins of a diocese in Byzantine Italy appears. As will be mentioned further, other churches, especially in Sicily, soon began to make similar claims, through the creation of legends centred around the mythical figures of protobishops.¹⁸

A radically different text from the ones already described is the *Life of Pope Martin I* (*BHG* 2259). The narration of this unknown author, who was probably a Greek-speaking monk from Rome, focuses on the events ranging from the Lateran Council of 649, where Monotheletism was condemned, to the death of the exiled pope in Cherson (Crimea). This work features the elements of a chronicle written in a linear and simple style. Typical features of texts on martyrs, such as inviting the executioners to quickly carry out their duties, or emphasizing the confessor's radiant face,¹⁹ only occur in the section dedicated to the humiliations which Martin had to suffer in Constantinople. There is no mention of any miraculous event.

The *Life of St. Zosimos*, a biographical text about the bishop of Syracuse, has been preserved only in a Latin translation (*BHL* 9026) of the original Greek

15 *Passio Luciae et Geminiani*, pp. 95–102.

16 Lequex, "Latin Hagiographical Literature", p. 390.

17 Follieri, "Vite ed inni greci", pp. 195–199; Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, p. 369. Re-examination of the matter by Cosentino, "Constans II".

18 See Acconcia Longo, "Il contributo dell'agiografia", pp. 192–193.

19 *Vita Martini papae*, chs. 7–8, p. 259, ed. P. Peeters, "Une vie grecque du Pape S. Martin I", *Analecta Bollandiana* 51 (1933), pp. 225–262. See Efthymiadis, "L'hagiographie grecque", p. 359.

version²⁰ and features almost none of the “miraculous Christian.” This work was written at the end of the 7th century, a few decades after the protagonist’s death, which occurred between 655 and 662,²¹ as implied by the details indicated in the text. In it the monastic ideal (Zosimos was first a monk and later abbot, before becoming a bishop) is joined to the daily practice of the good bishop: pastoral care of the flock, unceasing preaching activity, and the ability to successfully confront the representatives of the civil power. This hagiographer depicts an exemplary figure of bishop, drawing inspiration from the models consecrated by the episcopal hagiographic tradition, such as the *Funeral Orations* to Basil the Great and Athanasios of Alexandria, written by Gregory of Nazianzos, as well as the *Life of John the Merciful* by Leontios of Neapolis (BHG 886). From these works, the biographer of the prelate from Syracuse has drawn several episodes, as well as several rhetorical devices which give the text the typical features of an encomium,²² especially in the introduction and in the final part. Due to its simple plot and the consistency of the historical facts narrated, although still filtered through literal and ideological schemes, the *Vita Zosimi* is evidently in contrast with the hagiographic production of the iconoclastic time, which is characterised by a pronounced narrative structure, discordant anachronisms, and the widening of the social and geographical framework. A rationalistic attitude is evident in this work, through which the concept of the miracle as the fundamental element to define sainthood is doubted. Indeed, Zosimos does not perform any miracle during his life; furthermore, only three *post mortem* healings are briefly mentioned at the end of the text.²³ It is the hagiographer himself who clearly expresses his own point of view when affirming in the preface that the works of virtue are more important than the excellence of miracles.²⁴ This tendency, originating in Byzantium from the 6th century onwards, is clearly affirmed in the *Life of Theodore the Studite* (9th century) and the *Life of Athanasios the Athonite* (11th century).²⁵ This anti-thaumaturgy line, which highlights Christian virtues rather than miracles, finds in the Italo-Greek milieu its finest expression in the *Life of St. Neilos of Rossano*, which will be later illustrated in-depth. The hagiographer of the saint

20 *Vita Zosimi*, pp. 839–843. See Acconcia Longo, “Agiografia e narrativa”, p. 239, n. 17.

21 Re, “La *Vita* di s. Zosimo vescovo di Siracusa come fonte”, pp. 192–193.

22 See Pricoco, “Monaci e santi”, pp. 266–267; Acconcia Longo, “La *Vita* di Zosimo”; Acconcia Longo, “Il contributo dell’agiografia”, pp. 183–185; Re, “La *Vita* di s. Zosimo vescovo di Siracusa: qualche osservazione”; Re, “Ancora sulle fonti letterarie”.

23 See Re, “La *Vita* di s. Zosimo vescovo di Siracusa come fonte”, p. 192.

24 *Vita Zosimi*, p. 839 C.

25 Dagron, “L’ombre d’un doute”; Déroche, “Pourquoi écrivait-on”; Auzépy, “L’évolution de l’attitude”; Kaplan, “Le miracle est-il nécessaire”; Kaldellis, “The Hagiography of Doubt”.

from Calabria affirms, in two different passages, that what really counts is the holiness of life and not miracles, which may easily impress stupid people.²⁶

The martyrial model continued to arouse interest throughout the 8th and 9th centuries. In Byzantium, the cult of martyrs of the Islamic conquest²⁷ and the victims of the iconoclastic persecutions triggered the production of new texts in which the traditional scheme was adapted to the new historical reality.²⁸ In southern Italy and in Sicily, where the bilingualism of the oldest passions gave way to the sole use of Greek, the transformation of the traditional model is evident in some texts characterised by their lengthiness and complex plot.

A clear example of this change is the *Passio of Alphios, Philadelphos, and Kyrinos*, the three brothers martyrs in Lentini during Emperor Licinius time. It consists of successive sections which make up a romanticising slightly iconophile cycle,²⁹ written between the end of the 8th century and the beginning of the next, which comprise the actual *Passio* (*BHG* and *BHG Nov. Auct.* 57),³⁰ as well as several *additamenta*, which are still inedited in the original Greek version (*BHG* and *BHG Nov. Auct.* 58–62, 2021).³¹ This resulted in a combination where the three protagonists' vicissitudes were intertwined with numerous secondary stories, characterised by a constant resorting to narrating devices aimed at increasing suspense, including: miracles of all sorts, apparitions, journeys, and conversions. This novel-like narration is accompanied by the recounting of the foundation of the bishoprics at Lentini and Lipari, as well as the events related to their first bishops: Agathon, the bishop of Lipari, is the tutor of Neophytos, the first Lentini Bishop. The element of the apostolic foundation of Lentini diocese is thus introduced through the figure of the apostle

26 *Vita Nili*, ch. 14, p. 62; ch. 95, pp. 130–131. See Luzzati Laganà, “Catechesi e spiritualità”, pp. 710–711; Follieri, “I santi dell’Italia greca”, 26–27; ead., “Echi della Vita di Antonio”, p. 23.

27 Griffith, “Christians, Muslims and Neo-Martyrs”; id., “The Lives of Theodore of Edessa”, pp. 147–148; Binggeli, “Converting the Caliph”; Swanson, “Arabic Hagiography”, pp. 354–356; Flusin, “Palestinian Hagiography”, pp. 215–217; Papaconstantinou, “Saints and Saracens”, pp. 327–328; Sahner, “Old Martyrs”.

28 Rydén, “New Forms of Hagiography”, p. 540; Auzépy, *L’hagiographie et l’iconoclasme byzantin*, pp. 21–46; Efthymiadis, “Hagiography from the ‘Dark Age’”, pp. 99–101, 113–114.

29 See Acconcia Longo, “Il contributo dell’agiografia”, p. 190; Rotman, “Converts in Byzantine Italy”, pp. 900–904.

30 *Passio Alphi, Philadelphii et Cyrini* and *Additamenta*, in *AASS Maii*, vol. 2, pp. 528–549 (*Additamenta*, in Latin translation), 772–788 (*Passio*).

31 Latin translation *ibid.*, pp. 528–549.

Andrew miraculously consecrating Neophitos.³² At present, it is still not clear how the *dossier* on the saints of Lentini was formed. However, a recent reconsideration of the manuscript tradition³³ has highlighted that at least the first *additamentum* (which is about the first bishop of this Sicilian town whose name previous to his conversion was Alexander) was originally incorporated in the *Passio*. It is therefore more likely that the cyclical structure of this text is the result of successive extensions, rather than being the product of a whole literary work.

Also in the extended *Life of St. Pankratios of Taormina* (*BHG* and *BHG Nov. Auct.* 1410, end of the 8th century, beginning of the 9th century, although a *terminus ante quem* could be individuated in the year 770³⁴) the traditional scheme of epic passions is deeply modified and excessively expanded. This work, which is worth mentioning for its vivid language despite its rather common prose, fits into the category of pseudoapostolic acts which became widely popular between the 6th and the 8th century (Saint Bartholomew in Armenia and Heraclides from Cyprus).³⁵ The plot begins with the episcopal ordination of both the protagonist, Saint Pankratios and Saint Markianos, performed by Saint Peter in Antioch. Their duty is to evangelize Taormina and Syracuse, respectively. When describing the events which took place in Sicily, the hagiographer illustrates a long series of adventures, featuring several fictional devices and literary motifs, up to Pankratios' martyrdom, which is ascribed to the pagans. Furthermore, the aetiological legend of Tauros and Menia, the eponymous heroes of Taormina, is noteworthy; it is added towards the end of this hagiographic romance with the aim of providing mythical origins in order to amplify the glory of this town.³⁶

The relationship between Pankratios and Markianos, which implies a rivalry between Taormina and Syracuse, is equally relevant, as it raises some anachronistic issues with regards to the period when this work was written. In fact, the hagiographer seems to suggest a comparison between the two places,

32 Gerbino, "Appunti per un'edizione", pp. 33–34; Acconcia Longo, "Il contributo dell'agiografia", pp. 188–189; Re, "Due elezioni episcopali".

33 Re, *Il codice lentinese*, pp. 13–15, 51–52; id., "Un manoscritto del *Martyrium*".

34 In this year, indeed, seems to have been composed an iconophile collection of texts, in which a passage from the *Vita Pancratii* is quoted: see Alexakis, *Codex Parisinus Graecus 115*, pp. 103–104, 225–226.

35 Van Esbroeck/Zanetti, "Le dossier hagiographique", pp. 157–58; Acconcia Longo, "L'antichità pagana", p. 94.

36 See Angiò, "La *Vita di Tauro*"; Van Esbroeck / Zanetti, "Le dossier hagiographique", pp. 166–169; Brandes, "Das Gold der Menia", pp. 188–208.

although manifestly in favour of Taormina, in a time when Syracuse, seat of the *strategos* of Sicily since the constitution of the Theme of Sicily at the end of the 7th century, was undisputedly the most relevant city in the island.³⁷

In addition to the already-mentioned elements, in the *Life of St. Pankratios* the cult of images is vehemently defended. It is sufficient to refer to the icons, as well as a detailed iconographic programme handed out by Saint Peter to Pankratios and Markianos when setting off to Sicily, in order to decorate the churches to be erected in Sicily.³⁸

Conversely, the *Life of Leo Bishop of Catania* stems from the opposite inspiration, as demonstrated by Augusta Acconcia Longo.³⁹ It was presumably written during the second phase of the iconoclastic controversy (between 815 and 829). This text, in its oldest version (*BHG* 981), has been censored in order to conceal its iconoclastic origin. The outcome is astonishing, as the main protagonist is not the bishop, who is barely described, but his opponent, Heliodoros the sorcerer, who obtained his magic powers through a pact with the devil mediated by a Jewish magician; from that moment on, the impious adventures of Heliodoros follow one after another, ranging from various types of sorcery to matter transformation and instantaneous displacements from Catania to Constantinople and vice versa. If considered from a Christian point of view, Heliodoros is undoubtedly a master of evil; however, his adventures still fascinate the modern reader due to the combination of fabulous and folkloristic elements with themes deriving from the hagiographic and the profane literature.⁴⁰

An iconoclastic tendency has been recently individuated also in the *Passio of St. Nikon and his 199 Companions* (*BHG* and *BHG Nov. Auct.* 1369), presumably written in Sicily during the second phase of the controversy on images.⁴¹ It is the sole Italo-Greek text dedicated to a military saint, a category otherwise

37 Acconcia Longo, "Siracusa e Taormina", pp. 59–71; ead., "L' encomio per s. Marciano", pp. 76–77. On the texts concerning Pankratios and Markianos see also Efthymiadis, "L'hagiographie grecque", pp. 376–380.

38 Acconcia Longo, "L'antichità pagana", p. 93.

39 *Vita Leonis*, pp. 43–61. Criticism of the Acconcia Longo's view by Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature*, pp. 296–300; and Alexakis, *The Greek Life of St. Leo*, pp. 60–75. Both Kazhdan and Alexakis reject the theory that the *Life of St. Leo* is a text of iconoclastic inspiration. Acconcia Longo's convincing replies in "Note sul dossier agiografico", and in the review to Alexakis' book in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 62 (2012), 281–286. See also Acconcia Longo, "Agiografia e narrativa", pp. 250–254.

40 *Vita Leonis*, pp. 13–36.

41 Acconcia Longo, "La *passio* di s. Nicone". See also Motta, "Santi-soldati nelle campagne siciliane".

widely celebrated in Byzantium. Featuring low-level prose, this work assembles typical features of epic passions, such as violent tortures, prodigious events, and talking animals combined with novel-like elements such as vicissitudes, journeys, and recognitions. The Naples-born protagonist, who was martyred in Sicily, is firstly introduced as a soldier; after his conversion, as a monk and abbot-bishop without an episcopal see; and lastly, as a martyr during Emperor Decius' time (249–251). The fictitious content of this work is evident in its anachronisms: for instance, Nikon embarks to Constantinople at the beginning of the 3rd century, when the city on the Bosphorus would undoubtedly not have borne this name.⁴²

The *Life of Gregory of Agrigento* was written between 750 and 830 by Leontios, a monk from the Greek monastery of St. Saba in Rome (*BHG* and *BHG Nov. Auct.* 707).⁴³ It was also written as a long hagiographic novel featuring the typical adventures of this genre. Of particular relevance is the travel motif: the numerous transfers of the protagonist outline within the plot; a scenario involving some of the major Mediterranean cities such as Rome, Constantinople, Tripoli, and Jerusalem. Although resorting to a low-level language, the hagiographer's exhibition of his mastery of narrative structures is evident, mainly through the use of flashbacks: in three separate instances a different person assumes the role of the narrator to recall facts related to Gregory's previous events using words and gestures typical of characters from epic or romantic literature. These "stories in the story" are narrated in the only section of the text in which the protagonist is not present on the scene.⁴⁴ It should be noted that the characters of Gregory of Agrigento, Leo of Catania, and Agathon of Lipari (who appears in a section of the *Passio of Alphios, Philadelphos, and Kyrinos*) seem to be inspired by well-known historical figures; specifically, three bishops of Agrigento, Catania, and Lipari who lived at the time of Gregory the Great (590–604) had the same names as the abovementioned saints. For various reasons, all three were investigated and persecuted (according to the pope's *Letters*); all three, in the fictional hagiography, were transferred to different times and inserted into adventurous plots marked by numerous inconsistencies and anachronisms. The reasons behind such devices remain obscure.⁴⁵

42 Acconcia Longo, "La *passio* di s. Nicone", pp. 38–39.

43 *Vita Gregorii*, pp. 47–48. See Efthymiadis, "L'hagiographie grecque", p. 360; Crimi, "Gregorio d'Agrigento e i suoi nemici"; Cosentino, "Quando e perché".

44 *Vita Gregorii*, chs. 19–25, pp. 164–176. See Re, "Italo-Greek Hagiography", pp. 245–246.

45 See Acconcia Longo, "Il contributo dell'agiografia", pp. 185–190.

Two encomia were devoted to the legendary figures of Pankratios of Taormina and Markianos of Syracuse, the protagonists of the afore mentioned *Life of St. Pankratios*. The *Enkomion of St. Markianos* (BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 1030) was most likely written at the beginning of the 8th century (and no later than the middle of the following century).⁴⁶ The praise of the first bishop of Syracuse, whose Petrine investiture was probably established here for the first time, seems to have been commissioned by his successor Theodosios, a historically well-defined figure, unlike that of Markianos, as he was the prelate who represented Syracuse at the Roman synod in 680.⁴⁷ Moreover, at least in the second part of the work, the focus is mainly on Theodosios, promoter of the procession at the end of which an altar dedicated to Markianos was consecrated. As required by the rules of the encomiastic genre, the narrative material is extremely compressed in favour of long rhetorical digressions in which the author's consistent attempt to raise the style is evident, although not always successfully accomplished. The *Enkomion of St. Pankratios* (BHG 1411) was written by a monk called Gregory, who belonged to the Constantinopolitan monastery *tou Pagouriou*, although various elements may suggest that this text was written, or at least recited, in Sicily between 810 and 820.⁴⁸ Its narrative content is mainly linked with the *Life of St. Pankratios*, hence the motif of the Petrine investiture and the tendency to endorse the worship of images. The style is obviously rhetorically elaborated, characterized by extended periods, and abounding of figures of speech, as well as syntactic and conceptual symmetries.

As previously mentioned, the *Life of St. Pankratios*, the *Passio of Alphios* and his brothers and the *Enkomion of St. Markianos* were all associated with the theme of the apostolic origins of the dioceses of Taormina, Syracuse, and Lentini in the wake of the legend of Saint Apollinaris of Ravenna, in which this issue was asserted for the first time. Between the 8th century and the first half of the following century, apostolic origins were also claimed by other Italo-Greek churches, such as Reggio Calabria (St. Stephen) and Catania (St. Berillos). In her eminent study in 1964,⁴⁹ Évelyne Patlagean individuated in these legends and their related texts (which also included the *Life of St. Gregory of Agrigento* and that of Saint Philip of Agira, which will be discussed later) the eagerness

46 Acconcia Longo, "Siracusa e Taormina", pp. 60–64; ead., "L'encomio per s. Marciano", pp. 78–79.

47 Acconcia Longo, "Siracusa e Taormina", pp. 60–62; ead., "Il contributo dell'agiografia", pp. 192–193.

48 *Encomium Pancratii*, ed. C. Stallman-Pacitti, "The Encomium of S. Pancratius of Taormina by Gregory the Pagurite", *Byzantion* 60 (1990), 334–365; 334–336.

49 Patlagean, "Les moines grecs d'Italie". See also Morini, "Dell'apostolicità di alcune chiese".

to support the Roman papacy in the following claims against the Byzantine imperial authority during the “hot phase” of the iconoclastic crisis: the defence of the legitimacy of images; ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Illyricum and southern Italy; and absolute authority in questions of dogma. However, various articles published in the wake of this study have modified the “pontifical theses” of the abovementioned scholar due to the difficulty in fitting the many recurring details in these texts within the overall scheme.⁵⁰ Furthermore, scholars now primarily consider the legendary motif of the apostolic origins of the Sicilian dioceses to have served as a tool for both the endorsement of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of that time and the contest for primacy on the island.⁵¹ For instance, the rivalry between Syracuse and Taormina appears to be evident in the above mentioned dispute between Pankratios and Markianos.

Three more texts are to be mentioned before moving to the Italo-Greek hagiographic production of the 10th–11th centuries. According to the manuscripts, the *Life of St. Phantinos of Tauriana* (BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 1058–1059), which is actually a well-done, stylistically composed panegyric, is attributed to Peter, a bishop probably from Syracuse. The story is set in the 4th century, although the text is likely to date back to the end of the first phase of the iconoclastic controversy.⁵² The narrative content is constantly punctuated by lengthy digressions featuring rhetorical elaboration and didactic issues, while the period articulation is well-balanced and characterized by the frequent use of the rhythmic clauses. *Vita Phantini* is followed by a collection of twenty miracles, the first eighteen of which, as demonstrated by A. Acconcia Longo,⁵³ should be ascribed to a different author than Bishop Peter (who, however, wrote miracles 19–20) and whose literary skills were of a lower level. This author presumably composed his work in order to “establish and publicize the role of a small provincial shrine” over a span of time between the end of the 7th century and the Islamic conquest of Syracuse (878), although it may have even been written as far back as before the beginning of the invasion of Sicily (827).⁵⁴ The *Miracula Phantini* 1–18, after becoming a stand-alone text, constitute the only example of this type of Italo-Greek hagiography. They belong to a “mixed” genre: not only are healings narrated, but Phantinos’ intervention also occurs within a whole different series of circumstances.

50 Mango, “La culture grecque”, pp. 704–705; Sansterre, *Les moines grecques et orientaux*, vol. 1, pp. 131–136; Pricoco, “Monaci e santi”, pp. 263–266; Acconcia Longo, “Il contributo dell’agiografia”, pp. 201–205.

51 Acconcia Longo, “Siracusa e Taormina”, pp. 64–73.

52 Acconcia Longo, “La Vita e i Miracoli di s. Fantino”, p. 36.

53 Acconcia Longo, “La Vita e i Miracoli di s. Fantino”, pp. 23–31.

54 Acconcia Longo, “I *Miracula* s. *Phantini*”, pp. 45–52.

The *Life of St. Philip of Agira* (*BHG* and *BHG Nov. Auct.* 1531), most likely written towards the end of the 9th century⁵⁵ and set in the 5th century, recounts the legendary adventures of the eponymous saint of the monastery of the same name built in the vicinity of Mount Etna, where a number of the leading saints in the hagiography of the following centuries fulfilled their apprenticeships. Similarly to the previously mentioned work, this text, attributed to Eusebius, a monk who appears within the narrative itself, manifests significantly legendary characters from its fairy-like *incipit* ("At the time of Emperor Arcadios, in the province of Thrace, there lived a man named Theodosios ... and had married a respectable woman called Augia").⁵⁶ The plot is linear until Philip, after being ordained a priest in Rome by the pope himself, comes to Agira with the task of casting out demons settled therein. At this point a long series of miracles begins, especially healings performed by the protagonist, which end with the final liberation of Agira from the demons. A long digression is linked to this section, which is also markedly fabulous and concerns a young man from Palermo, who was born thanks to the intercession of the saint and, therefore, also called Philip. As Philip of Palermo's story wraps up, the work quickly comes to a conclusion, with the death of the protagonist. This text leaves the impression of being "layered," consisting of three almost juxtaposed parts. Not surprisingly, in a rewriting of the legend attributed in the manuscripts to none other than Athanasios, the patriarch of Alexandria, but in all likelihood actually dating to a later period (between the 13th and 14th centuries), the section related to Philip of Palermo is missing, while the miracles attributed the great thaumaturgist are numbered according to the typical manner of the collections of miracles.⁵⁷

The *Life* by Eusebius, written in a popular style characterized by an often convoluted syntax, introduces, albeit indirectly, the already-mentioned theme of apostolicity, here presented in reference to the foundation of the monastery of Agira: Philip, sailing towards Rome, is caught in a violent storm, but the intervention of "the Apostle dressed as a pope" (Saint Peter) miraculously calms the storm.⁵⁸ Somehow Philip's mission (once again from east to west) is bestowed with a Petrine ordinance characterized by the office entrusted to him by the pope in Rome, as evidenced by the frequent assimilation between the figure of the pope and that of Saint Peter, suggested by the hagiographer.⁵⁹

55 *Vita Philippi Agyrensis*, pp. 26–32. See Acconcia Longo, "Aspirazioni eremitiche", pp. 144–145.

56 *Vita Philippi Agyrensis*, ch. 1, p. 120.

57 See Pasini, "Edizione della vita pseudoatanasiana".

58 *Vita Philippi*, ch. 6, p. 134.

59 *Vita Philippi*, p. 42; Pricoco, "Monaci e santi", pp. 281–283.

The *Passio of the Sts. Senator, Viator, Cassiodoros, and Dominata*, recently dated to between the 9th and 10th centuries,⁶⁰ has been preserved in various versions (*BHG* and *BHG Nov. Auct.* 1622–1623c) that are still unpublished. The outline of this legend is reminiscent of the typical elements of epic passions. The model of martyrdom, however, is modified by the insertion of an initial part, which is more consistent with the characteristics of the bios genre, and a conclusion focused on the discovery and the transfer of the martyrs' relics.⁶¹

Most of the texts which have been previously considered, written between the 8th and 9th centuries, have long been underestimated by scholars due to their legendary character which often renders them ineffectual for a reliable reconstruction of events, especially with regards to the question of the origins of the Sicilian dioceses. However, as demonstrated by recent analyses, once the veil of inconsistencies, anachronisms, and blatant misrepresentations has been lifted, they prove to be extremely interesting for the numerous propagandist and ideological aspects underlying their composition.⁶² Moreover, on a purely literary level, some of these works, due to their fictional character, held a considerable appeal for readers of that time, even for those outside of the areas described in the narratives. This is implied by the number of manuscripts in which they survive, which is particularly high in the case of the *Life of St. Gregory of Agrigento* and the *Vita Pancratii*.⁶³ The latter has been preserved through various translations in oriental languages; above all, the biography of the legendary first bishop of Taormina was already known in the first half of the 9th century by Theodore the Stoudite and Patriarch Nikephoros, who praised it for its content, which was favorable to the defenders of images.⁶⁴ Gregory's legend was credited with a rewriting by Niketas David Paphlagonian (*BHG* and *BHG Nov. Auct.* 708), while the *Vita Leonis* was also rewritten in different versions in eastern areas, one of which was included in the imperial *Menologion* (*BHG* 981e).⁶⁵

Towards the end of the 9th century, with the gradual advance of the Arab-Muslims in Sicily, the framework of the Italo-Greek hagiographic production significantly changed. The holy monks became the absolute protagonists of the hagiographers' narratives. Many of these monks left their native Sicily for Calabria and Basilicata due to the Muslim conquest of the island. Unlike

60 Burgarella, "A proposito della Passione", pp. 56–68; Torre, "San Senatore".

61 Burgarella, "A proposito della Passione", p. 48.

62 See Acconcia Longo, "Siracusa e Taormina", pp. 53–55.

63 See Re, "Italo-Greek Hagiography", pp. 247–248. On Italo-Greek "novelistic hagiography" see Efthymiadis, "Hagiography between Byzantium and the West", pp. 328–332.

64 Acconcia Longo, "La data della Vita di s. Pancrazio".

65 *Vita Leonis*, pp. 61–66; Alexakis, *The Greek Life of St. Leo*, pp. 9–37.

the legendary stories of the iconoclastic period, these works are characterized by the richness and accuracy of historical data, as well as by the realistic picture of the society which emerges from their analysis.⁶⁶ Indeed, information which would otherwise have remained unknown regarding political, military, and social events, as well the customs of those centuries may be gathered⁶⁷ from these texts; most importantly, these biographies have enabled us to gain a rich and varied description of the phenomenon of the Greek monasticism in southern Italy in relation to both its organizational and material aspects, as well as its spiritual configuration.⁶⁸ Considering these works as absolutely historically reliable sources would be an error. It should be emphasized that the hagiographer's intent is not to provide an accurate record of the facts narrated and to scrupulously follow the chronological order of events, but to promote a cult or a place of worship, to convey models of holiness and religious ideals, and to edify the faithful. Such devices as recovering *topoi* and motifs codified within the hagiographic tradition have allowed the hagiographers to achieve their goals (as observed in *Vita Zosimi*), although they may mislead the modern reader.⁶⁹ Finally, it is noteworthy that no hagiography concerning the martyrs of the Islamic conquest of Sicily has been preserved.⁷⁰

The *Life of St. Elias the Younger* of Enna (*BHG* and *BHG Nov. Auct.* 580), written between 930 and 940 by one of the saint's anonymous disciples from the monastery of Saline in Calabria, founded by Elias himself,⁷¹ can be considered a transitional work.⁷² The first part still discloses predominantly fairytale elements, characterized by the protagonist's numerous travels the tests that he is compelled to overcome. Deported to Africa as a result of a Saracen raid, Elias (whose baptismal name is John) became the faithful servant and administrator of a Christian tanner. Upon gaining his freedom, he began a long pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Upon arriving in Jerusalem, he immediately goes to

66 See Acconcia Longo, "Santi monaci italogreci", pp. 163–164; ead., "Il contributo dell'agiografia", pp. 179–180; Cosentino, *Storia dell'Italia bizantina*, pp. 373–375; Efthymiadis, "L'hagiographie grecque", pp. 383–391.

67 Caruso, "Sicilia e Calabria nell'agiografia"; Acconcia Longo, "Santi monaci italogreci", pp. 146–163.

68 Morini, "Aspetti organizzativi e linee di spiritualità"; id., "Il monaco è un angelo"; Acconcia Longo, "Aspirazioni eremitiche".

69 See the observations of Acconcia Longo, "La Vita di Zosimo", p. 13. See also Luzzi, "La Vita di san Nilo".

70 Re/Rognoni, "Cristiani e Musulmani", pp. 120–127.

71 *Vita Eliae iunioris*, pp. xvi–xviii. A recent survey in Tounta, "Conflicting Sanctities".

72 Pricoco, "Monaci e santi", pp. 285–287; Follieri, "I santi dell'Italia greca", pp. 13–16; Acconcia Longo, "Aspirazioni eremitiche", pp. 145–149.

venerate the Holy Sepulchre; after his presence was miraculously revealed to the Patriarch Elias, he was carried by the latter in front of Golgotha and dressed with the monks' sacred clothing. The young monk continues his journey by visiting the Jordan River, the Lake of Tiberiade, Mount Tabor, and a place called *Dodekathronon* to be identified in today's Tabgha near Capernaum (Galilee). Elias is indeed a true expert in the field of pilgrimages and trips: he would later visit Sinai, Alexandria, the Egyptian sanctuaries (St. Mark the Evangelist, St. Mena, Sts. Kyros and John), Tripoli, and Rome (where, following the tradition, he visited the sepulchres of the apostles). In the second part of the work, when Elia mainly resides in Calabria, the historical and geographical picture seems more realistic. The travel motif is still present as it also marked the last act of his earthly existence: having been invited to Constantinople by Emperor Leo VI, Elias stops in Thessalonica, where he died in 903.

The author of the *Life of Saint Elias the Younger* appears to be endowed with considerable literary skills; there are frequent episodes in which quotations and reelaborations of passages extracted from the most famous works of ascetical, patristic, and hagiographical literature can be recognized. The plot is interrupted several times by the narrator who enjoys commenting, at times with polemical tones, some episodes in order to edify the readers. This is the case, a passage in which the credibility of the miracles performed by Elias is defended, whose veracity may only be doubted by men of little faith.⁷³ We are in the presence of the opposite point of view to that expressed by the author of *Vita Zosimi*. Another episode which is worth mentioning from a stylistic and formal point of view refers to the articulated speech that Elias gave in Africa to twelve (a clearly symbolic number) Muslims,⁷⁴ according to the traditional pattern of the *logos anthirretikos*: presentation and demonstration of the Orthodox Christian faith and refutation of Muslim doctrines. In actuality, this debate is a monologue performed by Elias and has a purely literary function aimed at "documenting" through debate the conversion of the twelve, who will later be joined by eight more neophytes. The following issues largely propagated by the anti-Islamic Byzantine literature, and especially by Sophronios of Jerusalem and Niketas of Byzantium, are recalled in this episode: the Mohammedan faith seen as an accumulation of previous heresies, the controversy on polygamy and the impurity of Muslims' way of life, and allegations of homosexuality.⁷⁵

73 *Vita Eliae iunioris*, ch. 56, pp. 86–88.

74 *Vita Eliae iunioris*, chs. 23–24, pp. 32–36.

75 See the editor's notes in *Vita Eliae iunioris*, pp. 143–148; see also Re/Rognoni, "Cristiani e musulmani", pp. 120–121.

The *Life of St. Elias Spelaiotes* (BHG 581) dates back to the second half of the 10th century.⁷⁶ It is a medium-low level text, although in certain passages the author attempts to raise the level of his prose. The figure of the protagonist is often linked with that of the elderly saint of the same name; in fact, it is Elias of Enna himself who personally appoints Spelaiotes as his successor.⁷⁷ The latter, born in Reggio, owes his name to the cave near Melicuccà in Calabria where his monastic formation was founded. Also within this text, two parts may be identified: the first is the most adventurous, although it is definitely more moderate than the biography of the Enna-born saint. The second, in which the saint settles down in Calabria after a brief period in Patras, is characterized by a long series of miracles, where the hagiographer emphasizes the pedagogical value and the centrality of thaumaturgy, similar to the author of *Elias the Younger's Vita*. In addition to those already mentioned, several other similarities can be found with the first Elias' biography, probably intended to create a relationship based on a spiritual filiation between the figures of the two saints as well as their monastic origins. For instance, in both texts, the so-called Potiphar's theme recurs, namely the biblical episode of the *Genesis* where the chaste Joseph is vainly seduced by the Pharaoh's wife. It is a pattern that frequently occurs both in mythology and classical literature (Hippolytus and Phaedra, to name but a few). In the *Life of St. Elias the Younger* this story resembles more closely the original: set in Egypt, the temptress will be discovered and punished by her husband.⁷⁸ Conversely, in Spelaiotes' biography, the woman who had unsuccessfully tried to seduce the saint, after suffering the punishment in the form of a sudden epileptic seizure, repents and receives healing. Indeed, the revival of literary motifs is a constant element of the second Elias' *Vita*; in particular, a model emulated in various places is the *Life of St. Euthymios* by Cyril of Scythopolis, upon whose chronology seems to be built the one adopted by the anonymous hagiographer of the Spelaiotes in his work.⁷⁹

In the remaining monastic biographies of the 10th and 11th centuries the geographical space is further reduced: with rare exceptions (Rome, for example, as the site of the Italo-Greek monks' traditional pilgrimage), the main cities are ignored. The monasteries, villages, and rural communities situated within the often inaccessible inland areas of Calabria and Basilicata are at the center of the hagiographers' stories. The powerful secular clergy, the bishops, who

76 Follieri, "I santi dell'Italia greca", pp. 16–18; Acconcia Longo, "Aspirazioni eremitiche", pp. 149–150.

77 A comparison between the two *vitae* in Tounta, "Conflicting Sanctities".

78 *Vita Eliae iunioris*, chs. 10–14, pp. 14–22.

79 *Vita Phantini iunioris*, pp. 104–112.

also appear in these works seem to belong to a separate world often viewed with hostility by hagiographers.⁸⁰ The dangers and hardships caused by the Saracens, already recounted in the two Elias' biographies, run through these texts as a leitmotif.⁸¹ Some *vitae* are dedicated to saints (Sabas, Christopher and Makarios of Collesano, Leo-Luke of Corleone, Luke of Demenna, Vitalis of Castronovo) who began their monastic career in the Sicilian monastery of Saint Philip of Agira, from which they moved to Calabria and later Lucania as a result of the Muslim advance on Sicily. In these regions known as Merkourion and Latinianon they became founders of several monastic communities from which their fame originated.

Orestes, Patriarch of Jerusalem, is the author of the *Lives of St. Sabas of Collesano* (BHG 1611) and *Sts. Christopher and Makarios* (BHG 312), respectively Sabas' father and brother. The first was composed shortly after Sabas' death (990),⁸² while the second should date back to the period between the death of Makarios, who, as we read at the end of the *Bios*⁸³ occurred ten years after that of Sabas (thus in 1000) and that of the author himself (1005). The latter seems to have personally known the saints whose deeds he recounts and who probably lived for a certain period of time in southern Italy.⁸⁴ After fleeing Sicily with his family, Sabas mainly lived in northern Calabria and the Latinianon area and Lucania region. Sabas departs from these places only for short periods. He stops in Amalfi and Salerno, goes to Rome for the first time to visit the tombs of the apostles and other sanctuaries, and subsequently returns there to carry out delicate diplomatic missions for the Saxon kings. He dies in Rome during his last mission. Several miracles, often linked to each other by trivial connections and thus forming a series, are featured in this saint's biography, whose healing powers are clearly marked while the historical data are generally less relevant. It is written in a medium-low style, although some short passages (in particular in the prologue and the epilogue) are more elaborate, presenting an artificial syntax and making frequent use of frequent rhetorical figures.

Not surprisingly, the short *Life of Sts. Christopher and Makarios* has the same formal characteristics of Saint Saba's *Vita*. In actual facts, the protagonist is

80 Acconcia Longo, "Il contributo dell'agiografia", pp. 180–82.

81 Acconcia Longo, "Santi monaci italogreci", pp. 149–151; Caruso, "Crucisque signo munitus"; Efthymiadis, "Chrétien et Sarrazins en Italie méridionale", pp. 600–608.

82 Caruso, "Sicilia e Calabria nell'agiografia", p. 573. See Acconcia Longo, "Aspirazioni eremitiche", pp. 151–152.

83 *Vita Christophori et Macarii*, ed. I. Cozza-Luzi, *Historia et laudes SS. Sabae et Macarii Iuniorum e Sicilia auctore Oreste Patriarcha Hierosolymitano*, Rome 1893, pp. 71–96: ch. 23, p. 95.

84 Burgarella, "Chiese d'Oriente e d'Occidente", pp. 202–207.

Christopher, celebrated by the hagiographer as a great ascetic. The four final paragraphs are dedicated to Makarios, as a sort of encomium; consequently the narrative content is extremely poor, dominated by rhetorical structures. Orestes' second work features various themes in common with Sabas' biography: the escape from Sicily as a result of the famine caused by the Muslim raids, commemorated with epic-tragic tones; the theme of family ties (the act of Kalì, Christopher's wife, becoming a nun is also mentioned), which is also found in other contemporary texts of Italo-Greek origin;⁸⁵ the pilgrimage to Rome; and the alternation between a coenobitic life and a hermitic life by practicing a strict ascetic existence.

The same historical and geographical framework, as well as similar motifs, characterize the biographies (which currently exist only in their Latin translation) of the three other saints who started their monastic career at the Sicilian monastery of Saint Philip of Agira before moving to Calabria and Lucania:⁸⁶ the *Life of St. Leo-Luke of Corleone* (*BHL* 4842), generally to be placed in the 10th century (the saint's death seems to have occurred at the beginning of this century),⁸⁷ that of Luke of Demenna or Armento (*BHL* 4978), dating to the end of the 10th century,⁸⁸ and that of Vitalis of Castronovo (*BHL* 8697),⁸⁹ datable to the 11th century. As previously mentioned, in addition to the usual hagiographic *topoi*, these texts reflect the plight of the monastic and lay communities of southern Italy in times of instability. Not only is the dangerous presence of the Saracens constant, but there were also the inconveniences caused by the Germanic emperors intruding in Calabria, as well as the consequences of the dispute between the latter and the Byzantine rulers. The personal tie between the individual holy monks is emphasized by these same hagiographers: after leaving Sicily, Luke of Demenna stops near Reggio and becomes one of Elias Spelaiotes' disciples, who, in turn, as already mentioned, is referred to as the successor of Elias of Enna. Luca is reported to be acquainted with both Sabas of Collesano, who attends his own funeral, and Vitalis of Castronovo. The latter, as recounted by his biographer, engages with Luke of Demenna in a sort of a "sanctity contest" that seems to foreshadow a possible rivalry between

85 See Re, "Italo-Greek Hagiography", p. 242. See also Cilento, "Agiografia familiare".

86 See Acconcia Longo, "Aspirazioni eremitiche", pp. 154–156.

87 *Vita Leonis Lucae Corleonensis*, ed. M. Stelladoro, *La Vita di San Leone Luca di Corleone*, Grottaferrata 1995 [*BHL* 4842], pp. 20–24. See also Caruso, "Sicilia e Calabria nell'agiografia", p. 564; Acconcia Longo, "Santi monaci italogreci", p. 146.

88 Caruso, "Sicilia e Calabria nell'agiografia", pp. 578–581; Acconcia Longo, "Santi monaci italogreci", pp. 146–152.

89 Caruso, "Sulla cronologia del *dies natalis*"; id., "Sicilia e Calabria nell'agiografia", p. 582; Acconcia Longo, "Santi monaci italogreci", p. 161; Follieri, "I santi dell'Italia greca", pp. 21–22.

the monastic foundations led by the two saints.⁹⁰ Thus, an ideal but also realistic line of continuity, which is highly unusual if not unique within the Byzantine hagiographical production, emerges among the early protagonists of the Italo-Greek monasticism of the 9th century and the last representatives of the period leading to the Norman conquest of southern Italy (Nikodemos of Kellarana, who was associated to the two Eliases, and Philaretos the Younger, the ideal disciple of Elias of Enna). Additionally, this line geographically connects the south to northern Calabria and Basilicata through the peregrinations of the monks.⁹¹

The long *Life of Saint Neilos of Rossano* (BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 1370), previously mentioned with regards to its “anti-miracle” attitude, is unanimously considered to be a masterpiece of Italo-Greek monastic hagiography. Above all, it is appreciated for its literary qualities: as stated by Enrica Follieri, this work is characterized by a “elaborate linguistic garment, which make use of the richest of vocabularies and a wise eurhythm in its phrase structure.”⁹² Neilos was born in Rossano around 910 and died at ninety-five years old in 1004 shortly after having laid the foundation for what would later become the monastery of Saint Mary of Grottaferrata. Neilos’ human and spiritual path summarizes the characteristics of the 10th-century Italo-Greek monasticism in its various stages and single aspects. From his hometown in Rossano to his final destination in the outskirts of Rome, with stops in Merkourion, Saint Adrian, Capua, Saint Michael of Valleluce, and Serperi, his biography highlights the stages of an itinerant monasticism constantly marked by the difficult search for a compromise between the traditional anchoritic ideals and the new requirements prompted by the gradual imposition of the coenobitic rule. This theme associates the hagiographic works produced in southern Italy with many contemporary texts written in the Byzantine east, where the assertion of the coenobitic model did not necessarily imply the rejection of the anchoritic one.⁹³ In addition to Neilos, the other Italo-Greek holy monks of the 9th–11th centuries greatly esteemed hesychasm and were able to overcome the most difficult tests through ascetic practice (such as immersing totally naked in icy waters, in which Saints Leo-Luke and Vitalis excelled), although the final outcome of their biographies is invariably coenobitic. Hence, it appears that the hagiographers proposed a model of holiness closer to that exemplified

90 Acconcia Longo, “Santi monaci italogreci”, pp. 159–160.

91 Acconcia Longo, “Santi monaci italogreci”, pp. 158–163; Efthymiadis, “Les saints d’Italie méridionale”, pp. 347–361; Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l’Italie méridionale*, pp. 176–178.

92 Follieri, “I santi dell’Italia greca”, p. 27. See also Acconcia Longo, “Aspirazioni eremitiche”, pp. 156–157; Efthymiadis, “L’hagiographie grecque”, p. 388.

93 See Flusin, “L’hagiographie monastique à Byzance”, pp. 34–42.

in Athonite hagiography, or in texts relating to the monasteries on Mount Olympus in Bithynia, rather than to Stoudite model, which refused any form of rigorous asceticism.⁹⁴

The *Vita Nili*, which lacks of prodigious events, conversely displays a plot full of facts and figures often also illustrated in other sources,⁹⁵ such as Donnolo, the Jewish doctor whose rescue the saint refuses,⁹⁶ or Saint Phantinos, whom he met during his stay in Mercurio and who was himself the protagonist of a long biography written in Thessaloniki (where Phantinos moved and died in 974) at the end of the 10th century (*BHG Nov. Auct.* 2366z).⁹⁷ In his old age, Neilos enjoyed considerable prestige even among the secular and ecclesiastical authorities: he is bestowed with the great honours during his mission to Pope Gregory V and Emperor Otto III, when Neilos endeavoured to plead the cause of John Philagathos, his fellow-citizen and anti-pope.⁹⁸ Otto himself would come as a penitent to see the saint. As already pointed out, a rather political role was also performed by Sabas during his delicate diplomatic missions with the Saxon emperors; likewise, Vitalis of Castronovo is received with great honour by the catepan Basil at Bari. These are just a few examples to illustrate how the Italo-Greek hagiographers aimed at emphasizing the “political” actions of the celebrated saint.⁹⁹ In the Byzantine hagiography produced in Byzantium and in the main cities of the Eastern Empire in the centuries following the end of Iconoclasm, the widely documented typology of the “political” saint usually entailed a full integration of the saint within the milieus of the civil and ecclesiastical power.¹⁰⁰ He frequents them constantly (like Basil the Younger who

94 Morini, “Aspetti organizzativi e linee di spiritualità”, pp. 307–309; id., “Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy”, pp. 85–94; Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 204–210; Acconcia Longo, “Aspirazioni eremitiche”, pp. 147–149, who underlines the influence of John Climacus.

95 Falkenhausen, “La Vita di s. Nilo come fonte storica”; Follieri, “I santi dell'Italia greca”, p. 26. On the *Vita Nili*, among the most recent studies, see: Falkenhausen, “La direzione spirituale”, pp. 149–156; Morini, “Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy”, pp. 80–81, 89–93; Crimi, “Parola e scrittura”; Acconcia Longo, “La letteratura italogreca”, pp. 109–112; Crostini/Murzaku (eds.), *Greek Monasticism*; Luzzi, “La recondita presenza”.

96 See Luzzati Laganà, “Catechesi e spiritualità”, pp. 718–725; Rotman, “Converts in Byzantine Italy”, pp. 919–921.

97 *Vita Phantini iunioris*, ed. E. Follieri, *La Vita di san Fantino il Giovane* (Subsidia hagiographica, 77), Brussels 1993.

98 *Vita Nili*, chs. 89–92, pp. 126–129.

99 See Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, pp. 178–180; Timotin, *Visions, prophéties et pouvoir*, p. 110; Morini, “Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy”, pp. 80–89; Tounta, “Saints, rulers and communities”; Rotman, “Christians, Jews and Muslims”, pp. 229–230.

100 Morris, “The Political Saint”; Timotin, *Visions, prophéties et pouvoir*, pp. 109–116.

lived at the court of Romanus I for a time¹⁰¹), at times becoming the spiritual advisor to the power (such as Cyril Phileotes with Anna Dalassena and Alexios Komnenos¹⁰²), and be in very close contact with the most important families of the aristocracy (as was Nikon Metanoite¹⁰³). Holiness and power may even be an identifier as in the case of the holy empresses or the persons related to the imperial family.¹⁰⁴ From the 11th century onward the saints almost become the representatives of the Byzantine aristocracy.¹⁰⁵ Within the Italo-Greek domain, the relationship between the holy monks and the mighty is substantially different: although gifts and honours are accepted, their distance from the centers of power, whose members are at times even harshly criticized, remains unaltered.

The *Life of St. Bartholomew of Grottaferrata* (BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 233) is smaller (a sort of an extended synaxarion) and much less interesting than *Vita Nili*. The protagonist, a disciple of Saint Neilos became the third abbot of Grottaferrata abbey after the death of the founding father. The text was written shortly after the saint's death (around 1050) by a monk belonging to his community, traditionally identified, although based on weak grounds, as Luke, the sixth abbot of the monastery (1060–1072).¹⁰⁶ This work, written in a low-level, yet correct and linear language, mostly resembles a panegyric. It lacks a real diachronic development: the few facts mentioned, which connect the description of various miracles, are juxtaposed with simple linking devices. Among the most significant events, it is worth mentioning the episode in which Bartholomew convinces Pope Benedict IX to abdicate because of his sinful conduct.¹⁰⁷ Hence, once again a “political” function was performed, as confirmed by the mission aimed at securing the release of the Duke of Gaeta in 1045, who was held hostage by the Prince of Salerno.

The last two *lives* to be illustrated are chronologically set between the end of the Byzantine domination in southern Italy and the beginning of the Norman period. They concern the southern Calabrian monastic sphere: the *Life of St. Nikodemos of Kellarana* (BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 2305), written between

101 Rydén, “New Forms of Hagiography”, p. 540; Timotin, *Visions, prophéties et pouvoir*, pp. 320–326.

102 Morris, “The Political Saint”, p. 48; Timotin, *Visions, prophéties et pouvoir*, pp. 114–115.

103 Patlagean, “Sainteté et pouvoir”, p. 97.

104 See Patlagean, “Sainteté et pouvoir”, p. 101; Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre*, pp. 159–68; Timotin, *Visions, prophéties et pouvoir*, pp. 112–113.

105 Morris, “The Political Saint”, p. 50.

106 Follieri, “I santi dell'Italia greca”, p. 27; *Vita Bartholomaei iunioris*, pp. 59–63.

107 On this episode see Lucà, “*Graeco-latina* di Bartolomeo”; *Vita Bartholomaei iunioris*, pp. 73–84.

1060 to 1065;¹⁰⁸ and the *Life of Saint Philaretos the Younger* (BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 1513), composed over a period of time between the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the next.¹⁰⁹ Both are of limited extension and have been credited by the manuscripts to a monk called Neilos. Opinion is widely in agreement that it is the work of a single author,¹¹⁰ although Enrica Follieri¹¹¹ has expressed doubts regarding the stylistic differences which characterize the two texts.

The *Life of St. Nikodemos* has a very simple plot, with a few events and many miracles performed by the saint, who never left his native Calabria. After the monastic apprenticeship in a monastery dedicated to Saint Phantinos the Old, he withdraws from his hometown of Sigrò, near Palmi, to the mountain of Kellarana, where a community of ascetics had already developed. The frequent reference to the two Elias, which has already been mentioned, reveals a rivalry between the monastery of Kellarana and those founded by the two saints whose way of life Nikodemos seems to adhere to. On a formal ground, the hagiographer's effort to raise the style, especially in the introduction and the conclusion, through the accumulation of figures of speech and a more elevated vocabulary, should be remarked; however, the syntax is often convoluted and in the narrative parts a low language level is predominant.

In the *Life of St. Philaretos* the prevailing model is that of the encomium: the narrative part is generally rather limited and framed within a rhetoric plot, designed to emphasize the protagonist's humility and, whose holiness is acknowledged only after his death. The preface is characterized by the use of the most common *topoi* of the encomiastic tradition: the hagiographer displays doubts about his ability to adequately praise the saint through use of the metaphor of the "small boat of intelligence" as opposed to the "open sea of arguments"; the importance of the example of the holy men for those who become aware of their deeds and their ability to incite others to emulate them; and the claim that virtue must be subtracted from the abyss of silence. A particularly elaborate passage is dedicated to praising Sicily, the saint's birthplace. The young Philaretos left the island with his parents shortly after the 1038–1040 campaign of the Byzantine general George Maniakes, when the eastern part

108 *Vita Nicodemi*, p. 35. See Morini, "Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy", pp. 81–82.

109 Caruso, "Il *Bios* di s. Filareto", p. 109. See Morini, "Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy", p. 80.

110 *Vita Nicodemi*, pp. 30–36; Caruso, "Sicilia e Calabria", p. 587; id., "Sull'autore del *Bios* di s. Filareto" (the scholar suggests that the author of both works has to be identified in Neilos Doxapatres).

111 Follieri, "I santi dell'Italia greca", pp. 28–29.

of Sicily was temporarily removed from Muslim power. During this episode, which is the only historical event mentioned in the work, the hagiographer dwells on a rich display of details, proving himself to be informed about the intrigues that triggered the beginning of the reign of Michael IV.¹¹² In Calabria, Philaretos became a monk in the monastery of St. Elias at the Saline. There he leads an anonymous life with no miraculous events (the previously mentioned anti-thaumaturgic trend, therefore, re-emerges) until the revelation of his holiness after his death. Subsequently the monastery was dedicated to Saints Elias and Philaretos.

The Norman conquest marked the end of the political domination of the Byzantine Empire in southern Italy. The hagiographic literature in the Greek language underwent a new, short-lived period which reflected the issues and the problems of this new age.¹¹³ Scenarios and protagonists changed, new biographies were written (Saint Bartholomew of Simeri, founder of two major monasteries of the Norman period; Saint Mary of Patir in Rossano; Saint Saviour of the Pharos near Messina; Saint Luke, Bishop of Isola Capo Rizzuto; Saint Cyprian of Calamizzi), texts from the previous periods were rewritten (the pseudo-Athanasian *Life of St. Philipp of Agira*; the two *lives* dedicated to Saint John Theristes, whose original biography has not survived; the metrical *Life of St. Leo of Catania*). They would prove to be the last products of a world heading towards a slow but inevitable demise.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Acta Euplii, ed. H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, Oxford 1972, pp. 314–318 [BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 629].

Encomium Marciani Syracusani, in *AASS Iunii*, vol. 2, pp. 788–795 [BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 1030].

Passio Agathae, in *PG* 114, coll. 1331–1346.

Passio Apollinaris, ed. P. de Angelis-Noah, “*Martyrion Apolinarion dal codice greco SS. Salvatore 29*”, *Ravenna. Studi e ricerche* 10/2 (2003), 15–101 (utterly unreliable!) [BHG 2038]; Latin version ed. *AASS Iulii*, vol. 5, pp. 344–350 [BHL 623].

¹¹² Caruso, “Michele IV Paflagone”; Merendino, “Letteratura greca”.

¹¹³ For a brief summary of the Norman period’s hagiographic production see Follieri “I santi dell’Italia greca”, pp. 32–35; Re, “Italo-Greek Hagiography”, pp. 236–238; Strano, “Echi storici”.

- Passio I Luciae*, ed. G. Rossi Taibbi, *Martirio di Santa Lucia. Vita di Santa Marina* (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Testi, 6), Palermo 1959, pp. 49–71 [BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 995].
- Passio II Luciae*, ed. S. Costanza, “Un *martyrion* inedito di S. Lucia di Siracusa”, *Archivio storico siracusano* 3 (1957), 5–53 [BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 995d].
- Passio Luciae et Geminiani*, ed. M. Re, “La *Passio* dei ss. Lucia e Geminiano (BHG 2241). Introduzione, edizione del testo, traduzione e note”, *Néa 'Pwμy. Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 5 (2008), 75–146; previous ed. F. Halkin, *La veuve sainte Lucie*, in id., *Saints de Byzance et du Proche-Orient. Seize textes grecs inédits* (Cahiers d'Orientalisme, 13), Genève 1986, pp. 17–35 [BHG 2241].
- Passio Niconis et socii*, in AASS *Martii*, vol. 3, pp. 15*–18* [BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 1369].
- Passio Potiti*, in AASS *Ianuarii*, vol. 1, pp. 754–757 [BHL 6908].
- Passio Senatoris, Viatoris, Cassiodori et Dominatae*, inedited [BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 1622–1623c]. Latin translation ed. H. Houben, “Die ‘*Passio* SS. Senatoris, Viatoris, Cassiodori et Dominatae’. Ein Beispiel für griechisch-lateinische Übersetzungstätigkeit in Montecassino im 11. Jahrhundert”, in M. Borgolte/H. Spilling (ed.), *Litterae Medii Aevi. Festschrift für J. Autenrieth zu ihren 65. Geburtstag*, Sigmaringen 1988, pp. 145–160.
- Passio Sophiae et sororum*, ed. F. Halkin, *Légendes grecques de “Martyres romaines”* (Subsidia hagiographica, 55), Brussels 1973, pp. 179–228 [BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 1637y, 1637x, 1637z].
- Passio Tatianae*, ed. F. Halkin, *Légendes grecques de “Martyres romaines”* (Subsidia hagiographica, 55), Brussels 1973, pp. 9–53 [BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 1699].
- Passio Viti*, ed. M. Re, *La Passio dei santi Vito, Modesto e Crescenzia. Introduzione, edizione delle recensioni greche (BHG 1876, 1876 a–c) e della versione latina (BHL 8713), traduzioni, note e indici* (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici “Bruno Lavagnini”. Testi, 15), Palermo 2018 [BHG e BGH Nov. Auct. 1876, 1876a–c].
- Vita Bartholomaei iunioris*, ed. E. Paroli, *La Vita di san Bartolomeo di Grottaferrata (BHG e Novum Auctarium BHG 233)* (Comitato Nazionale per le Celebrazioni del Millenario della Fondazione dell'Abbazia di s. Nilo a Grottaferrata), Rome 2008 [BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 233].
- Vita Eliae spelaeotae*, AASS *Septembris*, vol. 3, pp. 848–887 [BHG 581].
- Vita Eliae iunioris*, ed. G. Rossi Taibbi, *Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane* (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Testi, 7), Palermo 1962 [BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 580].
- Vita Gregorii*, ed. A. Berger, *Leontios Presbyteros von Rom. Das Leben des Heiligen Gregorios von Agrigent. Kritische Ausgabe, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten, 60), Berlin 1995 [BHG and BHG Nov. Auct. 707].
- Vita Leonis*, ed. A. Acconcia Longo, “La Vita di S. Leone vescovo di Catania e gli incantesimi del mago Eliodoro”, *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 26 (1989), 3–98 [BHG 981].

- Vita Lucae Demennensis*, in *AASS Octobris*, vol. 6, pp. 337–341 [*BHL* 4978].
- Vita Nicodemi*, ed. M. Arco Magri, *Vita di S. Nicodemo di Kellarana* (Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici, 3), Rome and Athens 1969 [*BHG* and *BHG Nov. Auct.* 2305].
- Vita Nili*, ed. G. Giovanelli, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νείλου τοῦ Νέου*, Grottaferrata 1972; new ed. R.L. Capra/I.A. Murzaku/D.J. Milewski, *The Life of Saint Neilos of Rossano* (Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, 47), Cambridge (MA) – London 2018 [*BHG* and *BHG Nov. Auct.* 1370].
- Vita Pancratii Taorminensis*, ed. C. Stallman-Pacitti, *The Life of Saint Pankratios of Taormina. Greek Text, English Translation and Commentary*, by J.B. Burke (Byzantina Australiensia, 22), Leiden 2018 [*BHG* and *BHG Nov. Auct.* 1410].
- Vita Phantini iunioris*, ed. E. Follieri, *La Vita di san Fantino il Giovane* (Subsidia hagiographica, 77), Brussels 1993 [*BHG Nov. Auct.* 2366z].
- Vita Phantini Taurianensis*, ed. V. Saletta, *Vita S. Phantini Confessoris ex Codice Vaticano Graeco N. 1989 (Basil. XXVIII)*, Rome 1963 (utterly unreliable!) [*BHG* and *BHG Nov. Auct.* 1058–59]. Latin translation in *AASS Iulii*, vol. 5, pp. 556–567.
- Vita Philareti iunioris*, ed. U. Martino, *Nilo. Vita di S. Filareto di Seminara*, Reggio Calabria 1993; critical notes to edition: E. Merendino, “Note testuali al bios di san Filareto”, *Studi sull’Oriente Cristiano* 19 (2015), 19–26 [*BHG* and *BHG Nov. Auct.* 1513].
- Vita Philippi Agirensis*, ed. C. Pasini, *Vita di S. Filippo di Agira attribuita al monaco Eusebio* (Orientalia christiana analecta, 214), Rome 1981 [*BHG* and *BHG Nov. Auct.* 1531].
- Vita Sabae*, ed. I. Cozza-Luzi, *Historia et laudes SS. Sabae et Macarii Iuniorum e Sicilia auctore Oreste Patriarcha Hierosolymitano*, Rome 1893, pp. 5–70 [*BHG* 1611].
- Vita Vitalis*, in *AASS Martii*, vol. 2, pp. 26–34 [*BHL* 8697].
- Vita Zosimi*, in *AASS Martii*, vol. 3, pp. 839–843 [*BHL* 9026].

Secondary Literature

- Acconcia Longo, A., “Agiografia e narrativa tra Oriente e Occidente”, in S. Brodbeck/J.-M. Martin/A. Peters-Custot/V. Prigent (eds.), *L’heritage byzantine en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 3. *Décor monumental, objets, tradition textuelle* (Collection de l’École Française de Rome, 510), Rome 2015, pp. 235–256.
- Acconcia Longo, A., “Aspirazioni eremitiche nel monachesimo italogreco: le testimonianze agiografiche”, in *Eremitismo e habitat rupestre*, Spoleto 2015, pp. 141–159.
- Acconcia Longo, A., “I *Miracula* s. *Phantini* e la società calabrese dell’epoca”, in ead., *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca*, pp. 37–52.
- Acconcia Longo, A., “Il contributo dell’agiografia alla storia delle diocesi italogreche”, in ead., *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca*, pp. 179–208.
- Acconcia Longo, A., “L’ antichità pagana nell’agiografia italogreca di età iconoclasta”, in ead., *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca*, pp. 85–103.

- Acconcia Longo, A., "La data della Vita di s. Pancrazio di Taormina (BHG 1410)", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 55 (2001), 37–42.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "La letteratura italogreca nell'XI e XII secolo", in R. Lavagnini/R. Rognoni, C. (eds.), *Byzantino-sicula VI. La Sicilia e Bisanzio nei secoli XI e XII* (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici "Bruno Lavagnini". Quaderni, 18), Palermo 2014, pp. 107–130.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "La *passio* di s. Nicone e cc. mm. (BHG 1369): un nuovo testo agiografico iconoclasta?", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 38 (2001), 27–68.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "La Vita di Zosimo vescovo di Siracusa: un esempio di 'agiografia storica'", in ead., *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca*, pp. 9–22.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "La Vita e i Miracoli di s. Fantino di Tauriana e l'identificazione dell'imperatore Leone 'eretico'", in ead., *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca*, pp. 23–36.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "L'encomio per s. Marciano di Siracusa (BHG 1030): un'opera di età normanna?", in ead., *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca*, pp. 75–84.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "Note sul dossier agiografico di Leone di Catania: la trasmissione della leggenda e la figura del mago Eliodoro", *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* n.s. 44 (2007), 3–38.
- Acconcia Longo, A., *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca* (Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici, 13), Rome 2003.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "Santi monaci italogreci alle origini del monastero di Carbone", in ead., *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca*, pp. 145–164.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "Siracusa e Taormina nell'agiografia italogreca", in ead., *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca*, pp. 53–74.
- Alexakis, A.G., *Codex Parisinus Graecus 115 and Its Archetype* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 34), Washington D.C. 1996.
- Alexakis, A.G., *The Greek Life of St. Leo bishop of Catania* (BHG 981b) (Subsidia hagiographica, 91), Brussels 2011.
- Angiò, F., "Divinità pagane e sacrifici umani nella *Vita di San Pancrazio di Taormina*", *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 52 (1998), 49–76.
- Angiò, F., "La *Vita di Tauro* dall'anonima *Vita di s. Pancrazio di Taormina*", *Sileno* 20 (1994), 117–143.
- Auzépy, M.-F., "L'évolution de l'attitude face au miracle à Byzance (VII^e–IX^e siècle)", in *Miracles, prodiges et merveilles au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1995, pp. 31–46.
- Auzépy, M.-F., *L'hagiographie et l'iconoclasme byzantin: le cas de la Vie d'Étienne le Jeune* (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, 5), Aldershot 1999.
- Binggeli, A., "Converting the Caliph: A Legendary Motif in Christian Hagiography and Historiography of the Early Islamic Period", in A. Papaconstantinou (ed.), *Writing 'true Stories'. Historians and Hagiographers in the Late Antique and Medieval Near East*, Turnhout 2010, pp. 77–103.

- Burgarella, F., "A proposito della Passione di san Senatore e compagni", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 36 (1999), 47–73.
- Burgarella, F., "Chiese d'Oriente e d'Occidente alla vigilia dell'anno mille", in G. Arnald/G. Cavallo (eds.), *Europa medievale e mondo bizantino. Contatti effettivi e possibilità di studi comparati* (Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo. Nuovi studi storici, 40), Rome 1997, pp. 179–212.
- Caruso, S., "*Crucisque signo munitus*. Luca da Dèmena e l'epopea antisaracena italo-greca", *Byzantion* 73 (2003), 319–338.
- Caruso, S., "La Sicilia nella fonti storiografiche bizantine", in S. Pricoco/F. Rizzo Nervo/T. Sardella (eds.), *Sicilia e Italia suburbicaria tra IV e VIII secolo*, Soveria Mannelli 1991, pp. 99–128.
- Caruso, S., "Michele IV Paflagone in una fonte agiografica italo-greca", in *Studi albanologici, balcanici, bizantini e orientali in onore di Giuseppe Valentini S.J.*, Florence 1986, pp. 261–284.
- Caruso, S., "Sicilia e Calabria nell'agiografia storica italo-greca", in S. Leanza (ed.), *Calabria Cristiana. Società Religione Cultura nel territorio della diocesi di Oppido Mamertina-Palmi*, vol. 1, Soveria Mannelli 1999, pp. 563–604.
- Caruso, S., "Sulla cronologia del *dies natalis* di s. Vitale da Castronovo di Sicilia", *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 52 (1998), 117–139.
- Caruso, S., "Sull'autore del *Bios* di s. Filareto il Giovane: Nilo Doxapatres?", *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 41 (1979–1980), 293–304.
- Cilento, A., "Agiografia familiare e resistenza cristiana nel secolo X: le *Vite* di Saba, Cristoforo e Macario", in G. Strano/C. Torre (eds.), *Ἀνατολή καὶ δύσις. Studi in memoria di Filippo Burgarella* (Testi e Studi Bizantino-Neoellenici, 21), Rome 2020, pp. 59–74.
- Cosentino, S., "Constans II, Ravenna's Autocephaly and the Panel of the Privileges in St. Apollinare in Classe: A Reappraisal", in T.G. Kolias/K.G. Pittakis/C. Synellis (eds.), *Aureus. Volume dedicated to Professor E.K. Chrysos*, Athens 2014, pp. 153–169.
- Cosentino, S., "Quando e perché fu scritta la *Vita* di Gregorio di Agrigento?", in R.M. Carra/E. Vitale (eds.), *Studi in memoria di Fabiola Ardizzone*, 1: *Epigrafia e storia*, Palermo 2018, pp. 19–36.
- Cosentino, S., *Storia dell'Italia bizantina (VI–XI secolo). Da Giustiniano ai Normanni*, Bologna 2008.
- Crimi, C., "Gregorio d'Agrigento e i suoi nemici. Il *bios* di Leonzio (*BHG* 707) e la riscrittura di Niceta David Paflagone (*BHG* 708)", in C. Giuffrida/M. Cassia (eds.), *Silenziose rivoluzioni. La Sicilia dalla tarda antichità al primo Medioevo*, Catania 2016, pp. 399–414.
- Crimi, C., "L'Encomio di S. Agata (*BHG* 38) di Metodio patriarca di Costantinopoli e la *Passio BHG* 37", in G. Strano/C. Torre (eds.), *Ἀνατολή καὶ δύσις. Studi in memoria di Filippo Burgarella* (Testi e Studi Bizantino-Neoellenici, 21), Rome 2020, pp. 135–152.

- Crimi, C., "Parola e scrittura nel *bios* di S. Nilo da Rossano", *Bizantinistica. Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi*, s. II 15 (2013), 157–173.
- Crostini, B./Murzaku, I.A. (eds.), *Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy. The Life of Neilos in Context*, London – New York 2018.
- Dagron, G., *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le "césaropapisme" byzantine*, Paris 1996.
- Dagron, G., "L'ombre d'un doute: l'hagiographie en question VI^e–XI^e siècle", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992), 59–68.
- Delehay, H., *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Subsidia hagiographica, 13b), 2nd ed., Brussels 1966.
- Déroche, V., "Pourquoi écrivait-on des recueils de miracles? L'exemple des miracles de saint Artémios", in C. Jolivet Lévy/M. Kaplan/J.-P. Sodini (eds.), *Les saints et leur sanctuaire à Byzance: textes, images, monuments* (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 11), Paris 1993, pp. 95–116.
- Detoraki, M., "Greek Passions of the Martyrs in Byzantium", in S. Efthymiadis (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. 2: *Genres and Contexts*, Farnham 2014, pp. 61–101.
- Efthymiadis, S., "Chrêtiens et Sarrasins en Italie méridionale et en Asie Mineure (IX^e–XI^e): essai d'étude comparée", in A. Jacob/J.-M. Martin/G. Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 363), Rome 2006, pp. 589–618.
- Efthymiadis, S., "Hagiography between Byzantium and the West: the universal and the local dimension of South Italian *Lives* of Saints (ninth–twelfth centuries)", *Medioevo Greco* 19 (2019), 323–335.
- Efthymiadis, S., "Hagiography from the 'Dark Age' to the Age of Symeon Metaphrastes (Eighth–Tenth Centuries)", in id. (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. 1: *Periods and Places*, Farnham 2011, pp. 95–142.
- Efthymiadis, S., "L'hagiographie grecque de l'Italie (VII^e–XIV^e siècle)", in M. Goullet (ed.), *Hagiographies*, vol. 7, Turnhout 2017, pp. 345–420.
- Efthymiadis, S., "Les saints d'Italie méridionale (IX^e–XII^e s.) et leur rôle dans la société locale", in D. Sullivan/E. Fisher/S. Papaioannou (eds.), *Byzantine Religious Culture. Studies in Honor of Alice-Mary Talbot* (The Medieval Mediterranean, 92), Leiden–Boston 2012, pp. 347–372.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "La direzione spirituale nell'agiografia monastica mediobizantina (IX–XI secoli): tra eremitismo e vita cenobitica", in S. Boesch Gajano (ed.), *Storia della direzione spirituale*, vol. 2. *L'età medievale*, Brescia 2010, pp. 145–163.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "La Vita di S. Nilo come fonte storica per la Calabria bizantina", in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano*, Rossano 1989, pp. 271–305.
- Festugière, A.J., "Lieux communs littéraires et thèmes de folklore dans l'hagiographie primitive", *Wiener Studien* 73 (1960), 123–152.

- Flusin, B., "L'hagiographie monastique à Byzance au IX^e et au X^e siècle. Modèles anciens et tendances contemporaines", in *Le monachisme à Byzance et en Occident du VIII^e au X^e siècle. Aspects internes et relations avec la société*, *Revue Bénédictine* 103 (1993), 31–50.
- Flusin, B., "Palestinian Hagiography (Fourth-Eighth Centuries)", in S. Efthymiadis (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. 1. *Periods and Places*, Farnham 2011, pp. 199–226.
- Follieri, E., "Echi della Vita di Antonio nella Vita di Nilo da Rossano", in *L'Ellenismo italiana dal VII al XII secolo* (Fondazione Nazionale Ellenica delle Ricerche. Istituto di Ricerche Bizantine. Convegno Internazionale, 8), Athens 2001, pp. 19–26.
- Follieri, E., "I santi dell'Italia greca", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 34 (1997), 3–36.
- Follieri, E., "Vite ed inni greci per i santi di Ravenna", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 2–3 (1965–66), 193–203.
- Franchi de' Cavalieri, P., *Note agiografiche* 7 (Studi e testi, 49), Rome 1928.
- Gerbino, C., "Appunti per una edizione dell'agiografia di Lentini", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84–85 (1991–1992), 26–36.
- Griffith, S.H., "Christians, Muslims and Neo-Martyrs. Saints' Lives and Holy Land History", in A. Kokszy/G.G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Sharing the Sacred: Religious Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land: First-Fifteenth Centuries CE*, Jerusalem 1998, pp. 163–207.
- Griffith, S.H., "The *Life of Theodore of Edessa*: History, Hagiography and Religious Apologetics in Mar Saba Monastery in Early Abbasid Times", in J. Patrich (ed.), *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, Leuven 2001, pp. 147–169.
- Halkin, F., *Légendes grecques de «martyres romaines»* (Subsidia hagiographica, 55), Brussels 1973.
- Kaldellis, A., "The Hagiography of Doubt and Scepticism", in S. Efthymiadis (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. 2. *Genres and Contexts*, Farnham 2014, pp. 453–477.
- Kalogeras, N., "What do they think about children? Perception of childhood in early Byzantine literature", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 25 (2001), 2–19.
- Kaplan, M., "Le miracle est-il nécessaire au saint byzantin?", in *Miracle et Karâma* (Hagiographies médiévales comparées, 2), Turnhout 2000, pp. 167–196.
- Kazhdan, A., *A History of Byzantine Literature (650–850)*, Athens 1999.
- Lequeux, X., "Latin Hagiographical Literature Translated into Greek", in S. Efthymiadis (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. 1. *Periods and Places*, Farnham 2011, pp. 385–399.
- Lucà, S., "Graeco-latina di Bartolomeo Iuniore egumeno di Grottaferrata († 1055?)", *Néa Póμη. Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 1 (2004), 143–184.

- Luzzati Laganà, F., "Catechesi e spiritualità nella Vita di s. Nilo di Rossano", *Quaderni storici* n.s. 93 (1996), 709–737.
- Luzzi, A., "La recondita presenza del mare nella *Vita Nili*, capolavoro dell'agiografia italo-greca, con una proposta di rilettura dell'episodio noto come 'rivolta delle chelandie'", in N. Jaspers/C.A. Neumann/M. Di Branco (eds.), *Ein Meer und seine Heiligen. Hagiographie im mittelalterlichen Mediterraneum*, Leiden 2018, pp. 207–227.
- Luzzi, A., "La Vita di san Nilo di Rossano tra genere letterario e biografia", in P. Odorico/P. Agapitos (eds.), *Les Vies des saints à Byzance. Genre littéraire ou biographie historique?* (Dossiers Byzantins, 4), Paris 2004, pp. 175–189.
- Mango, C., "La culture grecque et l'Occident au VIII^e siècle", in *I Problemi dell'Occidente nel sec. VIII* (Settimane CISAM, 20), pp. 683–721.
- Merendino, E., "Letteratura greca e geografia araba nella cultura normanna del XII secolo: la *Siciliae laus* del bios di s. Filareto di Calabria", *Medioevo Greco* 5 (2005), 207–213.
- Milazzo, V., "La Sicilia: Agata e Lucia. Note agiografiche", in A. Tilatti/F.G.B. Trolese (eds.), *Giustina e le altre. Sante e culti femminili in Italia settentrionale dalla prima età cristiana al secolo XII*, Rome 2009, pp. 243–270.
- Morini, E., "Aspetti organizzativi e linee di spiritualità nel monachesimo greco in Calabria", in S. Leanza (ed.), *Calabria Cristiana. Società Religione Cultura nel territorio della diocesi di Oppido Mamertina-Palmi*, vol. 1, Soveria Mannelli 1999, pp. 251–316.
- Morini, E., "Dell'apostolicità di alcune chiese dell'Italia bizantina nei secoli VIII e IX. In margine agli *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*", *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 36 (1982), 61–79.
- Morini, E., "Greek Monasticism in Southern Italy: The Encounter between East and West", in I.A. Murzaki (ed.), *Monastic Tradition in Eastern Christianity and the Outside World. A Call for Dialogue*, Leuven 2013, pp. 69–101.
- Morini, E., "'Il monaco è un angelo'. La testimonianza di s. Nilo e la riforma monastica italo-greca del X secolo", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* s. III 9 (2010), 139–151.
- Morris, R., "The Political Saint of the Eleventh Century", in S. Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint*, London 1981, pp. 43–50.
- Motta, D., "Santi-soldati nelle campagne siciliane: la vicenda di s. Nicone", *Mediterraneo Antico* 9 (2006), 87–103.
- Musurillo, H., *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, Oxford 1972.
- Papaconstantinou, A., "Saints and Saracens: On Some Miracle Accounts of the Early Arab Period", in D. Sullivan/E. Fisher/S. Papaioannou (eds.), *Byzantine Religious Culture. Studies in Honour of Alice-Mary Talbot*, Leiden-Boston 2012, pp. 323–338.

- Pasini, C., "Edizione della Vita pseudoatanasiana di san Filippo di Agira vergata da Georgios Basilikòs nel cod. Athen. Gennad. 39", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 36 (1999), 177–222.
- Patlagean, É., "Les moines grecs d'Italie et l'apologie des thèses pontificales (VIII^e–IX^e siècles)", *Studi Medievali* s. III 17/2 (1976), 579–623.
- Patlagean, É., "Sainteté et pouvoir", in S. Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint*, London 1981, pp. 88–105.
- Peters-Custot, A., *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale post-byzantine. Une acculturation en douceur* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 420), Rome 2009.
- Pratsch, T., *Der hagiographische Topos. Griechische Heiligenviten in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit* (Millennium-Studien, 6), Berlin – New York 2005.
- Pricoco, S., "Monaci e santi di Sicilia", in id., *Monaci, filosofi e santi. Saggi di storia della cultura tardoantica*, Soveria Mannelli 1992, pp. 239–295.
- Re, M., "Ancora sulle fonti letterarie della *Vita Zosimi*. Postilla ad un articolo recente", *Orpheus* n.s. 23 (2002), 105–109.
- Re, M., *Due elezioni episcopali a confronto: s. Gregorio di Agrigento e Neofito di Lentini*, in G. Strano/C. Torre (eds.), *Ἀνατολή καὶ δύσις. Studi in memoria di Filippo Burgarella* (Testi e Studi Bizantino-Neoellenici, 21), Rome 2020, pp. 347–355.
- Re, M., *Il codice lentinese dei santi Alfio, Filadelfo e Cirino. Studio paleografico e filologico* (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Quaderni, 16), Palermo 2007.
- Re, M., "Italo-Greek Hagiography", in S. Efthymiadis (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. 1. *Periods and Places*, Farnham 2011, pp. 227–258.
- Re, M., "La *Vita* di s. Zosimo vescovo di Siracusa come fonte per la storia della Sicilia del VII secolo", in A. Nef/V. Prigent (eds.), *La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam*, Paris 2010, pp. 189–204.
- Re, M., "La *Vita* di s. Zosimo vescovo di Siracusa. Qualche osservazione", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 37 (2000), 29–42.
- Re, M., "Note per un'edizione delle recensioni greche del Martirio di san Vito", in A. Rigo, /A. Babuin/M. Trizio (eds.), *Vie per Bisanzio. Atti del VII Congresso Nazionale dell'Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini*, Bari 2013, pp. 1041–1054.
- Re, M., "Un manoscritto del *martyrium* dei ss. Alfio, Filadelfo e Cirino recentemente ritrovato", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 49 (2012), 363–374.
- Re, M./Rognoni, C., "Cristiani e Musulmani nella Sicilia islamica. La testimonianza delle fonti letterarie italogreche", in A. Nef/F. Ardizzone (eds.), *Les dynamiques de l'islamisation en Méditerranée centrale et en Sicile: nouvelles propositions et découvertes récentes* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 487), Rome 2014, pp. 119–128.

- Rizzo Nervo, F., "Tradizione narrativa e mutamenti semantici nella letteratura agiografica siciliana", in S. Pricoco/S. Rizzo Nervo/T. Sardella (eds.), *Sicilia e Italia suburbicaria tra IV e VIII secolo*, Soveria Mannelli 1991, pp. 249–261.
- Rotman, Y., "Christians, Jews and Muslims in Byzantine Italy. Medieval conflicts in local perspective", in *The Byzantine World*, Oxford 2010, pp. 223–235.
- Rotman, Y., "Converts in Byzantine Italy: Local Representation of Jewish-Christian Rivalry", in R. Bonfil/O. Irshai/G.G. Stroumsa/R. Talgam (eds.), *Jews in Byzantium: Dialectics of Minority and Majority Cultures*, Leiden 2011, pp. 893–921.
- Rydén, L., "New Forms of Hagiography: Heroes and Saints", in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers*, Washington DC 1986, pp. 537–551.
- Sahner, C., "Old Martyrs, New Martyrs and the Coming of Islam: Writing Hagiography After the Conquest", in A. Izdebski/D. Jasinski (eds.), *Cultures in Motion. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, Cracow 2014, pp. 89–112.
- Sansterre, J.-M., *Les moines grecques et orientaux à Rome aux époques Byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VI^e s.–fin du IX^e s.)*, 2 vols, Brussels 1983.
- Scorza Barcellona, F., "Infanzia e martirio: la testimonianza della più antica letteratura cristiana", in A. Benvenuti Papi/E. Giannarelli, *Bambini santi. Rappresentazione dell'infanzia e modelli agiografici*, Turin 1991, pp. 59–83.
- Strano, G., "Echi storici nei testi agiografici italo-greci di età normanna. Le *Vitae* di San Luca, vescovo di Isola Capo Rizzuto, di San Bartolomeo da Simeri e di San Cipriano di Calamizzi", *Aiônos. Miscellanea di studi storici* 17 (2011–2012), 101–140.
- Swanson, M.N., "Arabic Hagiography", in S. Efthymiadis (ed.), *The Ashgate Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. 1. *Periods and Places*, Farnham 2011, pp. 345–367.
- Timotin, A., *Visions, prophéties et pouvoir à Byzance. Étude sur l'hagiographie méso-byzantine (IX–XI siècles)* (Dossiers Byzantins, 10), Paris 2010.
- Torre, C., "San Senatore e compagni tra agiografia e innografia", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 55 (2018), 43–58.
- Tounta, E., "Conflicting Sanctities and the Construction of Collective Memories in Byzantine and Norman Italo-Greek Southern Calabria: Elias the Younger and Elias Speleotes", *Analecta Bollandiana* 135 (2017), 101–144.
- Tounta, E., "Saints, rulers and communities in Southern Italy: the *Vitae* of the Italo-Greek saints (tenth to eleventh centuries) and their audiences", *Journal of Medieval History* 42 (2016), 429–455.
- Van Esbroeck, M./Zanetti, U., "Le dossier hagiographique de S. Pancrace de Taormina", in S. Pricoco (ed.), *Storia della Sicilia e tradizione agiografica nella tarda antichità*, Soveria Mannelli 1988, pp. 155–169.

Devotion and Prayer in Byzantine Italy

Francesco D'Aiuto

In addressing within a synthesis – forty years on – a theme to which André Guillou devoted an overview which was more evocative than informative,¹ I think it would be useful to ask a preliminary question which may possibly seem pointless or provocative: is it possible to speak of the existence, compared to the Byzantine east, of specifically Italo-Greek forms of devotion and practices of worship and prayer?²

In fact, we know that early medieval southern Italy and Sicily underwent an important process of Byzantinization, which appears to have been driven by immigration from the Middle East that was directly related to the Persian invasion and, later, to the advance of the Arabs. This immigration was possibly in a small way also connected – according to a common notion that is now being questioned by many scholars – with the turmoil of the Monothelite and Iconoclastic controversies.³ Rather than ordinary people, the new *émigrés* were probably members of the local eastern *élites* who were often destined to assume leading roles after their arrival in southern Italy, serving as officials placed in command of Byzantine troops or posted to administer the territories.⁴ Moreover, they also included clerics or religious figures who, in addition to exercising spiritual influence over the population, would

1 Guillou, “Preghiera e devozione”. Interesting suggestions relevant to this theme can be found in the paper of Pertusi, “Sopravvivenze pagane e pietà religiosa”.

2 By devotion, used in this paper in a deliberately broad sense, we intend the widest possible range of manifestations of public and private piety, relating both to “official” cults and to popular tradition, in a broad array of phenomena, including for example the use of the sacraments, forms of prayer both collective and private, pious practices, meditation and contemplation, spells and formulae of exorcism, down to truly superstitious practices that mix the sacred with the profane and with magic. As for prayer, we will refer here primarily to forms of private prayer accompanying devotional practices.

3 See at least Borsari, “Le migrazioni dall’Oriente”; Pertusi, “Bisanzio e l’irradiazione della sua civiltà”, pp. 92–121; Guillou/Burgarella, *L’Italia bizantina*, pp. 324–31; Perria/Falkenhausen/D’Aiuto, “Introduzione” (with a substantial bibliography).

4 Von Falkenhausen, “I Bizantini in Italia”, pp. 30–33. For the presence of eastern military men and officials in Italy during the Middle Byzantine period, see von Falkenhausen, “In Italia per la carriera”.

sometimes act as points of reference for local communities in their dealings with civil authorities.⁵

As has been noted, this immigration particularly contributed to a strengthening of ties with Syria, Palestine, and Egypt – especially with Alexandria –, following long-established land and sea routes which ran from the Holy Land through North Africa up into Sicily and Calabria and as far as Rome. Apart from the many reflections of these contacts in hagiographical texts,⁶ clear evidence of these connections is mainly provided by the adoption in the Italo-Greek world of formulae, texts, and liturgical usages of Oriental origin that are not found in Constantinople and hence, as has been shown above all by André Jacob, must have reached Byzantine Italy without having passed through the capital of the Eastern Empire. It is worth mentioning, by way of example, the success in southern Italy of elements of the Syro-Palestinian liturgy of Saint James and of the Alexandrian liturgy of Saint Mark, but also the introduction into the Calabrian manuscripts of the Euchologion of prayers, exorcisms, blessings, and usages of Palestinian origin or from the Alexandrian tradition. All of these data suggest that contacts with the Melkite Churches of the eastern Mediterranean basin were then very strong, and persisted even later, throughout the Middle Byzantine period.⁷ On the other hand, the liturgy also seems to provide evidence, in support of such relationships, of inverse influences, since scholars have occasionally been able to point out instances of liturgical texts and manuscripts moving in the opposite direction, from southern Italy to the east, although this phenomenon is seen more rarely and is not always easy to interpret.⁸

5 See Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino*, pp. 7–22, 117 and passim; Pertusi, “Aspetti organizzativi e culturali”, pp. 388–89 (repr., pp. 145–46); von Falkenhausen, “Il monachesimo greco in Sicilia”, pp. 143–45, 148–49.

6 Of the possible examples, I will record here only the case of Philip of Agira, a saint said to be of the Apostolic age, whose *Vita* – truly a hagiographical novel – in the redaction attributed to the monk Eusebius, repeatedly talks of a Syrian origin, see *Vita Philippi Argyniensis*, p. 129, n. 22, ed. C. Pasini, *Vita di s. Filippo d'Agira attribuita al monaco Eusebio* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 214), Rome 1981. On this question see also Messina, “I Siciliani di rito greco”.

7 See, selectively, the articles of Jacob, “L'evoluzione dei libri liturgici”; id., “Deux formules d'imixtion syro-palestiniennes”; id., “La date, la patrie et le modèle d'un rouleau”, pp. 121–25; see also id., “L'Euchologe de Sainte-Marie du Patir”; id., “La prière pour les troupeaux de l'Euchologe Barberini” (with additional bibliography *ibid.*, pp. 483–84). See further Bertonière, *The Sundays of Lent*, pp. 137–38; Velkovska, “Un eucologio del monastero di Grottaferrata”, pp. 86–87; Velkovska, “La liturgia italo-bizantina”, pp. 232–36; Parenti, “Un eucologio poco noto del Salento”; Radle, “The Byzantine Marriage Tradition”; Radle, “The Liturgical Ties”.

8 Jacob, “L'Euchologe de Sainte-Marie du Patir”, pp. 93–94; id., “L'euchologe de Porphyre Uspenski”, pp. 176–77; see also Parenti, “Influssi italo-greci”, with the criticism expressed by Jacob, “La prière pour les troupeaux”, pp. 484–85; see also now Parenti, “Towards a regional

The circulation of people, books and texts – and with them, of cults and devotional practices that were also diffused orally – was further stimulated in both directions by the custom of pilgrimage. In this regard, apart from Constantinople, which was an obvious reference point for every Byzantine man,⁹ it was above all Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre, and the holy places of Palestine that stretched down into the Sinai that provided important destinations for spiritual travel for the Greeks of southern Italy throughout the Middle Ages.¹⁰ By contrast, regular destinations for devotional journeys throughout the Middle Ages by both Westerners and Easterners remained the basilicas in Rome built over the tombs of the apostles Peter and Paul.¹¹ Hagiographical texts from Byzantine Italy often mention – in a way that in some cases even seems topical – journeys to the east made by the holy monks whose lives are described:¹² we recall for example, among others, the case of the Sicilian Saint Elias the Younger (9th–10th cent.), who, according to his *Vita*, travelled to Jerusalem to worship at the holy places, and there met the patriarch of Jerusalem, Elias (878–907), from whom he received the monastic habit and his name. The saint is then said to have roamed widely, from Jordan to Gennesaret, Tabor, and Sinai, where he remained for three years. He then moved on to Alexandria in Egypt, and even went to Persia to venerate the relics of the Three Holy Children and of Daniel, finally returning to Sicily via the North African

history”, p. 119. For Italo-Greek liturgical manuscripts which migrated, probably *ab antiquo*, to eastern monastic collections, see e.g. Parenti, “Per l’identificazione”.

9 See e.g. Cilento, “Santi e pellegrini nell’Italia bizantina”, pp. 113–15.

10 Pertusi, “Rapporti tra il monachesimo”, pp. 498–503; Luongo, “Itinerari dei santi italo-greci”, p. 47; von Falkenhausen, “Die Rolle der Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem”; Re, “From Greek southern Italy to Jerusalem”. More generally, for Byzantine pilgrimages to the Holy Land, see Külzer, *Peregrinatio Graeca in Terram Sanctam*; Carile, “Luoghi santi e pellegrinaggi”, pp. 201–12; von Falkenhausen, “Pellegrinaggi bizantini in Terra Santa”.

11 Pertusi, “Bisanzio e l’irradiazione della sua civiltà”, pp. 116–19 (with a bibliography); Russo, “La ‘peregrinatio’ dei santi italo-greci”; Pertusi, “Rapporti tra il monachesimo”, pp. 502–03, 507; von Falkenhausen, “San Pietro nella religiosità bizantina”, pp. 644–46; Follieri, “Incontri fra monaci d’Oriente e d’Occidente”, pp. 184–86; Luongo, “Itinerari dei santi italo-greci”, pp. 46–47; Cilento, “Santi e pellegrini nell’Italia bizantina”, pp. 112–13. The pilgrimage to Rome is often mentioned in the *Vitae* of Italo-Greek saints, see on this Follieri, “I santi dell’Italia greca”, pp. 16, 19, 21–22, 34 (repr., pp. 107, 109, 110, 112, 123); Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l’Italie méridionale*, pp. 141, 214. We can recall in particular the famous episode of the visit to the Roman basilica of St. Peter by Saint Nilus the Younger: *Vita Nili*, 19, pp. 66–67; but there are other references, in the *Vita* of Saint Nilus, to Rome and to the tombs of the apostles as destinations for pilgrimages and as places worthy of veneration: *Vita Nili*, 59 and 96, pp. 100, 131–32.

12 Follieri, “I santi dell’Italia greca”, pp. 13–16 (repr., pp. 104–06); Follieri, “I santi della Calabria bizantina”. See also Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino*, pp. 39, 117.

coast.¹³ Yet, another less well-known case in hagiography of the practice of pilgrimage to the east that may be worth mentioning here is that of a “Calabrian” saint named Leo whose relics were preserved in the city of Methone, in the Peloponnese. According to what the vague hagiographical sources tell about him, he had to make a stop in Methone in the course of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and, falling ill, ended his holy life there.¹⁴

Still, it is thanks to the production of manuscripts that the most tangible traces of the multidirectional networks of travel and migration which we have outlined above are available, and of the exchanges that took place between the Italo-Greek region and the Byzantine east as far as liturgy and cults are concerned, including their reflections in the related field of sacred music.¹⁵ Of the many possible examples, one typical witness to this form of contact and movement – and of their implications for liturgy and worship – is the case of the Calabrian scribe Bartholomew τοῦ Πολυχρόνι, who was originally from Bruzzano. On his second pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1168, he bought a manuscript of the Gospels whilst in the Holy City: the codex Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 319, transcribed in 1039 by a priest and scribe named Leo from the village of Phogla in Pamphylia. Bartholomew then added in his own hand the usual lists with information about the Gospel readings to be made on the days of both the fixed and moveable feasts in the calendar (i.e., the so-called *synaxarium minus* and *menologium minus*) and, furthermore, a number of passages from the letters of Paul to be read on special occasions.¹⁶ Or, we can recall the case pointed out by André Jacob of a scroll with the Liturgy of Saint Basil in the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence (Banco 1, 13th century) which, due to the presence of some notes in Arabic, can be attributed to the Syro-Palestinian region. However, its copyist, Philip the Priest, refers to himself as *xenos* (i.e., “stranger”) to the area in which he is working: he is from Sicily.¹⁷ A further clue following the same line of investigation is the present-day presence of Italo-Greek manuscripts – often liturgical or hagiographical – in

13 *Vita Eliae iunioris*, 17–22, ed. Rossi Taibbi, pp. 24–33; ed. Cosma Aghiorita/Dell’Isola, pp. 74–83.

14 Follieri, “Santi di Metone”.

15 Bucca, “Influenze ‘orientali’”.

16 Schreiner, “Handschriften auf Reisen”, pp. 146–52; Lucà, “Le diocesi di Gerace e Squillace”, pp. 288–89, pl. 22. – By contrast, the well-known case of the priest John Myronas, who in 1229 wrote, probably in Jerusalem, a Euchologion using palimpsest parchment taken, among others, from an older manuscript of Archimedes, was recently reexamined, which led to a revision of the view that this copyist should be seen as a native of Salento. Scholars now tend to look for the scribe’s origin in some other provincial area of Byzantine culture: Lucà, “On the Dating”.

17 Jacob, “Rouleaux grecs et latins”, p. 91.

Middle Eastern libraries, such as that of the monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai or that of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem.¹⁸

It should be remembered, moreover, that connections in the liturgical sphere between the Italo-Greek world and the Middle East considered in its entirety are fully justified by their ecclesiastical geography: indeed, one can recall that the removal of the southern Italian and Sicilian dioceses from Roman ecclesiastical jurisdiction and their re-allocation to the patriarchate of Constantinople during the 8th century had the obvious effect of reviving and further stimulating hierarchical and institutional contacts between these distant western areas of the empire and the other Byzantine and former Byzantine regions, both at the centre and on the peripheries.¹⁹ These bonds, which despite altered circumstances never slackened until the dawn of the modern age, were particularly strong throughout the Middle Byzantine period. This is evident from stories like those of Italian or Sicilian monastic saints who travelled to the east or who cultivated strong links throughout the eastern territories, not only within the capital but also the Balkans in the broader sense and the Middle East. We can thus recall here, as further evidence of such east-west movements and of the close relationship between one end and the other of the Byzantine oecumene, the examples of Saint Phantinus the Younger (10th century), a Calabrian ascetic who moved to and then died near Thessaloniki,²⁰ or again the Sicilian monastic saints Christopher, Sabas, and Macarius of Collesano (10th century), whose *Vitae* were written, significantly, by the patriarch of Jerusalem (986–1005) Orestes, who probably met them in Rome or in southern Italy.²¹ Of particular significance for our theme is the story, which has been much debated with regard to the details of his cultural-historical legacy and of his chronology, of a trip made by Saint Bartholomew of Simeri († 1130) to Constantinople, where the monk was received at the imperial court. According to reports made by his hagiographer, whom some scholars tend to identify with Philagathus of Cerami, Bartholomew's mission to the capital had the explicit aim of obtaining sacred books (βιβλοι ιεραι) for use in worship, as well as icons, ornaments, and liturgical furnishings for the monastery of Nea Hodegetria, which had been founded at the end of the 11th century in Rossano, Calabria, by Bartholomew himself and which, in an allusion to him, was also called "of the *Patir*" (i.e., "of the Father"). If we look beyond the truth of the details and the correctness of the interpretation given by the

18 Perria, "Libri e scritture", p. 177.

19 Anastos, "The Transfer of Illyricum". For a synthesis of the debates about this, see Acconcia Longo, "I vescovi nell'agiografia italogreca", pp. 140–42.

20 *Vita Phantini iunioris*, ed. Follieri; see also Follieri, "Un santo monaco calabrese a Tessalonica".

21 Follieri, "I santi dell'Italia greca", pp. 18–20 (repr., pp. 109–11).

author of the *bios* regarding the aims and objectives of the trip, this narrative can be interpreted as an emblematic episode demonstrating the underlying unity in aspects of liturgy and the material and textual elements of worship between the Byzantine east and Greek-speaking Italy.²²

There were clearly strong links between the Greek west and Greek east – the latter with its different permutations, from the capital to the regions adjacent to it down to the Syro-Palestinian and Egyptian territories then under Arab rule. It is also clear that there was a continuous and multidirectional movement of people, texts, rites, and customs from one end of the Byzantine oecumene to the other.²³ Given this, it seems reasonable to ask – going back to our original question – whether there really are particular features in the religiosity and the cultic and devotional practices of Byzantine Italy that differentiate the devotional life of these distant western regions of the empire from its centre or from the other peripheral areas of the Byzantine world.

Given the fundamental unity of Byzantium as a cultural phenomenon, the answer closest to the truth would seem to be that, despite its deep harmony with the typical forms of eastern Byzantine religiosity, the Italo-Greek area does display its own special character in certain details, even if it never revealed a strongly specific or original nature, as in other respects and also as regards aspects of cult and devotion in the strict sense.²⁴

Of course, a first typical characteristic consists of the preservation and, in certain centres, of the stressing of local cults and devotional practices that never enjoyed any real diffusion in the Greek east. In older times, and in fact still into the early Middle Ages, the veneration of saints from Greek-speaking Italy or Sicily – or even of openly “Latin” saints – found a certain following in the east.²⁵ In this way these saints – who included Roman popes,²⁶

22 *Vita Bartholomaei de Simeri*, 25, pp. 221–22, 262–63, ed. G. Zaccagni, “Il *Bios* di san Bartolomeo da Simeri (BHG 235)”, *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 33 (1996), 193–274. For a rejection of the identification of the author of the text with Philagathus see Burgarella, “Aspetti storici del *Bios*”, pp. 119–20. – On Saint Bartholomew’s mission to Constantinople, with divergent interpretations and datings, see Lucà, “Lo scriba e il committente dell’*Addit.* 28270”, pp. 203–08; Breccia, “Dalla ‘regina delle città’”; Re, “Sul viaggio di Bartolomeo da Simeri”; Breccia, “Alle origini del *Patir*”.

23 The exchange is also clearly reflected in the transfer of groups of texts and structural nuclei of the liturgical books from one end to the other of the Byzantine oecumene, see on this D’Aiuto/Bucca, “Per lo studio delle origini della *Paracletica*”.

24 For a balance see Pertusi, “La spiritualité gréco-byzantine”. More recently, Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l’Italie méridionale*, pp. 145–46, 150–53.

25 Follieri, “Santi occidentali”, pp. 256–57; Follieri, “Il culto dei santi”, pp. 558–61; Follieri, “I santi dell’Italia greca”, pp. 4–5 (repr., pp. 96–97).

26 On this see e.g. Peeters, “Une Vie grecque du pape S. Martin I”; Halkin, “Le pape S. Grégoire le Grand” (with the foregoing bibliography); Rigotti, “Gregorio il Dialogo nel mondo bizantino”.

bishops with western seats like Milan or Tours,²⁷ and famous exponents of Latin monasticism²⁸ – entered the Byzantine religious calendar and found themselves commemorated in the liturgical hymnals and hagiographical collections being utilized throughout the whole Byzantine oecumene. Yet from the 10th to the 11th centuries onwards the cults of western saints found it increasingly difficult to take root in Constantinople and the east, which had by now substantially defined the standard features and contents of the *Menologia* and *Synaxaria*, whereas a similar but more gradual process was also taking place in the hymn collection of the *Menaia*.²⁹ Thus the Italo-Greek saints mostly enjoy cults that can be said to be only regional, or even local, especially after the 11th century, a phenomenon which was indeed also true of the more recent cults which were originating in other peripheral areas of the Byzantine world.³⁰ On the other hand, in parallel with the isolation and gradual decline of the Greek-speaking element in Italy and Sicily which began with the Norman conquest, new cults originating in the east or even in Constantinople found it difficult to make headway in the west.

“It is certain, however,” as Enrica Follieri once wrote, “that from around the middle of the 10th century onwards the liturgical proper of the saints of Greek Italy is enhanced, albeit hesitantly, with new elements peculiar to them added to the calendar received from the Church of Constantinople. This is the point of introduction, and rightly so, of commemorations of new local saints; this also marks the introduction of a few rare commemorations from the Latin Church. [...] From the Latin Church comes the commemoration of All Souls on November 2, which is already recorded in an Italo-Greek *Menologion* of the 11th century, Vat. Palat. gr. 9 [...]”,³¹ as is All Saints Day on November 1, and a fairly small number of feast-days of saints with an unambiguously western

27 See e. g. Pasini, “La figura di Ambrogio”; Pasini, “La Vita premetafrastica di sant’Ambrogio”; Pasini, “Testi innografici bizantini”; Pasini, “Altre composizioni innografiche bizantine”; Pasini (ed.), *Le fonti greche su sant’Ambrogio*; Jacob, “Le culte de saint Martin de Tours”.

28 For the Byzantine cult of Saint Benedict of Nursia see most recently Rigotti, “Gregorio il Dialogo nel mondo bizantino”, pp. 279–81, with the foregoing bibliography.

29 This statement should however be qualified as regards the Synaxarion, since there is some evidence of the later introduction, in manuscripts of the Synaxarion originating from the east and particularly from Constantinople, of specifically Italo-Greek commemorations – perhaps linked to migrations of monks to the east in the face of the Saracen peril –, see Luzzi, “L’influsso dell’agiografia italogreca”.

30 Follieri, “Santi occidentali”, pp. 268, 270–71; Follieri, “Il culto dei santi”, pp. 559–69; Follieri, “I santi della Calabria bizantina”, passim. See also Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l’Italie méridionale*, pp. 150–51; Peters-Custot, “La cuisine calabraise de l’ogre byzantiniste”, pp. 182–84.

31 Follieri, “Il culto dei santi”, p. 572.

tradition, such as Saint Leonard, Saint Roch, and Saint Vincent of Saragossa.³² However, other interesting examples of commemorations of clearly Latin origin in the Italo-Greek world have been recently identified in manuscripts from Salento of a later date. These include the codex Galatone, Archivio Antico della Chiesa Madre, 3 (15th century), which, for the date of August 5, records the cult of the "Madonna of the Snows" (Θεοτόκος τῆς Χιόνος), i.e. the dedication of the Liberian Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, there commemorated by a sung office, or the manuscript Galatone, Archivio Antico della Chiesa Madre, 4 (15th century), in which we find an entire *akolouthia* in honor of Saint Francis of Assisi.³³

Another characteristic feature of Italo-Greek religiosity is found in the preservation and development of elements of rites, liturgy, and music of venerable antiquity alongside features which evolved creatively in local contexts: a mixture of conservative traits and local innovation which can also be observed in other peripheral areas of the Byzantine Empire, and applies to a wide range of historical and cultural phenomena.³⁴ It is true that, as was mentioned, the establishment of these religious traditions in Southern Italy was aided by the importation of formulae of other eastern origin, some from the periphery, which end up in use as fossils in these remote western localities, and are thus preserved in this form despite the evolution of the rite in other areas, primarily in the capital.³⁵ The conservative nature of provincial culture is perhaps felt more strongly in the Italo-Greek world than elsewhere because of its greater distance from the centre of the empire. Increasingly driven into a more defensive position over the course of time, the Greeks from southern Italy would also begin to feel, especially from the 12th century onwards, threatened by the prospect of Latinization, which they tried to resist by wearily repeating and handing down a heritage of traditional texts and formulae.³⁶

32 See at least Follieri, "Il culto dei santi", pp. 573–77. See now also Lucà, "Interferenze linguistiche".

33 Gaspari, "Innografia liturgica greca di Terra d'Otranto", pp. 157–59 (with the foregoing bibliography). The *akolouthia* for Saint Francis has been recently republished in Gaspari, *Ricco sposo della povertà*.

34 Regarding this see Morini, "Aspetti organizzativi", pp. 251–53.

35 Jacob, "L'evoluzione dei libri liturgici".

36 The conservatism of the Italo-Greek world was responsible for the preservation, in Italo-Greek manuscripts, of a great number of hymnographical texts which elsewhere had fallen into disuse. Not surprisingly, this wealth of old and often rare texts provided by Italo-Greek manuscript evidence has benefitted from major projects for critical editions of the hymnographical texts of the *Menaia* and *Triodion*: G. Schirò, (ed.), *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, 13 vols., Rome 1966–1983; E.I. Tomadakes, *Ἀίσματα τοῦ Τριωδίου, ἐρανισθέντα ἐκ κωδίκων τῆς Κάτω Ἰταλίας*, 2 vols., Athens 1995–2004.

Moreover, looking beyond the specific case of Greek Italy, the conservative and yet idiosyncratic character of ritual and devotion is, on close inspection, one of a kind with the whole of Byzantine piety, dominated as it is by strong liturgical particularism and localism, – so that every church and monastery has its own calendar of festivals, and cults, particular dates of commemoration, and peculiarities in ritual and usages. This is also abetted by the idiorrhhythmic tendency of Greek monasticism itself, which loosens the chains of *stabilitas loci* binding the monk to his community.³⁷ Such an attitude is not conducive to the formation of monastic structures comparable to those of western religious orders, with all that this implies in terms of maintaining and even increasing *varietas* and a lack of uniformity.

By contrast, one of the most conspicuously western characteristics has fairly limited effects, which are visible especially in the monastic *milieu* of Saint Nilus and his companions in their moving from Campania to Latium, up to Grottaferrata near Rome. This is the penetration, by a process of natural osmosis, of Latin and particularly Roman elements into Italo-Greek calendars, prayers, and liturgical formulas (for example baptismal or funeral rites) and more generally into ritual usage and devotional practice.³⁸ These are clearly phenomena which will later grow in strength and spread to other areas of southern Italy, in tandem with the destructuring of the Greek rite in Italy and its progressive “Latinization.” It must however be restated that the liturgical traditionalism and conservatism specific to these areas had the tendency to establish a long-term bulwark against the expansion of such phenomena, which become more widespread only in the 15th and 16th centuries.³⁹

On the other hand, the Italo-Greeks displayed a noteworthy ability in contributing, especially by the 9th century, to the development of cult practices – perhaps more in the Greek-speaking west than in the broader Byzantine “liturgical oecumene” – by means of a vast production of religious poetry in the Greek language for use in worship, as well as of sacred music composed according to the canons of the Byzantine tradition. It is not in fact only hagiography that constitutes the legacy of Italo-Greek sacred literature, but also a great mass of hymns and liturgical songs. However, only a small part of this

37 See e.g. Herman, “La ‘stabilitas loci’”.

38 See the recent synthesis by Velkovska, “La liturgia italo-bizantina”, pp. 236–40 (with further bibliography). Of the various possible examples, see e.g. Strittmatter, “Liturgical Latinisms”; Velkovska, “Il praxapostolos A.β.V di Grottaferrata”, pp. 17–18; Parenti, “Il rito di confessione”, pp. 57–62; Parenti, “Una *Diataxis* inedita”; Parenti, “La frazione in tre parti del pane eucaristico”; Parenti, *Il monastero di Grottaferrata nel medioevo*, pp. 194–97, 284–85, 329–30 and passim.

39 Jacob, “L’evoluzione dei libri”, p. 68.

musical and poetic output came to be disseminated and adopted in the rest of the Byzantine world.⁴⁰ Sicily, in particular, was able to produce hymnographers of a high standard, who made a great contribution to the formation of the repertoire of hymns still in use in the Greek Church. Yet this only happened in the first part of the Middle Byzantine era, with religious poets who moved to Constantinople while still young, who were able to play important roles there, and who can thus be considered as fully integrated into the cultural life of the centre of the empire. This includes people born in Sicily like Methodius, who became patriarch of Constantinople (843–847),⁴¹ and in particular Joseph the Hymnographer († ca. 886). The latter moved at an early age first to Thessaloniki and then to the imperial capital, where he was hegumen of a monastery which he had founded and dedicated to Saint Bartholomew the Apostle. He composed an impressive number of hymns, many of which still form part of the rich heritage of religious poetry used in the Greek Church.⁴² Among other things, we notice that despite having been mainly educated in Constantinople, Joseph seems to have contributed in no small way to the propagation and diffusion in the east of the cult of Italo-Greek saints through his hymns, which were used throughout the Byzantine east and were often later brought together in the printed editions of the liturgical books.⁴³

However, this eastward “export” of religious poetry and music did not include certain movements, which, although important, were clearly more secluded: this is particularly true of the “hymnographical school” – if one can use this expression – whose founder can be considered the afore-mentioned Saint Nilus from Rossano, whose production of liturgical chant was for centuries centred around the Greek monastery of Grottaferrata, near Rome.⁴⁴ Saint Nilus himself can be said to have initiated a specific trend in Italo-Greek hymnography with an event that marks the symbolic inauguration of the hymnographical tradition associated with his “school.” This is the visit that he and his disciples paid, not much earlier than the year 986, to the abbey of Montecassino on the feast of Saint Benedict. This visit was solemnized by the

40 See in short Follieri, “Poesia e innografia”, pp. 515–19, 522.

41 To Methodius is attributed, among other hymns, a canon for the restoration of the cult of images in 843, see Gouillard, “Deux figures mal connues”, pp. 380–83. On him see in brief Kazhdan, “Methodios I”, with an additional bibliography.

42 See chiefly Tomadakes, *Ἰωσήφ ὁ Ὑμνογράφος*; see also Stiernon, “La vie et l'œuvre de s. Joseph l'Hymnographe”.

43 See e.g. Follieri, “I santi della Calabria bizantina”, p. 77.

44 A useful synthesis in Acconcia Longo, “Gli innografi di Grottaferrata”.

singing of an entire Greek office in honour of the father of western monasticism composed for the occasion by Nilus himself.⁴⁵

In addition to producing hymns for commemorations common to the broad Byzantine Church, Italo-Greek hymnographers seem to have paid special attention to the enrichment of the liturgical collections they had inherited from the capital or from the Syro-Palestinian east, in particular in relation to cults or commemorations that were not in the eastern liturgical calendar and enjoyed a very limited geographical diffusion. These included not only the cults of the “new” Italo-Greek saints, first and foremost the heroes of the Italo-Greek monastic movement of the 10th–12th centuries, but also a few feast-days borrowed from the western tradition or some commemorations linked to a strictly local context. At Grottaferrata, for example, Saint Bartholomew († ca. 1050), the fourth hegumen of the monastery founded outside Rome by Saint Nilus and possibly the most gifted of the Grottaferratan hymnographers, was to be particularly active in broadening the repertoire of the canons of the *Menaia* with new hymns dedicated to western saints or saints commemorated locally, such as Saint Apollinaris of Ravenna, Saint Caesarius of Terracina, Saint Martin of Tours, and Saint Sabinus and his fellow martyrs at Spoleto.⁴⁶ The same trend – often clearly linked to the specific liturgical needs of local communities that could not be met by the available hymnographical material, which was of eastern origin – was then continued by later hymnographers from Grottaferrata down to John of Rossano (12th–13th century).⁴⁷

All this “new” hymnographical material produced in Greek Italy would in fact have little if any impact on the Byzantine east. This may have been due to the strong sense of cultural superiority felt by the centre towards the periphery. Few people in the capital were willing to take much note of the literary and musical output of Greek-speaking Italy, which was probably felt to express backward and provincial cultural trends.⁴⁸

45 *Vita Nili*, 72–74, pp. 112–13 §§ 72–74. See also Rousseau, “La visite de Nil de Rossano”; Acconcia Longo, “Gli innografi di Grottaferrata”, pp. 317–19. The hymns of Saint Nilus were edited in S. Gassisi (ed.), *Poesie di san Nilo iuniore e di Paolo monaco Abbati di Grottaferrata* (Innografi italo-greci, 1), Rome 1906.

46 Acconcia Longo, “Gli innografi di Grottaferrata”, pp. 321–24. Edition of the hymns in G. Giovanelli (ed.), *Gli inni sacri di S. Bartolomeo juniore confondatore e IV egumeno di Grottaferrata* (Innografi italo-greci, 3), Grottaferrata 1955. See also Acconcia Longo, “Il canone di Bartolomeo per la consacrazione”; Parenti, *Il monastero di Grottaferrata nel medioevo*, pp. 282–85.

47 Acconcia Longo, *Gli innografi di Grottaferrata*, cit., pp. 327–28. See also Prinzi, “I canoni di Giovanni Rossanese”.

48 In this connection, read the reflections of Follieri, “Santi occidentali”, pp. 270–71.

Turning to another important aspect of Byzantine piety and devotion, we will note how the veneration of icons provides further proof of the far-reaching uniformity of attitudes and practices concerning the cult between the eastern and western regions of the Byzantine world. Studies made of the tradition of venerating sacred images in southern Italy, undertaken on the basis of an examination of literary and documentary sources, have reaffirmed that in the Italo-Greek context, in the same way as in the East, icons formed the focus of a widespread cult, with deep roots, and, in its way, substantially the same as that followed at the centre of the empire.⁴⁹ In southern Italy, as in the Byzantine east, a close emotional bond was in fact being established between the icon and the devotee based upon a synesthetic perception of its holiness, to which the lights and the smell of incense and of the *myron* used in worship contributed not a little. The icon was also a subject active in working miracles, and even proved able to assume a legal personality, acquiring goods and rents for the purpose of supporting the worship paid to it, sometimes in full autonomy from the shrine that housed it.⁵⁰ This last step towards legal capacity is something found frequently in Byzantine and Norman Italy, especially, in somewhat extreme forms, in Campanian and more specifically Neapolitan contexts. As has been noted, this phenomenon has also been significantly attested in a similar form in the eastern Byzantine world, from which it ultimately appears to have derived.⁵¹

Moreover, it has been noted by Jean-Marie Sansterre that, surprisingly, we lack examples of miracles performed by icons in the numerous texts of Italo-Greek hagiography of the 10th–12th centuries, although, as Sansterre himself admits, this may partly be due to the random way in which these texts have been preserved.⁵² It must be said that sacred images of the heroes of the Italo-Byzantine monasticism of this period celebrated in these βίαι are only occasionally to be found as objects of veneration on the walls of the churches

49 Marchionibus, *Icone in Campania*, pp. 1–40. See also, selectively, Di Dario Guida, *Icone di Calabria*; Berger, “Fascino e presenza dell'icona”; Leone, *Icone di Roma e del Lazio*; and the catalogue of the exhibition *Tavole miracolose. Le icone medioevali di Roma e del Lazio*.

50 Martin, “Quelques remarques”; see also Marchionibus, *Icone in Campania*, p. 13: “L'icona è (...) in grado di ricevere doni, di accumulare un patrimonio, ma anche di acquisire ulteriori beni, attraverso la gestione di personali risorse finanziarie, appositamente affidate ad amministratori, di solito identificati negli stessi committenti o (...) in monaci e rappresentanti del clero”. See further Johnson, “Sacred Gifts”, pp. 110–11.

51 See the comparative observations of Sansterre, “Donations de biens-fonds à des images”, who, with an example of the very same phenomenon in the Byzantine east, refers to Oikonomides, “The Holy Icon as an Asset”, p. 40.

52 Sansterre, “Remarques sur les miracles de saints récents”, pp. 537–38.

of southern Italy.⁵³ In fact, these saints lived in later ages, – after the Byzantine liturgical calendar had been substantially fixed (which happened towards the end of the 10th century) – and therefore their cults could not spread consistently outside of the narrow confines of the localities where they practised asceticism or where they were buried. The lack of any consistent diffusion of a reputation for holiness would probably have limited the veneration of their relics⁵⁴ and would not have favoured the establishment of any specific devotion towards their cult images. On the other hand, one can notice a difference in this regard compared to other peripheral areas of the Byzantine east, where the power of the sacred image to work miracles seems to be a common element in the worship of “recent” saints, to judge by what is recorded in hagiographical texts.⁵⁵

However, the miraculous power of icons – which were mostly images of the Virgin or of ancient saints venerated throughout the Byzantine world – is obviously also well attested in southern Italy, as is shown for instance, in a curiously negative way, by the *Life* of Saint Cyprian of Calamizzi. Here we read that the saint, who was hegumen of the monastery of St. Nicholas of Calamizzi near Reggio (12th–13th century) sought to conceal his own miracle-working powers and sent the faithful in need of grace to pray before the icon of Saint Nicholas, to whom the miraculous healings then had to be attributed.⁵⁶ Additionally, hagiographic sources – beginning once more with the *Life* of Saint Nilus the Younger⁵⁷ – document the veneration accorded to the *acheiropoietos* (i.e., “not made by human hand”) image of the Virgin Hodegetria kept in the cathedral church of Rossano.⁵⁸ The *Vita Nili* further reminds us that the cathedral of Rossano was home to images of monastic saints. For the still youthful Saint

53 Falla Castelfranchi, “I ritratti dei monaci italo-greci”.

54 It is significant that they do indeed lack information about pilgrimages to shrines and tombs of Italo-Greek ascetic saints: in Byzantine and post-Byzantine Italy the principal destinations for religious travel are those linked to very popular cults common to the whole Christian world, like the old sanctuary of St. Michael on Mount Gargano – mentioned in the *Vitae* of Saint Nilus and Saint Phantinus the Younger, see respectively *Vita Nili*, 91, p. 128; *Vita Phantini iunioris*, 26, pp. 275–77, 430–31 – or the shrine of Saint Nicholas in Bari (Apulia), following the transfer there, in 1087, of the saint’s relics from Myra in Lycia: see e.g. Cilento, “Santi e pellegrini nell’Italia bizantina”, pp. 91–97 (for Saint Nicholas) e 97–103 (for Monte Sant’Angelo, i.e. St. Michael’s shrine on Mount Gargano), with an additional bibliography.

55 See e.g. Kazhdan/Maguire, “Byzantine Hagiographical Texts”, passim.

56 *Vita Cypriani*, p. 94 (lines 113–16).

57 *Vita Nili*, 41, ed. Giovanelli, p. 86.

58 Falla Castelfranchi, “*Disiecta membra*”, pp. 24–28; Roma, *La Madonna e l’Angelo*, with further bibliography.

Nilus, in complete accordance with the pedagogical dictates of orthodox doctrine as stated in the Seventh Oecumenical Council in Nicaea, those images were intended to incentivize the attainment of virtue by encouraging the reading of the hagiographical texts concerning those holy ascetics.⁵⁹

While speaking of devotion and prayer, however, we should not omit to mention also popular piety, including expressions of everyday life and private devotions primarily concerning the laity. Nor should we fail to remember customs and devotional practices common among all strata of the population, sometimes fluctuating between admissible displays of Christian religiosity and forms of outright superstition. As in the wider Byzantine world, prayer, both personal and collective – possibly following the liturgy of the canonical hours, as, for example, in eleventh-century Byzantium the aristocrat Cecaumenus advised his son to do⁶⁰ –, was considered an appropriate and recommended practice for all Christians. Hagiographic sources show that some laymen followed the custom, attested everywhere in the Byzantine world, of reciting special prayers, even collectively on certain occasions. One such example is given in the *Vita* of the Calabrian saint Philaretus the Younger, who lived in the 11th century, in relation to a meeting he had with some shepherds who invited him to eat with them after the customary joint prayer of thanks made before a meal (εὐχαριστήσαντες πρότερον καὶ τὰς συνήθεις εὐχὰς κοινῶς τῷ Θεῷ ἀναπέμποντες).⁶¹

Such practices are to be seen alongside the traditional recitation of and private meditation on the Psalter,⁶² which even in southern Italy was often owned by individuals, especially in the typical form of manuscripts of small size that could be carried around. One example of this practice can be seen in an episode from the *Vita* of Saint Elias the Younger in which the saint, passing close to Pentedattilo, in Calabria, ordered his disciple Daniel to throw the fine Psalter he had with him into a pond as an extreme token of obedience and

59 "He always liked, even in his youth, the Lives of the Holy Fathers, say of Anthony, Sabas, Hilarion, and others who are represented in the same cathedral church, and always read them with great love and understanding", this is how Enrica Follieri – in her forthcoming critical edition of the *Vita Nili* – interprets a passage for which see, for the time being, *Vita Nili*, 2, p. 48.

60 Cecaumenus, *Strategicon*, pp. 38–39 ed. B. Wassiliewsky/V. Jernstedt, *Cecaumeni Strategicon*, St. Petersburg 1896; ed. M.D. Spadaro, *Cecaumeno, Raccomandazioni e consigli di un galantuomo* (Στρατηγικόν) (Hellenica, 2), Alessandria 1998, pp. 136–38 (§ 93–94). See also Guillou, "Preghiera e devozione", pp. 47–48; Parpulov, *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters*, pp. 36–37.

61 *Vita Philareti iunioris*, p. 76 (ll. 19–21), ed. U. Martino, *Nilo. Vita di S. Filareto di Seminara*, Reggio Calabria 1993.

62 Parpulov, "Psalters and Personal Piety in Byzantium".

renunciation of worldly possessions.⁶³ We can also recall a page from the *Vita* of Saint Nilus where the holy monk, during a Saracen raid on the region of the Mercurion, repels a nocturnal assault of the devil by reciting the psalms from a Psalter that he habitually carried on his person (τὸν Δαβὶδ κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ περιφέρων).⁶⁴ Manuscripts of the Psalter intended for private devotions were generally portable volumes, part of a widespread category of diminutive manuscripts, usually of Scripture (Psalters, or the Gospels), which were very common in the Byzantine east,⁶⁵ but of which there are also many examples in southern Italy.⁶⁶ Furthermore, it is precisely this type of booklet containing the Psalter that Saint Nilus, a skillful and rapid calligrapher, would have regularly copied for a modest price for a clientele of devout purchasers.⁶⁷

Additionally, these little books with the Psalms or the Gospels could have had the apotropaic function of a phylactery (φυλακτήριον) – familiar in eastern Christianity from Late Antiquity and already attested by the Fathers of the Church⁶⁸ –, as a valuable support against adversity of all kinds and against the power of the Evil One.⁶⁹ In this regard, it is worth recalling the episode in which Saint Nilus brings about the healing of a wound thanks to a phylactery which he always carried on his chest and which was nothing other than “a little book with the ‘treasure’ of the New Testament,” (τοῦτο δὲ ἦν πυκτίον τῆς νέας διαθήκης τυγχάνον θησαύρισμα).⁷⁰ Furthermore, in southern Italy as in the east, the Psalter could also be used to foretell the future using the curious formularies which were sometimes attached as an appendix to Psalter

63 *Vita Eliae iunioris*, 35, ed. Rossi Taibbi, pp. 52–55 (§ 35); ed. Cosma Aghiorita/Dell'Isola, pp. 110–12.

64 *Vita Nili*, 29, p. 76. – Actually, in such sources of a hagiographical nature there is also a reference to the monastic custom of constant private recitation of the Psalms: Morini, “Aspetti organizzativi”, pp. 275–77.

65 Carr, “Diminutive Byzantine Manuscripts”; see also Parpulov, “Psalters and Personal Piety in Byzantium”, p. 82; Parpulov, *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters*, p. 69.

66 Follieri, “Attività scrittoria calabrese”, p. 126 (repr., pp. 360, 370); D'Aiuto, “Libro, scrittura e miniatura”, pp. 93–94 and n. 55.

67 *Vita Nili*, 20–21, pp. 67–68.

68 Regarding the booklets with the Gospels that Christian women, recalling the Jewish use of the phylactery, used to wear around their necks, see Iohannes Chrysostomus, *Homiliae in Matthaeum* 72 (73), 2, in *PG*, vol. 88, col. 669; Isidorus Pelusiota, *Epistulae*, 2.150, in *PG*, vol. 78, col. 604B; see also Hieronymus, *Commentarii in Matthaeum* 4.23, in *PL*, vol. 26, col. 175B: “Hoc apud nos superstitiosae mulierculae in parvulis Evangeliiis, et in crucis ligno, et istiusmodi rebus (...) usque hodie factitant”.

69 Krueger (ed.), *Byzantine Christianity*, pp. 169–71; see also Magoulas, “The Lives of Byzantine Saints”, pp. 250–51. In particular, for the Italo-Greek context see Lucà, “Note per la storia della cultura greca”, pp. 68–73.

70 *Vita Nili*, 63, ed. Giovanelli, p. 104.

manuscripts and contained short sentences with predictions of the most various events, depending on which Psalm was presented when the book was opened at random.⁷¹ The practice was well known and officially condemned by the Byzantine Church, but it was nonetheless hard to eradicate.⁷² The protection of the person and his property against the forces of evil could, in Byzantine folk tradition, also take the form of engaging in white or even black magic, practices that are known to us from a variety of sources, first and foremost hagiographical. In this, the Greek-speaking regions of southern Italy are broadly consistent with other regions of the empire,⁷³ and once again the Italo-Greek hagiographical sources provide us with a picture not unlike that of analogous eastern sources.⁷⁴

Alongside the use of personal prayer and the apotropaic role of sacred books – or of a relic or a cross-encolpion worn around the neck⁷⁵ –, protection of the faithful was entrusted to formulae, exorcisms, and spells that are in many cases the same as or similar to those found in eastern Byzantine contexts. From the Italo-Greek Euchologia in particular, as from those of eastern origin, a great quantity of prayers, both strictly euchological and paracultic or personal, have been drawn, many of which have been published from the end of the 19th century onwards. These prayers concern every possible circumstance of daily life, however insignificant, and the personal safety, health, and integrity of the believer, as well as his property, possessions, animals, and plants. These are formulae that often draw on magical-religious rituals of pre-Christian origin, and do not seem any less picturesque, curious, and naive in the Italo-Greek context than those found in other regions.⁷⁶ Sometimes this great mass of

71 Parpulov, "Psalters and Personal Piety in Byzantium", p. 88; Parpulov, *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters*, pp. 508–15.

72 For the persistence of the use of the Psalter in foretelling events see Fögen, "Balsamon on Magic", p. 102; Greenfield, "A Contribution to the Study of Palaeologan Magic", p. 149; Mathiesen, "Magic in Slavia Orthodoxa", p. 165.

73 For the eastern Byzantine world, see by way of example Magoulías, "The Lives of Byzantine Saints"; and further the papers collected in Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Magic*. – For Byzantine Italy see above all the documented analyses of Pertusi, "Sopravvivenze pagane e pietà religiosa".

74 Pertusi, "Sopravvivenze pagane e pietà religiosa", pp. 20–24 (repr., pp. 193–99).

75 Krueger (ed.), *Byzantine Christianity*, pp. 172–77.

76 For this type of material see by way of example the collection of Pradel (ed.), *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete*, further the wide-ranging list of additional bibliography on this offered by Pertusi, "Sopravvivenze pagane e pietà religiosa", pp. 25–26 n. 23 (repr., pp. 201–02 n. 23). Texts of prayers or spells evidently felt to be less in line with "official" forms of piety can sometimes be found collected in non-euchological manuscripts of various sorts, see by way of example Jacob, "Un esorcismo inedito contro la grandine" (with further bibliography).

texts, usages, and beliefs seems to throw light – as one might expect – on developments local to Italy or Sicily, as in the case of a prayer for the sick and against unclean spirits attributed to the aforementioned Saint Cyprian of Calamizzi,⁷⁷ or as is shown in the case of an older prayer attributed to the legendary Sicilian ascetic saint of the apostolic age, Philip of Agira – popularly known as the “scourge of demons” –, a prayer that must have been considered very effective against migraines and earaches.⁷⁸ The text of this prayer, which must have had an almost exclusively Italo-Greek diffusion but now seems to be lost, is not known, but it is explicitly mentioned in an interesting episode in the *Vita* of Saint Phantinus the Younger, composed in Thessaloniki at the end of the 10th century.⁷⁹

Sometimes practices which might be considered superstitious lend themselves to being reabsorbed in some fashion, redirected and thus stripped of their potentially dangerous aspects by the ecclesiastical institutions. This might be the case of a curious rite attested so far in Italo-Greek Euchologia, but not known in other areas, namely that of *kampanismos* (καμπανισμός), brought to light in particular by André Jacob.⁸⁰ It is a votive and propitiatory rite documented in Greek manuscripts from Campania, Calabria, and Salento dating from between the 10th century – when it was apparently created and introduced in the Euchologion – and the 16th century, demonstrating a remarkable vitality and strength. It originally applied to the tonsuring of a child and at first consisted of weighing the child, resulting in an offer to a church of food equal to its weight, but the custom underwent modifications over time, so that the connection both with childhood and the original occasion was lost, and it came to be applied to adults and their spiritual and material needs. Thus in Calabria, from the 12th century onwards, the motivation behind the rite could be a request for the healing of an adult man or even of an animal, while in Salento the aim of the practice came to be the undoing of a vow by an offering in kind.

77 For this prayer see Pradel, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete*, p. 20 [= 272], and further Mercati, “Minuzie, 21. Un santo della Calabria”, who notes that it is indeed attributed to Saint John Chrysostom in a part of its manuscript witnesses; see also Halkin, “Une litanie des saints”, p. 59. On Saint Cyprian see the *Vita Cypriani*, ed. Schirò, with corrections by Stiennon, “Saint Cyprien de Calamizzi”.

78 On Saint Philip of Agira see above, n. 6.

79 *Vita Phantini iunioris*, 38, pp. 277–82, 444–47.

80 See Jacob, “Le rite du καμπανισμός”; Jacob, “Vestiges d’un livret italo-grec d’exorcismes”, pp. 518–21. For a synthesis of the data which have come to light see also Velkovska, “Un eucologio del monastero di Grottaferrata”, pp. 80–82.

The strategy of the local church was not, however, one of tolerance at all costs. Faced with cases of the diffusion among the faithful of genuinely magical practices, of folk survivals of ancient pagan customs, as well as of ritual practices, which, judging by the formulas inserted into the *Euchologia*, would appear to have been somehow Christianized, but which might have still been seen as superstitious in origin, individual representatives of the local church occasionally showed their clear disapproval. This is what emerges from the close reading Agostino Pertusi made forty years ago of a homily by Saint Lucas of Bova, in which the Calabrian bishop-saint reproached his flock for a number of practices considered unbecoming. These practices are far from easy to interpret, given the oblique rhetorical style of the text, but they are there attributed to the influence of ancient paganism or of Islam. Be that as it may, they include, among others, the tradition – which indeed may be only Italo-Greek and presumably of pagan origin – of wreathing with laurel, as it seems, the porches of churches and the entrances of homes on special occasions, and of sprinkling themselves with seeds; or the ritual sacrifice of blest lambs, which were consumed in front of churches at Easter and during other festivals.⁸¹

But this last example displays how the perception of the boundary between Christian piety and an odious superstition of pagan origin was unstable and changeable over time. The ritual sacrifice of animals in the area in front of or around a church was actually a venerable tradition, probably of Jewish and biblical origin, which is attested to and institutionalized in Byzantine Italy from the time of the “Barberini *Euchologion*” (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 366, 8th century).⁸² What is reflected in it is a very ancient practice, probably of eastern origin or at least very widespread in the Christian east, of which there are traces in eastern Greek hagiographical sources. It was and still is very much alive, especially in the rites of the Armenian and Georgian Churches.⁸³ In the Armenian tradition, in particular, the practice of ritually sacrificing animals in front of the church – a usage known as *mataṭ* – is still maintained: it consists in the blessing and killing mostly of sheep, although the ritual also allows the use of goats or cattle, whose meat is then butchered,

81 Pertusi, “Sopravvivenze pagane e pietà religiosa”, pp. 32–46 (repr., pp. 207–21). The text has been published in Joannou, “La personalità storica di Luca di Bova”, pp. 222–37.

82 S. Parenti/E. Velkovska (ed.), *L'Eucologio Barberini gr. 336* (Bibliotheca “Ephemerides Liturgicae”. Subsidia, 80), 2nd ed., Rome 2000, pp. 213 (no. 230), 362–63.

83 Auzépy, “Les Isauriens et l'espace sacré”. See also the testimony, mentioned by Marie-France Auzépy, of the *Vita Nicolai Sionitae*, 54, 56 ed. I. Ševčenko/N.P. Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas of Sion*, Brookline Mass. 1984, pp. 84–89 or ed. V. Ruggieri, *La Vita di San Nicola di Sion*, Rome 2013, pp. 84, 86–88, 144–45 (where however the editor expresses doubts about the relationship of these episodes with the practice of the Armenian *mataṭ*).

roasted, and eaten on the spot by the faithful all together.⁸⁴ One is reminded of those traditions that are still kept up by a Marian shrine in Calabria whose origins go back to the Byzantine period:⁸⁵ that of Our Lady of Polsi – or *Popsi*, probably from Ἐποψίς, i.e., the “(Madonna) Watching Over (us),” – also known as “Our Lady of the Mountain,” in the municipality of San Luca (province of Reggio Calabria).⁸⁶ In addition to being an important destination for popular pilgrimage – where a kind of *incubatio* is still practiced by believers who, eager to obtain grace and healing from the Virgin, sleep inside the church the night before the annual celebration on September 2 –, the sanctuary is also the centre around which during the feast-day it was customary, at least until a few years ago, to carry out a kind of collective sacrifice of blessed lambs and goats whose meat was consumed by the pilgrims who had gathered for the occasion.⁸⁷ However, it is difficult to say whether this really marks the continuation, as a distant echo, of a devotional practice from the Byzantine era.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to André Jacob for his valuable advice, to Vera von Falkenhausen, and to Santo Lucà for their careful reading of this piece.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Vita Cypriani*, ed. G. Schirò, “Vita inedita di s. Cipriano di Calamizzi dal cod. Sinaitico n° 522”, *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 4 (1950), 65–97.
- Vita Eliae iunioris*, ed. G. Rossi Taibbi, *Vita di Sant’Elia il Giovane* (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Testi, 7; Vite dei santi siciliani, 3), Palermo 1962; other edition, with Italian translation by Cosma Aghiorita/S. Dell’Isola, *Monaco Anonimo. Vita e opere del nostro santo padre Elia il Giovane (Siculo)*, Reggio Calabria 1993.
- Vita Nili*, ed. G. Giovanelli, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νείλου τοῦ Νέου*, Grottaferrata 1972.

84 Sharf, “Animal Sacrifice in the Armenian Church”.

85 D’Agostino, “Ricerche sul monastero di S. Maria di Popsi”; and, with a copious bibliography, Lucà, “Il monastero di S. Maria di Polsi”.

86 The sanctuary also has the sad reputation of being a traditional meeting place for the rituals and gatherings of the criminals of the Calabrian *Ndrangheta*: see by way of example Gratteri/Nicaso, *La giustizia è una cosa seria*, pp. 46–49.

87 Elia, *Alimentazione e cibo nella Calabria popolare*, unnumbered pages.

Vita Phantini iunioris, ed. E. Follieri, *La Vita di San Fantino il Giovane* (Subsidia hagiographica, 77), Brussels 1993.

Secondary Literature

- Acconcia Longo, A., "Gli innografi di Grottaferrata", in *Atti del Congresso internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano*, Rossano 1989, pp. 317–28.
- Acconcia Longo, A., "I vescovi nell'agiografia italogreca. Il contributo dell'agiografia alla storia delle diocesi italogreche", in A. Jacob/J.-M. Martin/Gh. Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine. Acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 363), Rome 2006, pp. 127–53 (reprinted in A. Acconcia Longo, *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca* [Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici, 13], Rome 2003, pp. 179–208).
- Acconcia Longo, A., "Il canone di Bartolomeo per la consacrazione della chiesa di S. Maria a Grottaferrata", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 47 (1993), 133–63.
- Anastos, M., "The Transfer of Illyricum, Calabria, and Sicily to the Jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 732–33", *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 9 (1957), 14–31.
- Auzépy, M.-F., "Les Isauriens et l'espace sacré: l'église et les reliques", in M. Kaplan (ed.), *Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en Occident. Études comparées* (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 18), Paris 2001, pp. 13–24.
- Berger, M., "Fascino e presenza dell'icona nell'Europa occidentale e meridionale", in V. Pace/G. Parravicini/G. Pollio (eds.), *Maria "Regina". Icone dell'Italia del Sud*, Milan 2008.
- Bertonière, G., *The Sundays of Lent in the Tridion [sic]. The Sundays Without a Commemoration* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 253), Rome 1997.
- Borsari, S., *Il monachesimo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale prenormanne*, Naples 1963.
- Borsari, S., "Le migrazioni dall'Oriente in Italia nel VII secolo", *La Parola del Passato* 6, no. 17 (1951), 133–38.
- Breccia, G., "Alle origini del Patir. Ancora sul viaggio di Bartolomeo da Simeri a Costantinopoli", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 35 (1998), 37–43.
- Breccia, G., "Dalla 'regina delle città'. I manoscritti della donazione di Alessio Comneno a Bartolomeo da Simeri", *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 51 (1997), 209–24.
- Bucca, D., "Influenze 'orientali' nella tradizione manoscritta liturgico-musicale italogreca del XII secolo", in L. Perria (ed.), *Tra Oriente e Occidente. Scritture e libri greci fra le regioni orientali di Bisanzio e l'Italia* (Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici, 14), Rome 2003, pp. 101–33.

- Burgarella, F., "Aspetti storici del *Bios* di san Bartolomeo da Simeri", in V. Ruggieri/L. Pieralli (eds.), *Εὐχολογία. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*, Soveria Mannelli 2003, pp. 119–33.
- Carile, A., "Luoghi santi e pellegrinaggi nelle chiese di Oriente", in L. Padovese (ed.), *Atti del [sic] VIII Simposio di Efeso su s. Giovanni Apostolo* (Turchia: la Chiesa e la sua storia, 15), Rome 2001, pp. 201–12.
- Carr, A.W., "Diminutive Byzantine Manuscripts", *Codices Manuscripti* 6/3 (1980), 130–61.
- Cilento, A., "Santi e pellegrini nell'Italia bizantina (secc. IX–XI)", in R. Greci (ed.), *Un'area di strada. L'Emilia occidentale nel Medioevo: ricerche storiche e riflessioni metodologiche* (Itinerari Medievali, 3), Bologna 2000, pp. 91–115.
- D'Agostino, E., "Ricerche sul monastero di S. Maria di Popsi", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 35 (1981), 83–95.
- D'Aiuto, F., "Libro, scrittura e miniatura fra Bisanzio e il Caucaso: qualche riflessione", in C. Casetti Brach (ed.), *Scrittura e libro nel mondo greco-bizantino*, Ravello [2012], pp. 77–108.
- D'Aiuto, F./Bucca, D., "Per lo studio delle origini della Paracletica: alcuni testimoni *antiquiores* d'ambito orientale e italiota", in R. Gentile Messina (ed.), *Bisanzio e le periferie dell'impero*, Acireale 2011, pp. 73–102.
- Di Dario Guida, M.P., *Icone di Calabria e altre icone meridionali*, 2nd ed., Soveria Mannelli 1993.
- Elia, L., *Alimentazione e cibo nella Calabria popolare. Continuità e cambiamenti di una civiltà antica*, [sine loco] 2014.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Die Rolle der Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem im Leben der byzantinischen Mönche vor den Kreuzzügen", in *L'idea di Gerusalemme nella spiritualità cristiana del Medioevo* (Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche. Atti e documenti, 12), Vatican City 2003, pp. 29–45.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "I Bizantini in Italia", in G. Cavallo et al., *I Bizantini in Italia*, Milan 1992, pp. 1–136.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Il monachesimo greco in Sicilia", in C.D. Fonseca (ed.), *La Sicilia rupestre nel contesto delle civiltà mediterranee*, Galatina 1986, pp. 135–74.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "In Italia per la carriera. Funzionari e militari di origini orientali nell'Italia meridionale bizantina", in R. Gentile Messina (ed.), *Bisanzio e le periferie dell'impero*, Acireale 2011, pp. 103–24.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Pellegrinaggi bizantini in Terra Santa prima della caduta di Gerusalemme nel 1187", in M. Oldoni (ed.), *Fra Roma e Gerusalemme nel Medioevo. Paesaggi umani ed ambientali del pellegrinaggio meridionale* (Schola Salernitana. Studi e testi, 11), vol. 1, Salerno 2005, pp. 157–79.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "San Pietro nella religiosità bizantina", in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, 34), vol. 2, Spoleto 1988, pp. 627–74.

- Falla Castelfranchi, M., “*Disiecta membra*. La pittura bizantina in Calabria (secoli X–XIV)”, in *Calabria bizantina. Testimonianze d'arte e strutture di territori*, Soveria Mannelli 1991, pp. 21–61.
- Falla Castelfranchi, M., “I ritratti dei monaci italo-greci nella pittura bizantina”, *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 39 (2002), 145–55.
- Fögen, M.Th., “Balsamon on Magic: From Roman Secular Law to Byzantine Canon Law”, in H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Magic*, Washington, D.C. 1995, pp. 99–115.
- Follieri, E., “Attività scrittoria calabrese nei secoli X–XI”, in *Calabria bizantina. Tradizione di pietà e tradizione scrittoria nella Calabria greca medievale*, Reggio Calabria 1983, pp. 103–32 (reprinted in ead., *Byzantina et Italograeca. Studi di filologia e di paleografia* [Storia e letteratura. Raccolta di studi e testi, 195], Rome 1997, pp. 337–76).
- Follieri, E., “I santi della Calabria bizantina”, in *Calabria bizantina. Vita religiosa e strutture amministrative. Atti del primo e secondo incontro di Studi Bizantini*, Reggio Calabria 1974, pp. 71–93.
- Follieri, E., “I santi dell'Italia greca”, *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 34 (1997), pp. 3–36 (reprinted in A. Jacob/J.-M. Martin/Gh. Noyé [eds.], *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine: acquis et nouvelles recherches* [Collection de l'École française de Rome, 363], Rome 2006, pp. 95–126).
- Follieri, E., “Il culto dei santi nell'Italia greca”, in *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo* (Italia sacra, 21), vol. 2, Padua 1972, pp. 553–77.
- Follieri, E., “Incontri fra monaci d'Oriente e d'Occidente nell'alto medioevo”, *Κληρονομία* 26/1–2 (1994), 179–93.
- Follieri, E., “Poesia e innografia nell'Italia bizantina”, in *La cultura in Italia fra Tardo Antico e Alto Medioevo. Atti del Convegno tenuto a Roma, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, dal 12 al 16 novembre 1979*, vol. 2, Rome 1981, pp. 513–22.
- Follieri, E., “Santi di Metone: Atanasio vescovo, Leone taumaturgo”, *Byzantion* 41 (1971), 378–451.
- Follieri, E., “Santi occidentali nell'innografia bizantina”, in *Atti del Convegno internazionale sul tema: L'Oriente cristiano nella storia della civiltà* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Problemi attuali di scienza e cultura, Quaderno 62), Rome 1964, pp. 251–72.
- Follieri, E., “Un santo monaco calabrese a Tessalonica”, in S. Leanza (ed.), *Calabria cristiana. Società religione cultura nel territorio della Diocesi di Oppido Mamertina-Palmi* (Bibliotheca Vivariensis, 6), vol. 1, Soveria Mannelli 1999, pp. 463–75.
- Gaspari, A., “Innografia liturgica greca di Terra d'Otranto: non solo riflessi costantinopolitani”, in V. Ruggieri/L. Pieralli/G. Rigotti (eds.), *Riflessi metropolitani liturgici, agiografici, paleografici, artistici nell'Italia meridionale* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 296), Rome 2014, pp. 149–71.
- Gaspari, A., *Ricco sposo della povertà. Ufficio liturgico italogreco per Francesco d'Assisi*, Rome 2010.

- Gouillard, J., "Deux figures mal connues du second iconoclasme", *Byzantion* 31 (1961), 371–401.
- Gratteri, N./Nicaso, A., *La giustizia è una cosa seria*, Milan 2011.
- Greenfield, R.P.H., "A Contribution to the Study of Palaeologan Magic", in H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Magic*, Washington, D.C. 1995, pp. 117–53.
- Guillou, A., "Preghiera e devozione nell'Italia meridionale bizantina", in *Calabria bizantina. Tradizione di pietà e tradizione scrittorica nella Calabria greca medievale*, Reggio Calabria 1983, pp. 47–54.
- Guillou, A./Burgarella, F., *L'Italia bizantina. Dall'esarcato di Ravenna al tema di Sicilia*, Torino 1988.
- Halkin, F., "Le pape S. Grégoire le Grand dans l'hagiographie byzantine", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 21 (1955), 109–14 (reprinted in id., *Recherches et documents d'hagiographie byzantine* [Subsidia hagiographica, 51], Brussels 1971, pp. 106–11, 306).
- Halkin, F., "Une litanie des saints dans un office grec pour un mourant", in *Corona gratiarum. Miscellanea patristica, historica et liturgica Eligio Dekkers O.S.B. XII lustra complenti oblata* (Instrumenta Patristica, 11), vol. 2, Brugge 1975, pp. 51–59.
- Herman, E., "La 'stabilitas loci' nel Monachismo Bizantino", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 21 (1955), 115–42.
- Jacob, A., "Deux formules d'immixtion syro-palestiniennes et leur utilisation dans le rite byzantin de l'Italie méridionale", *Vetera Christianorum* 13 (1976), 29–64.
- Jacob, A., "La date, la patrie et le modèle d'un rouleau italo-grec (Messanensis gr. 177)", *Helikon* 22–27 (1982–87), 109–25.
- Jacob, A., "La prière pour les troupeaux de l'Euchologe Barberini: quelques remarques sur le texte et son histoire", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 77 (2011), 471–86.
- Jacob, A., "L'euchologe de Porphyre Uspenski cod. Leningr. gr. 226 (X^e siècle)", *Le Muséon* 78 (1965), 173–214.
- Jacob, A., "L'Euchologe de Sainte-Marie du Patir et ses sources", in *Atti del Congresso internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano, 28 settembre–1^o ottobre 1986*, Rossano-Grottaferrata 1989, pp. 75–118.
- Jacob, A., "L'evoluzione dei libri liturgici bizantini in Calabria e in Sicilia dall'VIII al XVI secolo, con particolare riguardo ai riti eucaristici", in *Calabria bizantina. Vita religiosa e strutture amministrative. Atti del primo e secondo incontro di Studi Bizantini*, Reggio di Calabria 1974, pp. 47–69.
- Jacob, A., "Le culte de saint Martin de Tours dans la Terre d'Otrante hellénophone", in E. Cuozzo et al. (eds), *Puer Apuliae. Mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin*, vol. 1, Paris 2008, pp. 345–56.
- Jacob, A., "Le rite du καμπανισμός dans les euchologes italo-grecs", in *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R.P. Dom Bernard Botte, O.S.B.*, Louvain 1972, pp. 223–44.

- Jacob, A., "Rouleaux grecs et latins dans l'Italie méridionale", in Ph. Hoffmann/C. Hunzinger (eds.), *Recherches de codicologie comparée. La composition du codex au Moyen Âge, en Orient et en Occident*, Paris 1998, pp. 69–97.
- Jacob, A., "Un esorcismo inedito contro la grandine trádito da due codici salentini", in M. Spedicato (ed.), *Segni del tempo. Studi di storia e cultura salentina in onore di Antonio Caloro* (Società di Storia Patria-Sezione di Lecce. Quaderni de L'Idomeneo, 3), Lecce 2008, pp. 23–39.
- Jacob, A., "Vestiges d'un livret italo-grec d'exorcismes (Cryptenses Γ.β.XXXVII et B.α.XXIII)", in *Memoriam sanctorum venerantes. Miscellanea in onore di Monsignor Victor Saxer* (Studi di Antichità Cristiana, 48), Vatican City 1992, pp. 515–24.
- Joannou, P., "La personalità storica di Luca di Bova attraverso i suoi scritti inediti", *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 29 (1960), 175–237.
- Johnson, M.J., "Sacred Gifts: Icon Giving and Veneration in Norman Italy", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 3rd ser., 7 (2010), 103–16.
- Kazhdan, A., "Methodios I", *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2, New York-Oxford 1991, p. 1355.
- Kazhdan, A./Maguire, H., "Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991), 1–22.
- Krueger, D. (ed.), *Byzantine Christianity* (A People's History of Christianity, 3), Minneapolis, MN 2006.
- Külzer, A., *Peregrinatio Graeca in Terram Sanctam. Studien zu Pilgerführern und Reisebeschreibungen über Syrien, Palästina und den Sinai aus byzantinischer und metabyzantinischer Zeit* (Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik, 2), Frankfurt am Main 1994.
- Leone, G., *Icone di Roma e del Lazio*, 2 vols., Rome 2012.
- Lucà, S., "Il monastero di S. Maria di Polsi. Note storiche e manufatti librari", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 49–50 (1995–96), 151–71 (reprinted in *Monaci e monasteri italo-greci nel territorio di San Luca*, Reggio Calabria 2011, pp. 101–32).
- Lucà, S., "Interferenze linguistiche greco-latine a Grottaferrata tra XI e XII secolo", in M. Capasso/M. De Nonno (eds.), *Scritti paleografici e papirologici in memoria di Paolo Radiciotti* (Papyrologica Lupiensia. Supplemento al nr. 24/2015), Lecce 2015, pp. 295–331.
- Lucà, S., "Le diocesi di Gerace e Squillace. Tra manoscritti e marginalia", in *Calabria bizantina. Civiltà bizantina nei territori di Gerace e Stilo*, Soveria Mannelli 1998, pp. 245–343.
- Lucà, S., "Lo scriba e il committente dell'*Addit.* 28270 (ancora sullo 'stile rossanese')", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 47 (1993), 165–225.
- Lucà, S., "Note per la storia della cultura greca della Calabria medioevale", *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 74 (2007), 43–101.
- Lucà, S., "On the Dating and Provenance of the Euchologion of the Archimedes Palimpsest", *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 66–67 (2008–09) [2011], 59–72.

- Luongo, G., "Itinerari dei santi italo-greci", in G. Vitolo (ed.), *Pellegrinaggi e itinerari dei santi nel Mezzogiorno medievale* (Europa mediterranea. Quaderni, 14), Naples 1999, pp. 39–56.
- Luzzi, A., "L'influsso dell'agiografia italogreca sui testimoni più tardivi del Sinassario di Costantinopoli", in S. Leanza (ed.), *Calabria cristiana. Società religione cultura nel territorio della Diocesi di Oppido Mamertina-Palmi* (Bibliotheca Vivariensis, 6), vol. 1, Soveria Mannelli 1999, pp. 505–26.
- Magoulas, H.J., "The Lives of Byzantine Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Magic in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D.: Sorcery, Relics and Icons", *Byzantion* 37 (1967), 228–69.
- Maguire, H. (ed.), *Byzantine Magic*, Washington, D.C. 1995.
- Marchionibus, M.R., *Icone in Campania. Aspetti iconologici, liturgici e semantici* (Studi e ricerche di archeologia e storia dell'arte, 10), Spoleto 2011.
- Martin, J.-M., "Quelques remarques sur le culte des images en Italie méridionale pendant le haut Moyen Âge", in C. Alzati (ed.), *Cristianità ed Europa. Miscellanea di studi in onore di Luigi Prosdocimi*, vol. 1/1, Rome 1994, pp. 223–36.
- Mathiesen, R., "Magic in Slavia Orthodoxa: The Written Tradition", in H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Magic*, Washington, D.C. 1995, pp. 155–77.
- Mercati, G., "Minuzie, 21. Un santo della Calabria e non d'Oriente", *Bessarione* 33 (1917), 190–91 (reprinted in id., *Opere minori* [Studi e testi, 79], vol. 4, Vatican City 1937, pp. 29–30).
- Messina, A., "I Siciliani di rito greco e il patriarcato di Antiochia", *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 32 (1978), 415–21.
- Morini, E., "Aspetti organizzativi e linee di spiritualità nel monachesimo greco di Calabria", in S. Leanza (ed.), *Calabria cristiana. Società religione cultura nel territorio della Diocesi di Oppido Mamertina-Palmi* (Bibliotheca Vivariensis, 6), vol. 1, Soveria Mannelli 1999, pp. 251–316.
- Oikonomides, N., "The Holy Icon as an Asset", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991), 35–44.
- Parenti, S., *Il monastero di Grottaferrata nel medioevo (1004–1462). Segni e percorsi di una identità* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 274), Rome 2005.
- Parenti, S., "Il rito di confessione dell'eucologio Γ.β.XIII di Grottaferrata", in S. Parenti/E. Velkovska, *Mille anni di 'rito greco' alle porte di Roma. Raccolta di saggi sulla tradizione liturgica del Monastero italo-bizantino di Grottaferrata* (Ἀνάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρρης, 4), Grottaferrata 2004, pp. 43–62 (originally published in *Ecclesia Orans* 12 [1995], 103–25).
- Parenti, S., "Influssi italo-greci nei testi eucaristici bizantini dei 'Fogli Slavi' del Sinai (XI sec.)", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 57 (1991), 145–77.
- Parenti, S., "La frazione in tre parti del pane eucaristico nella liturgia italo-bizantina", *Ecclesia Orans* 17 (2000), 203–27 (reprinted in id., *A Oriente e Occidente di Costantinopoli: temi e problemi liturgici di ieri e di oggi* [Monumenta studia instrumenta liturgica, 54], Vatican City 2010, pp. 175–95).

- Parenti, S., "Per l'identificazione di un anonimo calendario italo-greco del Sinai", *Analecta Bollandiana* 115 (1997), 281–87 (reprinted in id., *A Oriente e Occidente di Costantinopoli: temi e problemi liturgici di ieri e di oggi* [Monumenta studia instrumenta liturgica, 54], Vatican City 2010, pp. 155–59).
- Parenti, S., "Towards a regional history of the Byzantine euchology of the sacraments", *Ecclesia orans* 27 (2010), 109–21.
- Parenti, S., "Una *Diataxis* inedita del XIV secolo per la solennità del *Corpus Domini*", in S. Parenti/E. Velkovska, *Mille anni di 'rito greco' alle porte di Roma. Raccolta di saggi sulla tradizione liturgica del Monastero italo-bizantino di Grottaferrata* (Ἀνάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρρης, 4), Grottaferrata 2004, pp. 149–70 (originally published in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 108 [1994], 440–55).
- Parenti, S., "Un eucologio poco noto del Salento: El Escorial X.IV.13", *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 15/2 (2011), 157–97.
- Parpulov, G.R., "Psalters and Personal Piety in Byzantium", in P. Magdalino/R. Nelson (eds.), *The Old Testament in Byzantium* (Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia), Washington, D.C. 2010, pp. 77–105.
- Parpulov, G.R., *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters, ca. 850–1350 AD*, Plovdiv 2014 (<https://archive.org/details/ByzPsalterns>).
- Pasini, C., "Altre composizioni innografiche bizantine in onore di sant'Ambrogio di Milano", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 42 (1988), 83–92.
- Pasini, C., "La figura di Ambrogio nell'Oriente bizantino", *La Scuola Cattolica* 109 (1981), 417–59.
- Pasini, C., "La Vita premetafrastica di sant'Ambrogio di Milano. Introduzione, edizione critica e traduzione", *Analecta Bollandiana* 101 (1983), 101–50.
- Pasini, C. (ed.), *Le fonti greche su sant'Ambrogio* (Tutte le opere di sant'Ambrogio. Sussidi, 24/1), Milan-Rome 1990.
- Pasini, C., "Testi innografici bizantini in onore di sant'Ambrogio di Milano", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 37 (1983), 147–209; 38 (1984), 67–140; 39 (1985), 113–79.
- Peeters, P., "Une Vie grecque du pape S. Martin I", *Analecta Bollandiana* 51 (1933), 225–62.
- Perria, L., "Libri e scritture tra Oriente bizantino e Italia meridionale", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 39 (2002), 157–87.
- Perria, L./Falkenhause, von, V./D'Aiuto, F., "Introduzione", in L. Perria (ed.), *Tra Oriente e Occidente. Scritture e libri greci fra le regioni orientali di Bisanzio e l'Italia* (Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici, 14), Rome 2003, pp. IX–XLVI.
- Pertusi, A., "Aspetti organizzativi e culturali dell'ambiente monacale greco dell'Italia meridionale", in *L'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII* (Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Contributi, ser. III: Varia, 4; Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali, 4), Milan 1965, pp. 382–434 (reprinted in id., *Scritti sulla Calabria greca medievale*, Soveria Mannelli 1994, pp. 137–90).

- Pertusi, A., "Bisanzio e l'irradiazione della sua civiltà in Occidente nell'alto medioevo", in *Centri e vie di irradiazione della civiltà nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, 11), Spoleto 1964, pp. 75–133 (reprinted in id., *Scritti sulla Calabria greca medievale*, Soveria Mannelli 1994, pp. 7–29).
- Pertusi, A., *La spiritualité gréco-byzantine en Italie méridionale*, in id., *Scritti sulla Calabria greca medievale*, Soveria Mannelli 1994, pp. 97–114 (originally published in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 7/2, Paris 1971, cols. 2193–2206).
- Pertusi, A., "Rapporti tra il monachesimo italo-greco ed il monachesimo bizantino nell'alto medioevo", in *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo* (Italia sacra, 21), vol. 2, Padua 1972, pp. 473–520.
- Pertusi, A., "Sopravvivenze pagane e pietà religiosa nella società bizantina dell'Italia meridionale", in *Calabria bizantina. Tradizione di pietà e tradizione scrittoria nella Calabria greca medievale*, Reggio Calabria 1983, pp. 17–46 (reprinted in id., *Scritti sulla Calabria greca medievale*, Soveria Mannelli 1994, pp. 191–221).
- Peters-Custot, A., "La cuisine calabraise de l'ogre byzantiniste: quelques points de méthodologie historique pour l'approche de l'éparchie des Salines", in *Calabria bizantina. Luoghi e circoscrizioni amministrative*, [sine loco] 2009, pp. 177–89.
- Peters-Custot, A., *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale post-byzantine (IX^e–XIV^e siècle). Une acculturation en douceur* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 420), Rome 2009.
- Pradel, F. (ed.), *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, 3/3), Giessen 1907.
- Prinzi, A., "I canoni di Giovanni Rossanese in onore di san Bartolomeo di Grottaferrata", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 50 (2014), 161–301.
- Radle, G., "The Byzantine Marriage Tradition in Calabria: *Vatican Reginensis gr. 75* (a. 982/3)", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 3rd ser., 9 (2012), 221–45.
- Radle, G., "The Liturgical Ties between Egypt and Southern Italy: A Preliminary Investigation", in D. Atanassova/T. Chronz (eds.), *Σύναξις καθολική. Beiträge zu Gottesdienst und Geschichte der fünf altkirchlichen Patriarchate für Heinzgerd Brakmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 2, Vienna-Berlin 2014, pp. 617–31.
- Re, M., "From Greek southern Italy to Jerusalem: Monks, saints and pilgrims", in E. Hadjistryphonos (ed.), *Routes of Faith in the Medieval Mediterranean. History, Monuments, People, Pilgrimage Perspectives*, Thessalonike 2008, pp. 171–76.
- Re, M., "Sul viaggio di Bartolomeo da Simeri a Costantinopoli", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 34 (1997), 71–76.
- Rigotti, G., "Gregorio il Dialogo nel mondo bizantino", in G.I. Gargano (ed.), *L'eredità spirituale di Gregorio Magno tra Occidente e Oriente*, Negarine 2005, pp. 271–92.
- Roma, G., *La Madonna e l'Angelo*, Soveria Mannelli 2001.
- Rousseau, O., "La visite de Nil de Rossano au Mont-Cassin", in *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo*, (Italia sacra, 22), vol. 3, Padua 1973, pp. 1111–37.
- Russo, F., "La 'peregrinatio' dei santi italo-greci alle tombe degli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo a Roma", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 22 (1968), 89–99.

- Sansterre, J.-M., "Donations de biens-fonds à des images au XI^e siècle: à propos de quelques mentions relevées récemment", *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 75 (1997), 329–32.
- Sansterre, J.-M., "Remarques sur les miracles de saints récents dans l'hagiographie du Mont-Cassin et celle du monastère grec de Grottaferrata au XI^e siècle", in D. Aigle (ed.), *Miracle et karāma* (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études. Sciences religieuses, 109; Hagiographies médiévales comparées, 2), Turnhout 2000, pp. 525–42.
- Schreiner, P., "Handschriften auf Reisen", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 51 (1997), 145–65.
- Sharf, A., "Animal Sacrifice in the Armenian Church", *Revue des Études Arméniennes* n.s. 16 (1982), 417–49.
- Stiernon, D., "La vie et l'œuvre de s. Joseph l'Hymnographe. À propos d'une publication récente", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 31 (1973), 243–66.
- Stiernon, D., "Saint Cyprien de Calamizzi († vers 1210–1215)", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 32 (1974), 247–52.
- Strittmatter, A., "Liturgical Latinisms in a Twelfth-Century Greek Euchology (Ottob. gr. 344)", in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* (Studi e testi, 123), vol. 3, Vatican City 1946, pp. 41–64.
- Tavole miracolose. Le icone medioevali di Roma e del Lazio del Fondo Edifici di Culto*, [catalogue of the exhibition: Rome, Palazzo di Venezia, Sala Regia, Nov. 13-Dec. 15, 2012], Rome 2012.
- Tomadakes, E., *Ἰωσήφ ὁ Ὑμνογράφος. Βίος καὶ ἔργον* (Ἀθῆνᾱ, 11), Athens 1971.
- Velkovska, E., "Il praxapostolos A.β.V di Grottaferrata", in S. Parenti/E. Velkovska, *Mille anni di 'rito greco' alle porte di Roma. Raccolta di saggi sulla tradizione liturgica del Monastero italo-bizantino di Grottaferrata* (Ἀνάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρρης, 4), Grottaferrata 2004, pp. 1–20.
- Velkovska, E., "La liturgia italo-bizantina negli Eucologi e Lezionari del Nuovo Testamento della 'Scuola Niliana'", in *Il monachesimo d'Oriente e d'Occidente nel passaggio dal primo al secondo millennio* (Ἀνάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρρης, 6), Grottaferrata 2009, pp. 213–55.
- Velkovska, E., "Un eucologio del monastero di Grottaferrata. Il Vaticano gr. 2111 (XIII sec. ex.)", in S. Parenti/E. Velkovska, *Mille anni di 'rito greco' alle porte di Roma. Raccolta di saggi sulla tradizione liturgica del Monastero italo-bizantino di Grottaferrata* (Ἀνάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρρης, 4), Grottaferrata 2004, pp. 73–104 (originally published in *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 46 [1992], 347–90).

Medieval Art in Italy and Byzantium (ca. 550–1050): A Viaticum

Massimo Bernabò

This paper lays no claim to presenting an overall picture of Byzantine art in Italy between the Justinian's re-conquest of the peninsula and the fall of the south and Sicily into Norman hands. The outlines of such a picture are still far from being broadly accepted, in particular as much as the northern and central part of the Italian peninsula are concerned; indeed, the issue seems to be more controversial nowadays, since our knowledge of monuments has greatly increased in the last decades. It is no coincidence that the title of this text is not simply "Byzantine art in Italy between ca. 550 and 1050," as it seemingly reflects the author's doubts whether what we could call a provincial Byzantine art in Italy existed, in what period it would have existed, and to what extent Byzantium was a normative model for the artists active in the peninsula during this period. A few methodological points need a preliminary discussion. The assumption that Byzantium played the role of artistic model during the Dark Ages clashes with the fact that the territories under imperial rule were scattered and mostly limited to the maritime areas, where the Byzantines maintained a military presence. Italy appears to have been a border area fragmented into minor territories with unsteady boundaries governed by imperial officers or local rulers. Moreover, large zones of the peninsula were under the hegemony of independent monastic settlements. In his charismatic book *Il Medioevo* (1927), Pietro Toesca stated that for the period spanning in the early Middle Ages up to the 13th century we should speak of "medieval art in Italy," rather than "medieval Italian art".¹ A glance through the illustrations that accompany the present pages reveals that a common artistic language in Italy during this period can be hardly found. Roughly contemporary works show a disarming dissimilarity to each other, such as the pluteus of Sigvaldus in Cividale, the frescoes in the church of S. Maria *foris Portas* at Castelseprio, near Varese, and

1 The following paper is deeply indebted to Toesca, *Storia dell'arte*; Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West*; and Bertelli, "Traccia". I wish to thank Valentino Pace for revising my text and improving literature.

the frescoes in Epiphanius' crypt in the abbey of S. Vincenzo al Volturno (see figs. 24.5, 24.11, 24.12 here).

Byzantine culture in Italy radiated mainly from Rome, Ravenna, and the northern Adriatic harbors. Monuments in Ravenna and Rome were frequently considered models to imitate; in contrast, a genuine, updated Byzantine art from the eastern Mediterranean was the consequence of the presence in Italy of Greek and Syriac speaking communities, popes, monks, or individual artists. Fifty years ago Demus stated that:

Scholars have only just begun to differentiate between the various sources of Byzantine influence. A great deal of work remains to be done before it can be said with any degree of certainty whether an impulse came from Constantinople itself, from one of the provinces or from one of the colonial centres of Byzantine art outside the territory of the Greek empire.²

In the meantime, things have not changed very much. Art historians, who are charged with the task of outlining the origin and development of Byzantine art, repeat reassuring commonplaces, that are sometimes groundless. In particular, most Italian art historians treat Byzantium as an exotic realm to be left to specialists; their familiarity with Byzantine art is sometime discouraging. Italian scholarship lags decades behind in research, since during the first half of the 20th century when Byzantine art was merely considered the natural antagonist to the Roman tradition of Italian art: no academic fame was to be obtained from investigating the art of such a decadent world.

In the half millennium under consideration in this work, the eastern regions of the empire were not a uniform artistic realm. Constantinople did not speak the same artistic language as Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Meaningful differences had already appeared even during the earlier centuries of Late Antiquity: as in medieval Europe, different cultures lived alongside each other eastern Mediterranean. Today, we are aware that labelling as "Byzantine" any influence irradiating from the eastern empire sounds vague: we are aware that each of the regional areas produced their own variant of art. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, pioneer scholars adopted a tripartite map of the art of the eastern Christendom, where Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor (which was soon replaced by Constantinople) played a prominent role. Palestine was occasionally added to the list. The three regions were identified with their metropolises: Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople (and Jerusalem), so that handbooks presented the Alexandrian, Antiochene, and Constantinopolitan

² Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West*, p. 2.

styles, as local idioms of a general Byzantine art language. Such a construction is no longer tenable. Scholars including Mango and Cavallo re-evaluated, for instance, the role of Palestine as a region which had privileged relations with Italy, especially during the period of iconoclasm. A misleading legend emerged during the Romantic period, when Constantinople was thought to be the vestal of a “perennial Hellenism,” a lighthouse of classical civilization in a sea of Medieval barbarity: the legend distorted our vision of Byzantium.³

The issue of models originating in Constantinople should be reconsidered in the light of the dubious role of the capital as a literary and artistic centre during the Dark Ages. Indeed, hardly any works of art dating from between ca. AD 600 and the mid-9th century can be found that were produced in Constantinople. I do not ignore the issue of the series of nine plates illustrating scenes of the life of David which have silver stamps from the time of Heraclius. However, it should not be forgotten that they were found in Cyprus; assigning them to the hand of a silversmith in the capital and stating that they were meant to parallel David’s deeds to the ephemeral emperor’s victories during his campaign in the Holy Land should only be considered a possibility. The mosaics excavated in the Great Palace of the Emperors, that were once allocated to the reign of Heraclius on the basis of their iconography have now more reasonably been dated as early as the second half of the 5th or the first half of the 6th century. Finally, the assumption that Antioch or Syria are the places of origin of the three illuminated purple manuscripts – i.e., the Vienna Genesis (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. theol. gr. 31), the Rossano Gospels (Calabria; Diocesan Museum), and the Sinope Gospels (fragmentary; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, cod. Suppl. Gr. 1291) – should be considered to be a mere convention: a convincing place of origin is pending. Antioch collapsed after the earthquake and the Persian raid of 540; other major centres, such as Apamea and Edessa, have yet to be sufficiently investigated. Italian art historians, in particular, supposed the existence of a mode of expressionism in Syriac art, a theory which has no evidence. On the other hand, the whole region of Asia Minor (Cappadocia and the Hellenistic centres on the coast) is dramatically void of works of art that may be ascribed to it.

Literary sources inform us that artists from Byzantium were summoned to the west. There can be no doubt that a number of monuments of the period were carried out by eastern hands. Occasionally, cases similar to those of the 12th-century frescoes in St. Panteleimon, Nerezi, or the older wall paintings of the hermitage of St. Neophytos, near Paphos (Cyprus) have been presented;⁴

3 Mango, “Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism”, pp. 24–43; id., *Byzantine Literature*.

4 Mango/Hawkins, “The Hermitage of St. Neophytos”, pp. 119–206.

they have been deemed to be the work of painters from Byzantium. However, the later paintings in St. Neophytos, that were produced during a period when the relationship with Constantinople was interrupted display a more archaic, provincial style which imitates the art of the capital. The same seems to occur in southern Italy after the reconquest of Bari from Muslim hands (871): indeed, it is from this point onward that we can speak of an Italian provincial variant of the Byzantine style.

Five artistic episodes are presented here below.⁵

1 Ravenna and the Exarchate in the Age of Justinian

A list of the main works of art in Ravenna, dating after the Justinian reconquest of Italy, includes the mosaics in the basilicas of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo (originally named St. Martinus in Coelus Aureus); it was erected by the Arian king of Ostrogoths Theoderic and re-dedicated under Justinian in 561. The mosaic row of saints and martyrs in the nave belongs to the time of Agnellus, bishop of Ravenna from 557, but a number of figures, especially in the two upper registers of the nave, were partly or wholly restored in modern times. The other structures are San Vitale (decorated under Bishop Ecclesius, 521–534; and completed under Bishop Maximianus: the panels of Justinian and Theodore were executed under Maximianus, most likely between 546 and 548), and Sant'Apollinare in Classe (dedicated by the banker Iulianus Argentarius and consecrated in 549). Along the North Adriatic coast, the mosaics of the basilica of St. Euphemia in Grado (580 or late 6th century), the mosaics in the complex of the basilica of Bishop Euphrasius in Poreč (Parenzo; begun in 553), and the fragmentary mosaic from S. Maria Formosa in Pula (Pola) may also be added.⁶ No important figurative works of art survive in Byzantine Liguria from the same period.

5 For a map of Byzantine sites in Italy see: Bernabò, (ed.), *Voci dall'Oriente*, p. 35.

6 Other monuments in Ravenna prior to the Justinian's age, which however can be related to the art of the capital of the empire, are: the Basilica of bishop Ursus (late 4th ca., demolished), S. John Evangelist (built by Galla Placidia, the daughter of the emperor Theodosius I, 425–450), Sts. Peter and Paul (5th ca., now San Francesco), St. Agatha (5th ca.), Christ the Redeemer (then Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, erected by Theoderic, d. 526), the Baptistry of St. John (or Baptistry of Neon, or Orthodox Baptistry, rebuilt by the Bishop Neon in the second half of the 5th ca.), the Arian Baptistry (erected by Theoderic). San Vitale was begun in the time of the Bishop Ecclesius, 521–34, and finished in 547, during the episcopate of Maximianus, thanks to the financial support by Iulianus (*argentarius*); the Bishop's Palace and the Chapel of St. Andrew (erected by Theoderic).



FIGURE 24.1 Ravenna, San Vitale, presbytery, mosaic panel with Theodora and her court

As paradigmatic examples of the art of the Justinian age, handbooks reproduced the two mosaic panels in the presbytery of the church of San Vitale; one representing the Emperor Justinian and Archbishop Maximianus, the other the Empress Theodora accompanied by members of the court (fig. 24.1). Here, both sovereigns are offering a gold bowl (or paten) and a golden cup as gifts for the construction of the church. Justinian and Theodora display the pomp of the Byzantine court. The bodies show no physical consistence; the colors give a bright, decorative emphasis to the pictures. Light, architectural setting, space and atmosphere follow the usual conventions in medieval art: the naturalism rooted in Hellenism had yielded to spirituality and transcendence of images. The mosaics of this age do not belong to the artistic tradition of antiquity; rather, they are the beginning of a new age.

Likewise, the two processions of saints and virgins in the nave of Santo Apollinare Nuovo are devoid of relief as well (fig. 24.2) (but note that the figures of the three gift-bearing Magi precede the virgins, as well as Martinus, who is the figure leading the row of male saints, have been completely restored in modern times). The colors are flat and uniform; the drapery is rigid; the golden background and the lack of shadow highlight the heavenly character of



FIGURE 24.2
Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, nave
mosaic, detail, three female saints

religious asceticism. In contrast, the saints and prophets in the central row of the nave are built as firm compositions and gain a statuary appearance thanks to the heavy contrast of light and shadow.

The novel, abstract, anti-classical style of the Justinian age visible in San Vitale and Sant'Apollinare Nuovo reached its climax in the apse mosaic of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, where an unique, eschatological allegory of the transfiguration of Christ is represented: an *orans* Apollinaris, who was the town's first bishop, is depicted while interceding for the faithful (the lambs) in an paradisiac garden dominated by a cross with the bust of Christ, which is meant to symbolize the Second Coming of the Lord. The novel style spread from Ravenna to the coastal towns of Veneto and Istria: Grado, Poreč, and Pula. Artists from Ravenna (or Byzantium) worked on the 6th-century mosaics at these centres. A common artistic language dominated in the upper Adriatic under Byzantine rule. San Vitale has a counterpart in the nearly contemporary Constantinopolitan churches of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus (completed *ante* 536) and St. Sophia (532–537). Amazingly, the churches Justinian erected in the capital were decorated only with non-figurative mosaics. Coloured and veined marble slabs and surfaces of golden mosaic depicting crosses, Persian palmettes, and lozenges, covered the walls of St. Sophia and made it “shine like the sun.” Christian dogmas were entrusted not to images, but to the beauty of marbles, aniconic forms, and schemas symbolizing the Trinity, Jesus, apostles, prophets, and so on. The decorations in the coeval cathedral of St. Sophia of Edessa were also devoid of anthropomorphic images.⁷ Contrastingly, other

7 On the symbolism of structure and decoration of St. Sophia in Constantinople and St. Sophia in Edessa see the descriptions by contemporary writers in Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 72–91, 57–60, respectively.

monuments Justinian erected in the provinces were adorned with figurative works, such as at the church inside the monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai, where a mosaic representing the Transfiguration covers the apse; other mosaics depict biblical scenes, busts of the apostles, prophets, John the Baptist, and the Virgin. In summation, outside the capital of the empire, iconic representations in churches were still allowed. We must conclude that the artists working at San Vitale did not draw upon Constantinopolitan prototypes, but rather on eastern provincial or local (Ravenna) monuments. Indeed, the works that were most similar to the San Vitale mosaics appear to be the architectural settings and figures of canon tables of the illuminated folios that depicted the early gatherings within the Rabbula Gospels, dating from second quarter of the 6th century.⁸

2 Byzantine Models in North Italy

As previously explained, the Byzantine Empire did not have a unique centre of artistic radiation: during the early Middle Ages, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and probably Asia Minor were even more productive than Constantinople itself. After Justinian, the urban life collapsed and the capital slid into a state of very poor cultural decline. Up to the generation of Patriarch Nicephorus, Theophanes, and Theodore Studite, in the 9th century, in artistic terms, Constantinople hardly existed until the end of iconoclasm.⁹ Ravenna followed a similar destiny.¹⁰ Even before the town fell into Lombard hands (Aistulf took the town in 751), we see that the flowering of a high-level mosaic production did not survive the beginning of the 7th century. Later mosaics in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, such as the panel with Constantine IV granting privileges to the church of Ravenna and the panel depicting the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek were modest replicas of the mosaics from Justinian's San Vitale. As for sculpture, the ciborium of Bishop Eleuchadius and later sarcophagi in Sant'Apollinare in Classe from the 7th century – e.g., the sarcophagus of Archbishops Theodore (677–688, fig. 24.3) and Felix (705–723) – show a corresponding decline from the 6th-century prototypes. Carolingian sovereigns found in Ravenna the basis for the renaissance of antique art: the earliest illuminated manuscript from the court scriptorium, the Gospels of Godescalc (Paris, BnF

8 Bernabò (ed.), *Il Tetravangelo di Rabbula*; id., "The Miniatures in the Rabbula Gospels", pp. 343–358.

9 Mango, "La culture grecque", pp. 683–721.

10 See Cavallo, "Le tipologie della cultura", pp. 467–530; id. "La cultura italo-greca nella produzione libraria", pp. 497–614.

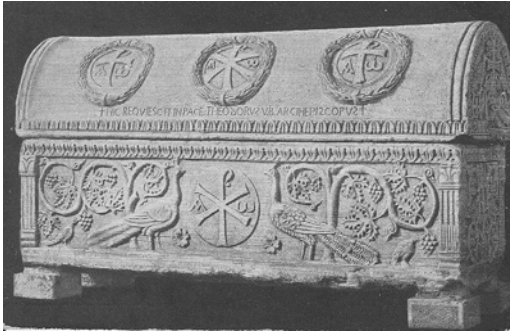


FIGURE 24.3
Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare in
Classe, sarcophagus of Archbishop
Theodore



FIGURE 24.4 Pavia, Museo Civico, stone panel of the Abbess Theodote

Nouv. acq. lat. 1203), from ca. 781–783, was inspired by Italian prototype, probably from Ravenna, while the Palace Chapel of Charlemagne in Aachen was constructed in imitation of San Vitale or a similar building. Charlemagne himself resided in Ravenna between 781 and 801.

The numerous stone slabs in northern Italy dating from the 7th to the 9th centuries are often rough imitations of refined Byzantine sculptures from Ravenna. We find examples in Pavia, the Lombard capital, with the 8th-century pluteus of the so-called sarcophagus of the abbess Theodote, from the Monastery of Santa Maria della Pusterla, where two peacocks face a chalice containing a cross (now in the Museo Civico, fig. 24.4). The representation of the animals is reminiscent of ancient naturalism. A border with vine leaves, grapes, and birds frames the peacocks. An inner minor frame is engraved with a fusarole motif from classical architecture. It should be noted that early medieval bas-relief slabs were usually colored. The main front of the Theodote's sarcophagus also depicts an oblique cross, two rosettes, and two short interlaces: the cross seems to be an addition to the composition in imitation of an earlier model meant to fill an empty space. The outcome is an unbalanced composition which assembles decorative motifs from antiquity within a barbarian



FIGURE 24.5
Cividale, Museo Archeologico, pluteus
of Sigvald



FIGURE 24.6 Brescia, Museo di Santa Giulia, marble slab with peacock



FIGURE 24.7
Bobbio, Museo dell'Abbazia, slab of Bishop Cumianus

style. The already-mentioned pluteus of Sigvald in Cividale (fig. 24.5) is the result of a similar process of renewing older motifs and combining them with Christian symbols in a barbarian context: palmettes, rosettes, griffins, and the symbols of the evangelists encircle a cross with an interlace. Two of the most refined slabs in northern Italy are now housed in the Museo della Città in Santa Giulia, Brescia, the capital of a Lombard duchy (fig. 24.6). The slabs were a part of an ambo; one of the two is fragmented. Each slab shows a peacock placed within a triangular field and framed by an individual, interlaced band running along the lower edge; there is also an inner irregular vine scroll engraved with leaves and grapes. The design lacks a balance between the blank and decorated areas: we sense that an elegant prototype, possibly from Ravenna, has been translated into a medieval language. The cultural settlement of Irish monks at the abbey St. Columbanus, which was founded in 614 in Bobbio, shares the same taste for repeating an ancient model according to a medieval fashion: the 8th-century tombstone of Cumianus (712–744) (now in the Abbey Museum, fig. 24.7) has the *verso* inscribed with a long encomium of the bishop; at the closing of the inscription, we find the name *Johannes Magister*, who proudly *fecit* the slab. A band with a vine scroll runs all around. The front of the tombstone is divided in ten squares, engraved with motifs of interlaces, crosses, columns, and arches.

3 Rome

A list of the main works of art in Rome, dating from after the mid-6th century, includes: the apse mosaics in the apse of Sant'Agnese fuori le mura (from the time of Pope Honorius I, 625–638); the mosaics of the triumphal arch of San Lorenzo fuori le mura (from the time of Pope Pelagius II, 579–590); the apse mosaics of the Chapel of San Venanzio, in the Baptistery of San Giovanni in Lateran (Pope John IV, 640–642); the apse mosaic in Santo Stefano Rotondo (from the time of Pope Theodore I, 642–649); the mosaics of the triumphal arch in Santi Nereo e Achilleo (from the time of Pope Leo III, 795–816); the mosaics of the apse and the triumphal arch of Santa Maria in Domnica; the mosaics of the apse and arches in Santa Prassede; the mosaics in the San Zeno Chapel within the same church; the apse mosaics of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (from the time of Pope Paschal I, 817–824); the apse mosaics of San Marco (from the time of Pope Gregory IV, 827–844); and the frescoes in Santa Maria Antiqua (6th to 8th century).¹¹

11 See Pace, "Alla ricerca di un'identità", pp. 471–498.

Up to the end of the 6th century, that is the time before Pope Gregory the Great, Rome was in a state of deep decline. Art production either imitated earlier monuments within the city (the pictures in early Christian churches in Rome were held as iconographical models for later churches),¹² or were influenced by Byzantine modes from the east or Ravenna, especially mosaics from the Justinian age. The largest evidence we have from the period between the 6th and 8th centuries is provided by the frescoes in the church of Santa Maria Antiqua in the Roman Forum, which was excavated at the beginning of the past century. The church was a part of a nearby Greek monastery. After an earthquake in the 9th century, the church was abandoned and its paintings were buried inside. A number of Greek epigraphs within the paintings prove that artists from Byzantine territories worked on its walls. The renaissance of Rome began with eastern colonies that settled in the Palatine area. We are aware of a number of churches dedicated to eastern saints; from one third to one fifth of the extant monasteries between the 7th and 9th centuries were eastern.¹³ In the period between 675 to 752 all the popes came from Syria or Asia Minor, spent a period in Sicily, and from there moved to the pontifical seat (save the Gregory II, 715–731, who was Roman). Most of these popes are portrayed on the walls of Santa Maria Antiqua; the *Liber pontificalis* records that frescoes adorned the church.¹⁴ The portrait of Martin I (ca. 650) is found on a wall of the presbytery; he also commissioned a refined portrayal of the Annunciation which recalled the Hellenistic style (fig. 24.8). Regarding the frescoes ordered by John VII (705–707), the most learned of the group of popes who patronized artwork in the church, there still exist the martyrdom scene in the Oratory of the Forty Martyrs, the Chapel of Medical Saints, apostles and evangelical scenes in the presbytery, the Old Testament scenes on the presbytery screens, the angels on the triumphal arch, and panels depicting the Annunciation, Anastasis, and Virgin and Child. Zacharias I (741–752) had the Theodotus Chapel decorated with a Crucifixion and martyrdom scenes. Paul I

12 The picture cycle of the Old and New Testament in the nave of the apostolic basilicas, namely St. Peter and St. Paul outside the walls, was held as normative for cycles in Romanesque churches of the surroundings of Rome and Atlantic Bibles: Kessler, "L'antica basilica di San Pietro", pp. 45–64; idem, "Caput et speculum omnium ecclesiarum", pp. 119–146.

13 The number of eastern communities in Rome greatly increased in the period from the 7th to 9th century: no oriental monastery existed in the 5th and 6th century, but we are informed of 9 out of 24 total in the 7th century, 8 to 10 out of 38 in the 8th, and 11 out of 57 in the 9th: Mango, "La culture grecque", pp. 683–721.

14 The best description and comment of the paintings in Santa Maria Antiqua are the essays of Nordhagen, "The Earliest Decoration"; id., "The Frescoes of John VII"; id., "S. Maria Antiqua".



FIGURE 24.8 Rome, Santa Maria Antiqua, Annunciation

(757–767) had frescoes made in the apse of the presbytery, and the Christ and saints and the Joseph episodes in the nave. Toesca, the aforementioned Italian scholar, stressed the fact that we are faced with various artistic traditions in the frescoes that show a distinctive eastern style: an irregular development of different trends follow each other, ranging from an impressionist way of painting to more hieratic representations of holy figures. Against expectations, the most Hellenistic panels are often later than the more hieratic ones; it means the history of medieval art was not a linear development from the Hellenistic tradition to a non-Hellenistic way of painting. The well-known ‘palimpsest’ panel, located on the presbytery wall on the right side of the apse serves as an example (fig. 24.9). The frontal, stiff group of the Virgin with the Child, which recalls the Justinianic style of the 6th century, belongs to an earlier layer of painting



FIGURE 24.9
Roma, Santa Maria
Antiqua, the so called
'palimpsest'

preceding the more classical, 'Pompeian' angel of an Annunciation, which is painted on the right of the panel; a later layer of painting from the time of Martin I and John VII again shows hieratic doctors of the church and saints. Evidently, there was no linear development from an ancient naturalistic to a medieval, non-naturalistic style; we are forced to conclude that the colonies settled in Rome from different areas of the Byzantine Empire summoned artists from their motherland to decorate the church, with each artist was painting according an own local idiom of the Byzantine art; such a conjecture can explain the distance of styles we meet in the church walls.¹⁵ We should stress on the fact that the paintings with scenes from Genesis in the nave, from the Temptation of Adam and Eve to the Hanging of the Pharaoh's Chief Baker dating from the time of Paul I, reflect an Oriental iconography, which was the predominant iconography in a region of the empire rather than referring to extant cycles in the apostolic basilicas.¹⁶ As a last example, we should add the figures of saints and the Christological cycle in the church of San Saba, a settlement of monks from the area near Jerusalem.¹⁷

In the mosaics from the first quarter of the 9th century commissioned by Paschal I and Gregory IV in Santa Maria in Domnica, Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, San Marco, and the San Zeno Chapel in Santa Prassede, no Carolingian influence can be detected. In particular, the iconographic program of the San Zeno

15 Toesca, *Storia dell'arte*, p. 212. Brenk, "Papal Patronage", pp. 67–81.

16 Vileisis, *The Genesis Cycle of Santa Maria Antiqua*, pp. 139–40.

17 Gandolfo, "Gli affreschi di San Saba", pp. 183–187.



FIGURE 24.10 Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. Gr. 749, Book of Job, f. 243v

Chapel reflects Byzantine iconography.¹⁸ All these monuments are the work of a group of Roman artists closely related in terms of style. Earlier decorations in the churches of Rome were used as an iconographical guide, but it is commonly held that their style came from the regions of the eastern Mediterranean, especially Arab-ruled Palestine. A number of icons in the Monastery of St. Catherine in Mount Sinai, which are thought to be Palestinian, display clear connections to those Roman monuments. An illuminated manuscript of Job in the Vatican Library (Rome, BAV, cod. Vat. Gr. 749) shows the coexistence of a Palestinian and a Carolingian mode under Paschal I.¹⁹ The set of illuminations can be confidently assigned to Rome, ca. 820. A second manuscript, the renowned copy of John of Damascus' *Sacra Parallela* in Paris (BnF, cod. gr. 923), is very akin to the Vatican Job; the two codices are connected to each other, in terms of both iconography and style, but most scholars prefer to think of the Palestinian Monastery of St. Sabas as the place of origin of the *Sacra Parallela* manuscript. In the Vatican Job, a team of two main illuminators, each with an assistant, painted the fifty-four miniatures in the pages. The miniatures illustrating the narrative prologue of the Book of Job imitate the style of the 5th–6th century manuscript which is supposed to have been used as a prototype. However, they occasionally reveal the hand of an artist close to the mosaics of Paschal I (fig. 24.10) as evident in a group of images emulate a Carolingian or pre-Carolingian style and a group that resemble the miniatures in the *Sacra Parallela*. The latter group includes the scenes of the dialogues and the narrative closing, where a gifted illuminator displays a Byzantine-Palestinian style.²⁰

4 Castelseprio

In 1944, a cycle of frescoes was discovered in the apse of the modest church of Santa Maria *foris Portas*, at Castelseprio. The frescoes have no parallel in European medieval painting; the church was placed off the ruined walls of the abandoned medieval castle of Castelseprio, near Varese. The castle was razed by the Milanese archbishop Otto Visconti in 1287 and was never repopulated. Bognetti, Chierici and Capitani De Arzago, the scholars who published the first

18 Brenk, "Zum Bildprogramm", pp. 213–221.

19 Bernabò, "Cinquantaquattro dipinti romani"; id., *Le miniature per i manoscritti greci del Libro di Giobbe*.

20 Scholars assign to Italy also the illuminated manuscript of Gregory of Nazianzus in Milan (Ambrosiana Library, cod. E 49/50) and the Book of Job in Patmos (Monastery of St. John the Evangelist, cod. 171). Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs*; Cavallo, "Le tipologie della cultura", pp. 467–530.



FIGURE 24.11 Castelseprio, Santa Maria *foris Portas*, Nativity

monograph on the church,²¹ gave a detailed description of its architecture and the iconography and style of the frescoes. The date of church and frescoes is debated since their discovery and wavers between the 7th and the 10th centuries. A graffito in Latin, naming “Ardericus archiepiscopus” of Milan found engraved on the painted surface of the frescoes, provides us with a *terminus ante quem* in the years 936–948. As the building dates from the 7th century, we also gain a *terminus post quem*. The frescoes are badly preserved. They depict episodes from the life of the Virgin, but only a section of the original scenes still exists, namely the Annunciation, Visitation, Trial by the Water, the angel appearing in dream to Joseph, the journey to Bethlehem, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, Nativity (fig. 24.11), Annunciation to the Shepherds, and the Adoration of the Magi. The narrative cycle is accompanied by a medallion with a bust of the blessing Christ and an Hetoimasia (preparation of the throne) with the throne and two flying angels.²² The life of Mary recounted in the frescoes is partly apocryphal: beside the canonical Gospels, it follows the story told in two infancy Gospels in the Protoevangelium of James and the Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew. For example, the midwife doubting of the

21 Bognetti/ Chierici/ De Capitani De Arzago, *Santa Maria di Castelseprio*.

22 Two fragments stolen from the church of Santa Maria *foris Portas* are exhibited in the Museo Civico in Varese; they represent a shepherd and a midwife: Bertelli/Broggiolo (eds.), *Il futuro dei Longobardi*, no. 370.

virginity of Mary – her name is Salome, but in the fresco the term “emea” is inscribed, from the Greek noun ἡ μαια, that is “midwife” – whose hand was described as “dropping off as if burned with fire,” is an uncommon feature in medieval iconography. As a whole, the program is primarily concerned with the dogma of the virginal incarnation and the legitimacy of Jesus as the Son of God.²³

The painter of Castelseprio employed a repertory of classical formulae, which hints at a workshop tradition unknown in the Lombard territories of the peninsula. Demus noticed that the frescoes of Castelseprio have no progeny in western Europe: they can be considered as an apex in the history of medieval art. Unconvincingly, scholars proposed affinities with Lombard works of art, such as the frescoes in San Salvatore in Brescia, the frescoes in the nearby female Monastery of Santa Maria di Torba – dating from either the 8th century –, or the Carolingian frescoes in the abbey of St. John in Münstair (Swiss), but these locations have only vague relations with Castelseprio and eventually, did not prove cogent.²⁴ The refined, Hellenistic style of the painter had disappeared in west after the collapse of the Roman Empire. Moreover, the Carolingian revival of antiquity is best revealed in the reproduction of ancient illuminated manuscripts or the execution of new manuscripts done in a classical fashion, but it never reveals itself in wall painting. The same holds true for the hypothesis which has related the frescoes with the illuminated manuscripts and ivories of the so-called Macedonian Renaissance, which developed in 10th-century Constantinople. The painter must have come from an eastern region where the classical tradition had no interruption. The closest stylistic parallels are with some of the frescoes in S. Maria Antiqua, in particular with the works executed during the period of Popes Martin I and John VII. A proposal which dates the frescoes to around the year 700 by the hand of an artist from a region of the Byzantine Empire seems to be the most reasonable.

5 Southern Italy

A list of the main Byzantine monuments in Apulia includes the paintings in: Carpignano Salentino, the church of Santa Marina and Cristina (959 and

23 Weitzmann, *The Fresco Cycle*, esp. pp. 43–67 (the iconography), pp. 68–90 (the dogmatic meaning of the program).

24 Literature on Castelseprio frescoes is very vast; see at preceding notes and: Toesca, “Gli affreschi di Castelseprio”; Schapiro, “The Frescoes of Castelseprio”; id., “Notes on Castelseprio”, pp. 292–99; Leveto-Jabr, “Carbon-14 Dating”; Nordhagen, “Italo-Byzantine Wall Painting”; Bertelli, “Castelseprio e Milano”; Bernabò, “Roma, Bisanzio, Castelseprio”; De Spirito, “À propos des peintures murales”; Rossi, “Il problema Castelseprio”.

1020); Casaranello and the church of Santa Maria della Croce (10th–11th centuries); Grottaglie, the crypt in the Gravina di Riggio (10th–11th centuries); Salve, the Chapel of San Lasi (10th–11th centuries); Torre Santa Susanna, San Pietro in Crepacore (7th–8th centuries); Mottola, the rupestrian churches of San Nicola and Santa Margherita (11th century); Otranto, the church of San Pietro (10th–11th centuries); Vaste (Salento), the Crypt of the Santi Stefani (10th–11th century).²⁵ There is a noteworthy fresco in Modica (Sicily) in the crypt of San Niccolò Inferiore depicting an Ascension and saints from the 10th–11th centuries.²⁶ More paintings in Calabria should be added to the list: a Madonna Acheiropita in the Cathedral of Rossano (10th century); the Communion of St. Mary of Egypt in the sanctuary of the Madonna del Monte Stella in Pazzano, near Stilo (10th century); and the portraits of saints and the vision of Sant'Eustachio in the church of the Spedale in Scalea (10th–11th century).²⁷

It is a well-known fact that mosaicists from the Constantinople were hired to decorate the new basilica in the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino.²⁸ Leo of Ostia in his *Chronicle of Monte Cassino* records how the abbot Desiderius (1058–1087) commissioned a bronze door for the basilica in the Byzantine capital after having admired the doors of the cathedral of Amalfi.²⁹ The mosaics patronized by Desiderius are lost, but we can have an idea of them from the decoration at Sant'Angelo in Formis, near Capua, which belongs to the time of Desiderius itself. Sant'Angelo is the best-preserved Benedictine monument we have from the period; its fresco cycles inspired by the Old and New Testament and the paintings in the apse at the entrance of the church are a mixture of a Latin and Byzantine art. However, only a few of the numerous monuments in the Byzantine territories in the south of the peninsula date from the period following the fall of the Muslim emirate of Bari (871). In the second half of the 10th and in the 11th century the southern regions of Italy produced art-work which can be described as provincial Byzantine, just like Cappadocia, Bulgaria, or Serbia. However, Byzantine monuments flourished after Robert Guiscard took the Catepanate of Italy, entered the major centers of Otranto (1068) and Bari (1071),³⁰ and invaded Sicily (1061–1072). Up to the 9th century,

25 Falla Castelfranchi, *Pittura monumentale*; Bertelli (ed.), *Puglia preromanica*; Jacob/Martin/Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture*; Pace, "La Puglia fra arte bizantina e maniera greca".

26 Falla Castelfranchi, "La decorazione pittorica", pp. 155–163.

27 Pace (ed.), *Calabria bizantina*; Falla Castelfranchi, "La pittura bizantina", p. 222.

28 On Monte Cassino: Bloch, "Monte Cassino, Byzantium, and the West"; pp. 163–224; id., *Monte Cassino*.

29 Belting, "Byzantine Art", pp. 3–5.

30 Sites preserving fragments of Byzantine frescoes in Bari: church in Palazzo Simi (10th c.); ruins under San Michele in the Monastery of San Benedetto (10th–11th c.); sepulcher of priest Smaragdus, San Martino church (now Palazzo Lamberti (end of the 10th c.): see Lavermicocca, *Bari bizantina*.



FIGURE 24.12
San Vincenzo al Volturno, abbey, crypt of
Epiphanius, Madonna

artistic evidence attest to both a Lombard and Carolingian predominance. The most renowned case concerns the remnants of the grand and rich abbey of San Vincenzo al Volturno, which according to tradition, was founded in 703 by three Lombard noblemen. San Vincenzo flourished under the abbots Joshua (792–817), Talaricus (817–823) and Epiphanius (824–842); it was sacked by a band of Arab mercenaries in 881 and then abandoned for centuries. Its abbots were both Lombards and Franks, but the paintings surviving from the abbey, the major cycle being the frescoes in the crypt of the abbot Epiphanius, from the 830s (fig. 24.12), show no Byzantine influence, but rather the dissemination of the Carolingian art in southern Italy.³¹ Further evidence, such as the paintings in the Tempietto at Seppannibale, a small shrine in the neighbourhood of Fasano (Apulia),³² those on the walls of Santa Sophia in Benevento³³ – the church was built in 758 by the Duke Arechis and Benevento was the capitol of Langobardia Minor –, and lastly, the frescoes in the Cripta del Peccato Originale near

31 Hodges/Mitchell, *San Vincenzo al Volturno*; Hodges/Mitchell/Delogu, *San Vincenzo al Volturno*.

32 Bertelli, *Cultura longobarda*.

33 Rotili, *Benevento romana e longobarda*; Bertelli / Brogiolo (eds.), *Il futuro dei Longobardi*, no. 156.

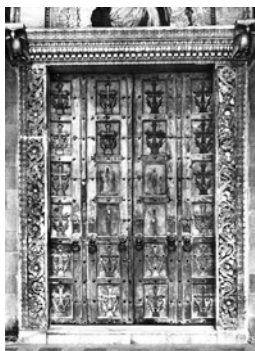


FIGURE 24.13
Amalfi, Cathedral, bronze door

Matera,³⁴ which bear witness to a Latin tradition (although it should be noted that an influence from the Byzantine art of Syria has been advanced for the San Vincenzo al Volturno). Byzantine monuments in Campania can be found in Avella (Grotta di San Michele, 11th century), Calvi Risorta, (Grotta delle Fornelle, funerary chapel of the Count Pandolfo and Countess Gualferata, 11th century, now in the Museum of the Reggia di Caserta), Cimitile (Basilica Vetus, Communion of the Apostles, 10th century), Fasani di Sessa Aurunca (San Michele a Gualana, 11th century), Olivano nel Tusciano (Crucifixion, second half of the 10th century), Palomonte (Santa Maria della Sperlonga, 11th–12th century).³⁵

In the second half of the 11th century, a family of merchants from Amalfi (the recurrent names of these donors are Pantaleo and Mauro, each one reappearing twice) were the donors of five bronze doors to churches and monasteries in southern Italy: the earliest one is the door of the Cathedral of Sant'Andrea in Amalfi (1065) – is the same door which would later impressed the abbot Desiderius –, crafted in Constantinople by Symon of Syria (fig. 24.13). This was followed by the door of Monte Cassino (1066); the door for San Paolo fuori le mura, in Rome (1070), crafted by Theodore and Staurakios (the caster); the door of San Michele a Monte Sant'Angelo (1076); and the door of San Salvatore at Atrani, near Amalfi (1087). A sixth door was made for the Porta di San Clemente in San Marco, Venice (ca. 1080). Lastly, a seventh door for the Cathedral of

34 Attolico, "Testimonianze pittoriche", pp. 35–39. Bertelli (ed.), *La grotta del Peccato originale a Matera*.

35 Pace, "La pittura rupestre in Italia meridionale", pp. 403–15; Falla Castelfranchi, "La pittura bizantina", pp. 216–20; Piazza, *Pittura rupestre medievale*. The frescoes in the Grotta dei Santi, in Calvi Risorta (De' Maffei, "Sant'Angelo in Formis", pp. 195–235) cannot be considered Byzantine: see Piazza, "La grotta dei Santi a Calvi", pp. 169–208.



FIGURE 24.14
Carpignano Salentino, church of Sts. Marina
and Cristina, Annunciation and Christ



FIGURE 24.15
Otranto, San Pietro, Washing of
the feet

Salerno was presented by Landulfo Butromilo and his wife Guesa (1084).³⁶ The first five doors were made in Constantinople, where the manufacture of bronze was revived around the year 1000, following the reconquest of a part of Syria from the Arabs and the settlement of a Syrian colony inside the borders of the empire. The techniques of niello and damascening employed to outline the figures on the bronze background are Syrian, that is, Islamic. It is known that one of the two Mauro founded hospices in the Islamic cities of Antioch and Jerusalem. Finally, Stavrakios, the caster of the San Paolo door, engraved an inscription in Syriac (estranghelo) begging people to pray for him. Briefly, Pantaleo and Mauro must have owned the foundry which melted the doors in Constantinople.

The presence of Byzantine artists in Apulia is witnessed by the paintings in the Crypt of the cave church of Santa Marina e Cristina, at Carpignano

36 The central door of San Marco, Venice (ca. 1112), should be added to the list. Frazer, "Church Doors"; Mango, "Storia dell'arte", pp. 249–251; Iacobini, "Le porte bronzee bizantine", pp. 15–54.

Salentino, near Otranto (fig. 24.14).³⁷ Here, a fresco depicts an enthroned, blessing Christ between an Annunciation, with Gabriel on the right side and the Virgin on the left. An inscription records that the painting was sponsored by the Greek priest Leon and his family in the year 959; also, that the painter, Theophylact, was of Greek origin. A later replica of such a painting is found in the same cave church and shows Christ, the Virgin with the Child, and an iconic Gabriel. Again, the painter bears a Greek name, Eustathios; the date, too, is given: 1020. The style of the paintings is a southern Italian version of the metropolitan style of Constantinople. This painting style is met not only in peripheral monuments, but also in San Pietro in Otranto, a cross-in-square church of a major city of the Byzantine province of Italy. In San Pietro we are presented with frescoes of two different period. The earlier layer of frescoes shows the Last Supper and the episode of the washing of the feet in the barrel vault of the northeast corner bay (fig. 24.15) that have some resemblance to the mosaics of Hosios Loukas (Phocis, Greece). Only some poorly conserved fragments of a third fresco, representing the Betrayal of Christ, have survived to the present-day. Inscriptions in San Pietro are similar to those on both frescoes in Carpignano (959 and 1020), which has allowed for the advancement of a date for the San Pietro' first layer of paintings around 1000.³⁸

Bibliography

- Attolico, A., "Testimonianze pittoriche di ambito occidentale", in F. Abbate (ed.), *Arte in Puglia dal Medioevo al '700*, Rome 2010, pp. 35–39.
- Belting, H., "Byzantine Art among Greeks and Latins in Southern Italy", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974), 1–29.
- Bernabò, M., "Cinquantaquattro dipinti romani della prima metà del IX secolo, inediti o poco noti. Prima l'iconografia, poi lo stile", *Segno e testo* 1 (2003), 309–31.
- Bernabò, M. (ed.), *Il Tetravangelo di Rabbula. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, cod. Plut. 1.56. L'illustrazione del Nuovo Testamento nella Siria del VI secolo*, Rome 2008.
- Bernabò, M., *Le miniature per i manoscritti greci del Libro di Giobbe. Patmo, Monastero di San Giovanni Evangelista, cod. 171. Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. gr. 749. Sinai, Monastero di Santa Caterina, cod. 3. Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, cod. gr. 538*, Florence 2004.

37 Belting, "Byzantine Art", pp. 12–13; Safran, "Byzantine South Italy"; pp. 257–277; Safran, "Scoperte salentine", pp. 69–94.

38 Safran, "Redating Some South Italian Frescoes", pp. 307–333; ead., *S. Pietro at Otranto*.

- Bernabò, M., "Roma, Bisanzio, Castelseprio: aggiornamenti dai manoscritti greci miniati di Giobbe", in A.Q. Quintavalle (ed.), *Medioevo: immagini e ideologie*, Milan 2005, pp. 191–97.
- Bernabò, M., "The Miniatures in the Rabbula Gospels. *Postscripta* to a Recent Book", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 68 (2014), 343–358.
- Bernabò, M. (ed.), *Voci dell'Oriente. Miniature e testi classici da Bisanzio alla Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, Florence 2011.
- Bertelli, C., "Castelseprio e Milano", in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'Alto Medioevo*, 2 vols. (Settimane CISAM, 34), Spoleto 1988, pp. 869–917.
- Bertelli, G. (ed.), *Puglia preromanica dal V secolo agli inizi dell'XI*, Milan 2004.
- Bertelli, C./Brogiolo, G.P. (eds.), *Il futuro dei Longobardi. L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno*, Milan 2000.
- Bertelli, G., *Cultura longobarda nella Puglia altomedievale. Il tempietto di Seppannibale presso Fasano*, Bari 1994.
- Bertelli, G. (ed.), *La grotta del Peccato originale a Matera. La gravina, la grotta, gli affreschi, la cultura materiale*, Bari 2013.
- Bloch, H., "Monte Cassino, Byzantium, and the West in the Earlier Middle Ages", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 3 (1946), 163–224.
- Bloch, H., *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge Mass. 1986.
- Bognetti, G.P./Chierici, G./De Capitani d'Arzago, A., *Santa Maria di Castelseprio*, Milan 1948.
- Brenk, B., "Papal Patronage in a Greek Church in Rome", in J. Osborne /J. Ramus Brandt /G. Morganti (eds.), *Santa Maria Antiqua al Foro Romano cento anni dopo*, Rome 2004, pp. 67–81.
- Brenk, B., "Zum Bildprogramm der Zenokapelle in Rom", *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 45–46 (1972–1974), 213–21.
- Cavallo, G., "La cultura italo-greca nella produzione libraria", in Cavallo et al., *I Bizantini in Italia*, Milan 1982, pp. 497–614.
- Cavallo, G., "Le tipologie della cultura nel riflesso delle testimonianze scritte", in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'Alto Medioevo*, 2 vols., (Settimane CISAM, 34), Spoleto 1988, pp. 467–530.
- Cavallo, G. / Falkenhausen, von, V. / Farioli Campanati, R. / Gigante, M. / Pace, V. / Panvini Rosati, V., *I Bizantini in Italia*, Milan 1982.
- De' Maffei, F., "Sant'Angelo in Formis, 2, La dicotomia tra le scene dell'Antico Testamento e l'originario ceppo bizantino", *Commentari* 28 (1977), 195–235.
- Demus, O., *Byzantine Art and the West*, London 1970.
- Falla Castelfranchi, M., "La decorazione pittorica bizantina della cripta detta di San Niccolò Inferiore a Modica (RG): una testimonianza significativa d'epoca araba", in S. Pasi (ed.), *Studi in memoria di Patrizia Angiolini Martinelli*, Bologna 2005, pp. 155–63.

- Falla Castelfranchi, M., "La pittura bizantina in Italia meridionale e in Sicilia (secoli IX–XI)", in A. Jacob/J.-M. Martin/G. Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie Byzantine. Acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 363), Rome 2006, pp. 205–35.
- Falla Castelfranchi, M., *Pittura monumentale bizantina in Puglia*, Milan 1991.
- Frazer, M.A., "Church Doors and the Gates of Paradise: Byzantine Bronze Doors in Italy", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973), 145–162.
- Gandolfo, F., "Gli affreschi di San Saba", in *Fragmenta picta. Affreschi e mosaici staccati del Medioevo romano*, Rome 1989, pp. 183–87.
- Grabar, A., *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IX^e–XI^e siècles)*, Paris 1972.
- Hodges, R./Mitchell, J., *San Vincenzo al Volturno: The Archaeology, Art and Territory of an Early Medieval Monastery*, Oxford 1985.
- Hodges, R./Mitchell, J./Delogu, P., *San Vincenzo al Volturno. La nascita di una città monastica*, Rome 1996.
- Iacobini, A., "Le porte bronzee bizantine in Italia. Arte e tecnologia nel Mediterraneo medievale", in id. (ed.), *Le porte del Paradiso. Arte e tecnologia bizantina tra Italia e Mediterraneo (XI–XII secolo)*, Rome 2009, pp. 15–54.
- Jacob, A./Martin, J.-M./Noyé, G. (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie Byzantine. Acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 363), Rome 2006.
- Kessler, H.L., "Caput et speculum omnium ecclesiarum": Old St. Peter's and Church Decoration in Medieval Latium," in W. Tronzo (ed.), *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. Functions, Forms and Regional Traditions*, Bologna, 1989, pp. 119–146 (reprinted in id., *Studies in Pictorial Narrative*, London 1994, with additional notes, pp. 557–558).
- Kessler, H.L., "L'antica basilica di San Pietro come fonte e ispirazione per le decorazioni delle chiese medievali," in M. Andaloro et al. (eds.) *Fragmenta Picta. Affreschi e mosaici staccati del Medioevo romano*, Roma 1989, pp. 45–64.
- Lavermicocca, H., *Bari bizantina. Capitale mediterranea*, Bari 2003.
- Leveto-Jabr, P., "Carbon-14 Dating of Wood from the East Apse of Santa Maria at Castelseprio", *Gesta* 26 (1987), 17–18.
- Mango, C., *Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453. Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1972.
- Mango, C., *Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror*, Oxford 1975.
- Mango, C., "Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965), 24–43.
- Mango C., "La culture grecque et l'Occident au VIII^e siècle", in *I problemi dell'Occidente nel secolo VIII* (Settimane CISAM, 20), Spoleto 1972, pp. 683–721.
- Mango, C., "Storia dell'arte", in *La civiltà bizantina dal IX all'XI secolo. Aspetti e problemi*, (II Corso di Studi, Centro di Studi Bizantini, Università degli Studi di Bari), Bari 1978, pp. 241–323.

- Mango, C./ Hawkins, E.J.W., "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966), 119–206.
- Nordhagen, P.J., "Italo-Byzantine Wall Painting of the Early Middle Ages: An 80-Year Old Enigma in Scholarship", in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'Alto Medioevo*, 2 vols. (Settimane CISAM, 34), Spoleto 1988, pp. 593–624.
- Nordhagen, P.J., "S. Maria Antiqua: the frescoes of the seventh century", *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, 8 (1978), 89–142.
- Nordhagen, P.J., "The Earliest Decoration in Santa Maria Antiqua and their Date", *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 1 (1962), 53–72.
- Nordhagen, P.J., "The Frescoes of John VII (A.D. 705–707) in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome", in Institutum Romanum Norvegiae, *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, 3 (1968), 89–142.
- Pace, V., "Alla ricerca di un'identità: affreschi, mosaici, tavole dipinti e libri a Roma fra VI e IX secolo", in C. Carbonetti/ S. Lucà/ M. Signorini (eds.) *Roma e il suo territorio nel Medioevo. Le fonti scritte fra tradizione e innovazione*, Spoleto 2015, pp. 471–498.
- Pace, V. (ed.), *Calabria bizantina*, Roma 2003.
- Pace, V., "La Puglia fra arte bizantina e maniera greca", in C. Blondeau/B. Boissavit-Camus/V. Boucherat/P. Volti (eds.), *Ars auro gemmisque prior. Mélanges en hommage à Jean-Pierre Caillet*, Zagreb 2013, pp. 10–26.
- Pace, V., "Pittura bizantina nell'Italia meridionale (secoli XI–XIV)," in G. Cavallo et al., *I Bizantini in Italia*, pp. 427–94.
- Pace, V., "La pittura medievale in Puglia", in C. Bertelli (ed.) *La pittura in Italia. L'altomedioevo*, Milan 1994, pp. 289–303.
- Pace, V., "La pittura rupestre in Italia meridionale", in C. Bertelli (ed.), *La pittura in Italia. L'altomedioevo*, Milan 1994, pp. 403–15.
- Piazza, S., "La grotta dei Santi a Calvi e le sue pitture", *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 57 (2002), 169–202.
- Piazza, S., *Pittura rupestre medievale. Lazio e Campania settentrionale*, Roma 2006.
- Rossi, M., "Il problema Castelseprio", in V. Pace (ed.), *L'VIII secolo: un secolo inquieto*, Udine 2010, pp. 131–37.
- Rotili, M., *Benevento romana e longobarda. L'immagine urbana*, Napoli 1986.
- Safran, L., "Byzantine South Italy: New Light on the Oldest Wall Paintings", in G. Koch. (ed.), *Byzantinische Malerei. Bildprogramme, Ikonographie, Stil*, Weisbaden 2000, pp. 257–77.
- Safran, L., "Redating Some South Italian Frescoes: the First Layer at S. Pietro, Otranto, and the Earliest Paintings at S. Maria della Croce, Casaranello", *Byzantion* 10 (1990), 307–333.
- Safran, L., *S. Pietro at Otranto. Byzantine Art in South Italy*, Rome 1992.
- Safran, L., "Scoperte salentine", *Arte medievale*, 7 (2008), 69–94.
- Schapiro, M., "Notes on Castelseprio", *The Art Bulletin* 39 (1957), 292–99.
- Schapiro, M., "The Frescoes of Castelseprio", *The Art Bulletin*, 34 (1952), 147–163.

- De Spirito, G., "À propos des peintures murales de l'Église de Santa Maria foris portas de Castelseprio", *Cahiers archéologiques* 46 (1998), 23–64.
- Toesca, P., "Gli affreschi di Castelseprio", *L'Arte* 51 (1948–1951), 12–19.
- Toesca, P., *Storia dell'arte italiana*, vol. 1, *Il Medioevo*, Turin 1927.
- Vileisis, B., *The Genesis Cycle of Santa Maria Antiqua*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University 1979.
- Weitzmann, K., *The Fresco Cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio*, Princeton 1951.

Conceiving Social Space in Byzantine Italy: Monumental Architecture and Building Typologies

Isabella Baldini

1 Byzantine Administration and Public Works

Monumental architecture of Byzantine Italy has revealed an extraordinary variety of forms. In this multiplicity, the role Constantinople is undisputed: the prestige of the political see continued at the same pace as its the ability to maintain and enforce its efficient and high profile organization in the field of structural design and artistic culture.¹ Its example influenced the choices of patronage and it determined emulative behaviours that also affected the neighbouring territories. This also occurred in the field of ecclesiastic monumentality, which represented public architecture par excellence. For example, when in the second half of the 8th century Duke Arechis II promoted the construction of a church as an expression of the ducal prestige in Benevento,² that building was dedicated to the Divine Wisdom (Hagia Sophia), resembling the most famous church in Constantinople. Its central-plan, with an ambulatory and a dome, recalls Justinian's church; the relics deposited for the inauguration belong to a saint venerated in Byzantium (Saint Mercurius), while the royal residence next to the church was defined, as in Constantinople, *Sacrum Palatium*.

The relationship between Byzantine authorities and social space was evidenced in different ways, depending on places and periods. In the first period of the Byzantine conquest of Italy, an important factor was represented by the weight of the monumental heritage entrusted to public administration. It included the desertion of many public buildings related to outdated religious and social forms: temples, seats of *collegia*, buildings for spectacles, and baths. It was necessary to make economic and functional choices, and this resulted in the abandonment of areas and in the disappearance of some building types. For example, after the Gothic War the administration was required to create

1 For a general study on this subject, see Farioli Campanati, "La cultura artistica", to be updated with the bibliography following footnotes. A broad historical framework in Cosentino, *Storia*.

2 Rotili, "Benevento fra Tarda Antichità e Alto Medioevo", pp. 329–331; Noyé, "L'espressione", pp. 424–428.

one hierarchy of the most urgent needs, according to the guidelines prescribed by the imperial government: for the city of Rome, they are explained in paragraph 25 of the *Pragmatica sanctio* (554).³

In general, the representatives of the institutions (governors, military leaders) had their interest especially in administration buildings and in fortifications. Only rarely did public interventions concern the renovation of infrastructures and the enhancement of public areas. In 565, the Byzantine general Narses, charged by Justinian with the government of Italy, rebuilt the bridge over the Aniene river, which had collapsed during the Gothic War.⁴ The aqueduct of Ravenna, renovated by Theoderic (493–526), was repaired by the exarch Smaragdus during the reign of Emperor Maurice (582–602).⁵ In the same period, according to the testimony of Gregory the Great, the aqueducts of Rome and Naples were also repaired.⁶ In 663 the Forum of Terracina was restored by the Dux George, almost certainly in conjunction with Emperor Constans II's (641–668) passage through the city.⁷

The greatest amount of information pertaining to the use of public spaces between the 6th and the 8th centuries concerns the Forum of Rome. While written sources have provided descriptions of ceremonies held in honour of Theoderic (500), archaeological investigations have also revealed building renovations in the Curia, in the colonnade of the *Basilica Aemilia*, and in the House of the Vestals:⁸ during the 6th century this latter building probably hosted Byzantine officials.⁹ In 603, the Forum (map 25.1) still assumed an important ideological role, when a procession exhibited the icon of Emperors Phocas and Leontia all the way to the church of St. Caesarius.¹⁰

The persistence in Rome of honorary columns can probably be seen in connection to an example of one of the typical urban furnishings in Constantinople: a golden statue of Emperor Phocas which crowned the column that the exarch

3 *CJC*, vol. 3, *Novellae*, App. VII, pp. 799–802; Coates-Stephens, “La committenza”, pp. 299–300.

4 *CIL* VI, 1199 a-b. Farioli Campanati, “La cultura artistica”, p. 181; Russo, “Apparati”, p. 196; Coates-Stephens, “La committenza”, p. 300.

5 *CIL* XI, 11.

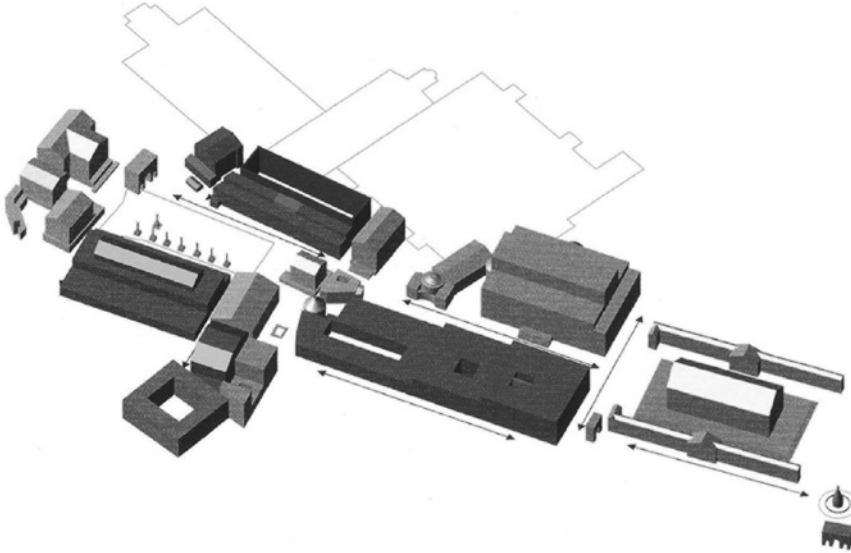
6 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum*, 11.76 e 12.6; Coates-Stephens, “La committenza”, pp. 300–301. On evidence of Byzantine architecture in Naples in the 5th century: Farioli Campanati, “La cultura artistica”, p. 216 and p. 254, n. 71 (churches of S. Giorgio Maggiore and S. Lorenzo Maggiore); Arthur, *Naples*.

7 Sannazaro, M., “Epigrafi e città”, p. 84.

8 Serlorenzi, “All’origine”, pp. 116–119.

9 *Ibid.* pp. 115–116.

10 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum*, 13.1; Cosentino, *Storia*, p. 126. On the stationary liturgy through the Forum: Spera, “La cristianizzazione”, p. 100.



MAP 25.1 Roman Forum in the 6th–7th century (after Serlorenzi, "All'origine", p. 122)

Smaragdus erected in 609 in the Forum.¹¹ Two acclamatory inscriptions in Greek, perhaps in honour of Constans II, were engraved on the upper part of the staircase of the Trajan's column,¹² as well as on the northeastern pillar of the Arch of Janus.¹³

Public participation in the monumental development of Byzantine Italy is much more evident and systematic with regard to fortifications.¹⁴ Building activities during the period of the Gothic War were documented in Rome, Naples, Taranto, Crotone, Orvieto, Pesaro, Spoleto, Lucca and, during the following decades, in Grado, Miseno, Cagliari, and Oderzo.¹⁵ Thanks to recent archaeological investigations Aquileia,¹⁶ Pescara, and Ortona can be mentioned, too.¹⁷

11 *CIL* VI, 1200. Cosentino, *Storia*, p. 47; Coates-Stephens, "La committenza", p. 300; Serlorenzi, "All'origine", p. 119.

12 Coates-Stephens, "La committenza", p. 303; Conti, "L'iscrizione bizantina".

13 Coates-Stephens, "La committenza", p. 303.

14 Zanini, *Le Italie*, pp. 209–290.

15 Cosentino, *Storia*, p. 45.

16 Groh, "Ricerche sull'urbanistica".

17 Staffa, "Abruzzo", pp. 393–396 and 414–421.

Procopius of Caesarea describes the building stages of the fortification in Taranto:¹⁸ the *magister militum* Johannes¹⁹ had ordered the construction of a small enclosure with respect to the extension of the classical city, equipped with a deep moat. Inside this enclosure not only the citizens of Taranto, but also the inhabitants of the countryside, would be able to find shelter.²⁰ The length of over 20 *stadia* explicitly cited by the source refers to the situation at the arrival of Johannes; in fact, it corresponds almost exactly to the area included within the perimeter of the Hellenistic city,²¹ considering the east-west measure between the edge of the promontory to the backcountry. Apparently, the walls were made quickly, as the sequence of events demonstrates; therefore, they may have presented the typical appearance of other constructions of that kind,²² made with reused materials easily available *in loco*. Unfortunately, however, any structure attributable to the 6th-century walls is known, so it is difficult to make comparisons with the walls of other coeval harbour cities, such as Naples and Crotone. Yet even in these two cities the documentation is incomplete: in Naples, for example, the fenced area corresponds to the classical one, which extended towards the port.²³ In Crotone, a section of the walls built between 548 and 550 has been identified as being southwest of the classic acropolis: perhaps these ramparts surrounded the whole promontory, protecting it from possible attacks from the sea.²⁴

During this first phase of control of the Italian territories, the Byzantine defensive system sometimes provided a high ground settlement separated from the villages, as in the cases of S. Maria del Mare/Scolacium,²⁵ and Salerno.²⁶ In Benevento, Naples, and Sant' Antonino di Pertì, towers were added to the existing walls during the mid-6th and 7th centuries: these structures had a both defensive and residential functions, in accordance with their Near-Eastern models.²⁷

18 Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, 3.23.

19 Cosentino, *Storia*, pp. 143–150 and pp. 441–447. On Sabinus, see also Volpe, *Architecture*, pp. 136–139; Volpe, “L’iniziativa”, pp. 89–93.

20 Procopius, *Bellum gothicum*, 3.27 and 3.37; 4.26; 4.34.

21 Lippolis, *Fra Taranto e Roma*, pp. 135–182.

22 The same building technique was used in Reggio Calabria, Crotone, Bologna, Cosa, Oderzo, Urbino: Raimondo, “La città”, p. 548.

23 Arthur, *Naples*; Savino, *Campania tardoantica*, p. 125.

24 Raimondo, “La città”, p. 528; Corrado, “La cosiddetta valorizzazione”.

25 Raimondo, “La città”, pp. 546–548; Noyé, “L’espressione”, pp. 417–418.

26 Noyé, “L’espressione”, pp. 417–418.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 418.

A system of fortified units is documented along the most important roads, throughout the entire peninsula (Liguria,²⁸ Exarchate,²⁹ Tuscia,³⁰ northern³¹ and central Adriatic,³² Campania,³³ Puglia,³⁴ and Calabria³⁵), as well as in Sardinia³⁶ and Sicily. On the latter island, a number of *kastra* were built towards the end of the 7th century which were meant to protect the territory, but their presence is recognizable almost exclusively on the basis of the place names.³⁷ A fortification was also built also in Syracuse (in the island of Ortigia),³⁸ when the city spent five years as the residence of Constans II: the ramparts were built near the temple of Athena, and the episcopal see was transferred to that area.

In Taranto, reconquered by the Byzantines in 880, a first fortification was built under Romanus I (920–944). A renewal of the Old Town is evidenced by restoration works in the main church and also by a Greek epigraph commemorating the reconstruction of the walls by Nicephorus Hexakionites around 965, after the Arab destruction.³⁹ In the northern sector of the acropolis, in correspondence of an altitude jump, there are traces of a section of these walls, built with re-used materials and reinforced by towers.⁴⁰ In the late 11th century the walls of the citadel of Bari were also built or restored by the catepan Basil Mesardonites (1010–1016).⁴¹

During the conquest of southern Italy, intense defensive work also concerned a number of modest settlements in Apulia (Devia, Peschici, Vaccarizza, Montescaglioso, Massafra, Palagiano Mottola, Torre del Mare) and Calabria (Tiriolo, Castroregio, and Scribla).⁴² This same period of insecurity (9th–10th centuries) also generated the fortified monasteries of Calabria (Presinace, Casalini di San Sosti, Castellaccio).⁴³

28 Zanini, *Le Italie*, pp. 234–244; Christie, *Italy*, pp. 372–375.

29 Zanini, *Le Italie*, pp. 244–254.

30 Ibid., pp. 260–271.

31 Ibid., pp. 226–234.

32 Ibid., pp. 254–260; Staffa, “Abruzzo”, pp. 453–456.

33 Zanini, *Le Italie*, pp. 272–276.

34 Ibid., pp. 236–282.

35 Ibid., pp. 282–285.

36 Christie, *Italy*, pp. 380–383; Spanu, “Iterum est insula”, pp. 592–597.

37 Uggeri, G., “I ‘castra’ bizantini”, pp. 319–336.

38 Ibid., p. 322.

39 Cosentino, *Storia*, pp. 53 e 349–351.

40 Lippolis, “Taranto”, pp. 132–133.

41 Cosentino, *Storia*, p. 53 e 91–92. See above, footnotes 82 and 193.

42 Cosentino, *Storia*, p. 59. On Tiriolo and Vaccarizza: Noye, “L’espressione”, pp. 439–443.

43 Roma, “Monasteri bizantini”, pp. 505–514.

2 Palaces and High-Level Residences

With reference to the Italian monumental architecture, a relationship with Constantinople is particularly evident in the structures strictly connected to the civil and religious authorities: *palatia*, *episcopia*, *praetoria*, and large, aristocratic residences. In Late Antiquity these complexes corresponded to a variety of residential types dependent upon institutional needs. For that reason, it is sometimes difficult to categorize single complexes judged solely upon their building characteristics.⁴⁴ Only in the case of the *episcopia* does the proximity of residential rooms to the cathedral make identification easier. From a general point of view, this kind of edifice shows a gradual assimilation of architectural elements typical of a high-level lifestyle (*triclinia*, private baths), including representative rooms for the bishop's public activities (reception halls, warehouses).⁴⁵

Among the seats of the imperial power, the imperial residences of Ravenna and Rome continued to utilize late antique-Constantinian typological models, including the *palatia* of Constantinople. In fact, it is necessary to specify that even the palaces of Constantinople derived their features from residential forms processed in the late 3rd and early 4th-century imperial cities. Consequently, within both Rome and Ravenna it is difficult to perceive a difference between the elements of eastern derivation and those dependent upon the late antique tradition.⁴⁶ Some aspects connected to the ritual could likely result in the divulgation of affinities with the Constantinopolitan atmosphere, considering the close relationship between architecture and the ceremonial, as well as the influence of the imperial and court behaviours within the society.

After the reconquest of the 6th century, Ravenna became the centre of Byzantine authority in Italy. The imperial *palatia* developed through a progressive aggregation of structures in the southeastern sector of the city, which was quite free from previous constructions.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, the lack of a systematic research in this area has resulted in a reduced comprehension of such residences. In fact, they are almost solely known thanks to a few descriptions obtained from written sources and the mosaic façade in the church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. The only area of the palace in which extensive

44 Baldini, "L'architettura urbana", pp. 79–85; Baldini, "*Palatia, praetoria ed episcopia*".

45 Baldini, "*Palatia, praetoria ed episcopia*", pp. 164–165; Baldini, "Il complesso episcopale".

46 On the imperial residences of the Tetrarchic period and on the palaces of Constantinople: Baldini, *La domus*, pp. 39–42; Baldini, *L'architettura residenziale*, p. 25, with bibliography.

47 Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 3, pp. 49–76; Baldini, *La domus*, pp. 251–258; Augenti, "The Palace of Theoderic", pp. 429–434.; Cirelli, *Ravenna*, pp. 78–89, 219; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 56–58; Jäggi, *Ravenna*, pp. 160–167.

excavations have been carried out is east of the palatine church of Theoderic (Sant'Apollinare Nuovo). This part of the imperial residence probably reached the church of St. Saviour *ad Chalchi*, whose toponym identifies this space as the vestibule of the palace (reminiscent of the *Chalké* of Constantinople).⁴⁸ According to an aristocratic residential model that was widespread all over the Mediterranean, this part of the palace also included a court peristyle, a reception hall, and a triconch *triclinium*, the latest one added in the age of Theoderic. Mosaic floors and pavements made of polychrome slabs decorated the rooms and the colonnades of the court.

The mint (*Moneta Aurea*) and the *exkoubita* (mentioned in the place name *ad scubitum*)⁴⁹ were also part of the palatial district, which could be reached by arcaded streets. The existence of a palatial canonical connection between the residence and the hippodrome, where Mauricius *chartularios* was put to death in 643, is dateable to the 5th century.⁵⁰

In the exarchal period, parts of the Ravennate palaces continued to perform their functions and they experienced partial renovations; these limited works also interested the *Theodericianum* (map 25.2), where some floor mosaics have been dated to the post-Gothic levels. The abandonment and the disappearance of the complex, which was pillaged by Charlemagne to enrich the palace of Aachen, is perhaps the reason that Emperor Otto I (10th century) to place his residence outside its walls.⁵¹

The archaeological data regarding the Palatine complex in Rome is also fragmentary, and our information mainly derives from literary sources. The renovation works in the hippodrome of the palace ordered by Theoderic⁵² demonstrate his determination to give continuity to the social practices associated with the exercise of authority, according to the tetrarchic-Constantinian policies.⁵³ During the first half of the 6th century, the imperial property appeared to extend to other residential structures of great prestige, such as the *Horti Sallustiani* and *Luculliani*, connected together in a single monumental complex which was also the residence of general Belisarius between 536 and 538: he added a large water tank to the large residential halls (with colonnades, semi-circular yards, and apsed rooms), to the detriment of some of

48 Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 3, pp. 53–54; Farioli Campanati, “Ravenna, Costantinopoli”, p. 143.

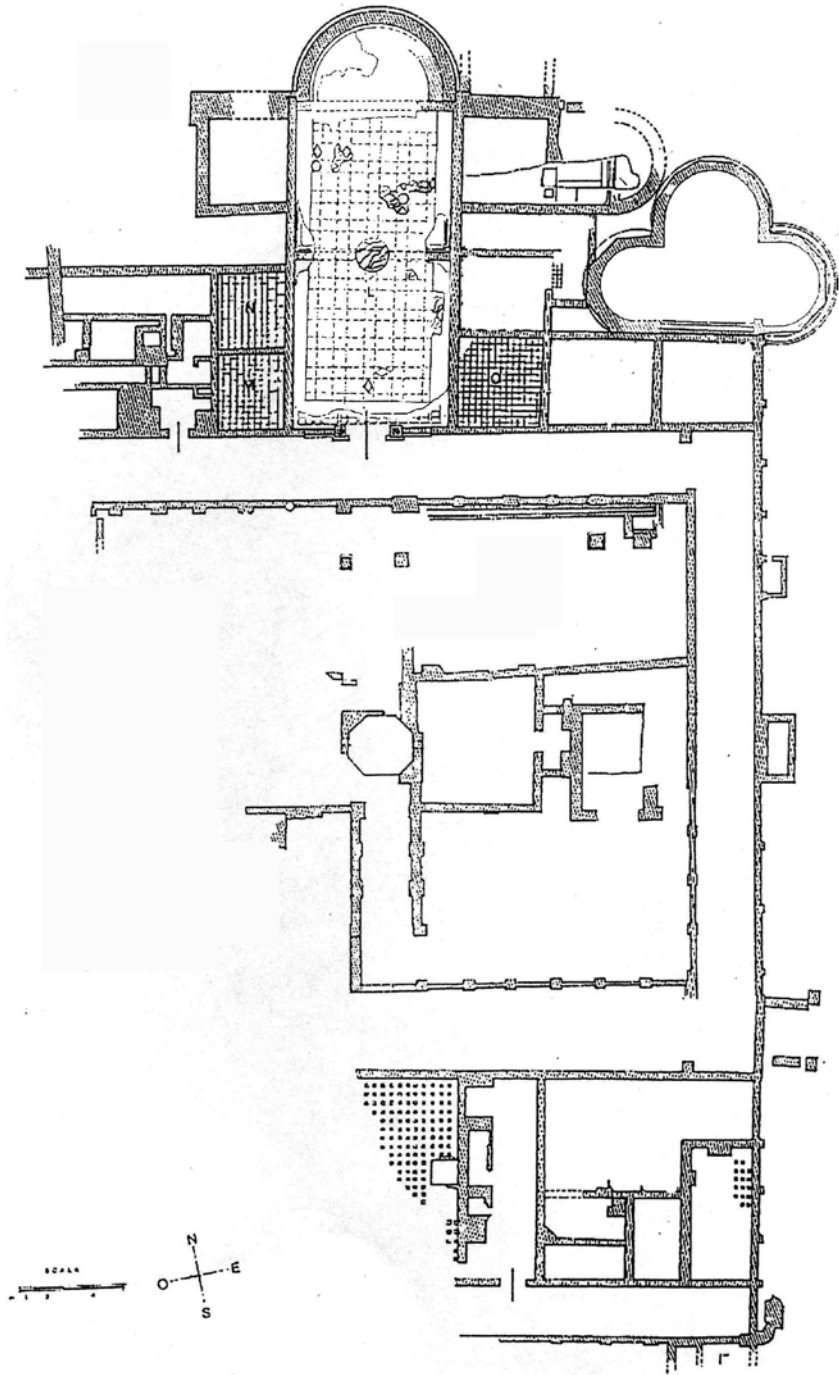
49 Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 3, p. 54; Farioli Campanati, “Ravenna, Costantinopoli”, p. 137.

50 Cosentino, *Storia*, p. 238. On the hippodrome of Ravenna: Vespignani, “Il circo di Ravenna”. Cirelli, *Ravenna*, pp. 90–92; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 59–60.

51 Cirelli, *Ravenna*, pp. 144–146 e pp. 228–229.

52 Augenti, *Il Palatino*, p. 42; Serlorenzi, “All’origine”, p. 115.

53 Vespignani, *III ΠΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ*, pp. 137–162.



MAP 25.2 Ravenna, sector of the Theoderic's Palace (after Baldini, *La domus*, p. 254)

the monumental areas.⁵⁴ In general, the Palatine suffered from the progressive rationalization of spaces: a selection process provided for a change of use of some areas occasionally resulting in its being covered with earth as well as the abandonment of unused areas; isolated burials were located in abandoned zones.⁵⁵

On the other hand, starting in the 6th century the area saw the development of churches (St. Theodore⁵⁶ and the Forty Martyrs Chapel,⁵⁷ St. Caesarius⁵⁸), in addition to the previous buildings (St. Anastasia⁵⁹). The church of Santa Maria Antiqua, in particular, was probably built inside a vestibule of the imperial palace. The edifice was decorated in the style of Constantinople by the reign of Justin II (565–578), and it continued to be one of the most important religious complexes of the area, until the middle of the 9th century.⁶⁰

Written sources mention a residence of the Byzantine duke of Rome and the Exarch of Ravenna⁶¹ on the Palatine, but it is not easy to locate this complex precisely. Perhaps it was also the residence of Constans II in 663 during his sojourn in Rome.⁶² In 686 Plato, a *cura palatii* of Greek origin, was placed in charge of the restoration of a staircase on the Palatine⁶³ and a seal of the exarch Paul (723–726) was found in the same area.⁶⁴ The imperial seat was closely connected to the church of St. Caesarius, which was considered a sort of palace church: this kind of association dates back to the Constantinian period and was also seen in Ravenna.⁶⁵

Between the end of the 7th and the 8th century, the papacy also used the Palatine: a residence of John VII, in particular, has been identified as a part of

54 Broise/ Dewailly/ Jolivet, "Horti Luculliani", p. 113.

55 Augenti, *Il Palatino*, pp. 115–121; Augenti, "Lo splendore", p. 94.

56 Augenti, *Il Palatino*, pp. 40–41; Coates-Stephens, "La committenza", pp. 311–312; Serlorenzi, "All'origine"; Spera, "La cristianizzazione", pp. 99–100.

57 Coates-Stephens, "La committenza", p. 307.

58 Augenti, *Il Palatino*, pp. 41–42 and p. 48; Augenti, "Lo splendore", p. 93; Spera, "La cristianizzazione", p. 99.

59 Augenti, *Il Palatino*, pp. 37–40; Spera, "La cristianizzazione", pp. 99–102.

60 Augenti, *Il Palatino*, p. 40; Coates-Stephens, "La committenza", pp. 306–309; Andaloro/ Bordini/ Morganti, *Santa Maria Antiqua*.

61 Augenti, "Lo splendore", p. 93.

62 Cosentino, *Storia*, p. 91.

63 Augenti, *Il Palatino*, p. 46; Coates-Stephens, "La committenza", p. 303; Spera, "La cristianizzazione", p. 102.

64 Coates-Stephens, "La committenza", p. 303.

65 The Church of the Holy Cross in the *Sessorianum* Palace is considered the first example: Krautheimer, *Architettura*, pp. 48–49. For Ravenna: Deichmann, *Geschichte*, pp. 152–157; Rizzardi, *Il mosaico*, pp. 55–61 (San Giovanni Evangelista) and note 137 (Sant'Apollinare Nuovo).

the *Domus Tiberiana* in the direction of the Forum, in relation with the church of Santa Maria Antiqua.⁶⁶

The tradition of Constantinopolitan palatial architecture may have also influenced Constans II's residences in Taranto and Syracuse: according to a practice common in Late Antiquity, it is likely that the court settled down within some existing structures adapted to the needs of the imperial entourage and the new political functions.⁶⁷ Regarding Taranto, a reorganization of the settlement at the edge of the promontory (Old City) can be supposed as having occurred for the quartering of troops,⁶⁸ the accommodation of the emperor and the members of the court. This episode possibly also determined the development of the defence structures, the food supply and the religious and representative buildings.

The baths of the imperial residence of Syracuse are mentioned in reference to the assassination of Constans in 668 or 669. However, no structure attributable to this complex has been found.⁶⁹ As in Constantinople (and in Ravenna, according to the Latin form *Laureta*⁷⁰), the palace is mentioned in the sources with the imperial name of Daphne.

While after Late Antiquity it was used in reference to the Lombard court seats, in the Byzantine regions of Italy the term *palatium* became an alternative to the term *praetorium* when describing the residence of the catepan of Bari, in the early 11th century.⁷¹ This city was reconquered by the Byzantines in 876 and became the capital of the theme of Longobardia in 895.⁷² The fortified complex, built or rebuilt in 1011 by Basil Mesardonite, consisted of residential buildings and churches (St. Eustratius, St. Demetrius, St. Basil, and St. Sophia).⁷³

The same arrangement, with buildings added at different times, is typical of the episcopal residences.⁷⁴ The *episcopium* of Ravenna (map 25.3) is one of the better known thanks to the information contained in the *Book of*

66 Serlorenzi, "All'origine", p. 121; Spera, "La cristianizzazione", pp. 103–106.

67 Baldini, "*Palatia, praetoria ed episcopia*".

68 Cosentino, *Storia*, p. 62.

69 Baldini, *La domus*, p. 298.

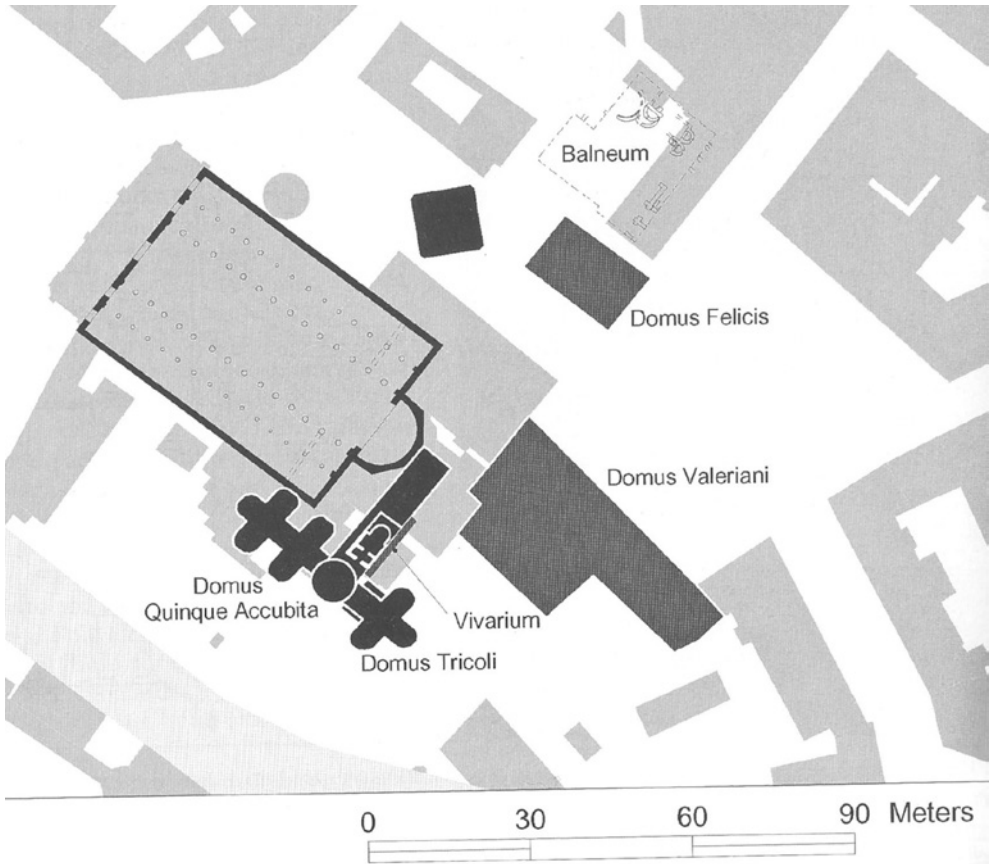
70 Farioli Campanati, "Ravenna, Costantinopoli", p. 137.

71 Noyé, "L'espressione", p. 421.

72 Cosentino, *Storia*, p. 27 e pp. 91–92.

73 Bertelli, "Bari", pp. 99–100. Further eastern examples in Bari: Farioli Campanati, "La cultura artistica", pp. 214–216 and p. 253, n. 64; pp. 261–262, nn. 102–106; Bertelli, "Bari", p. 100. A two-zone capital is reused in the cathedral of Otranto: Farioli Campanati, "La cultura artistica", p. 213 and p. 253, n. 62; Bertelli, *Puglia*, pp. 274–275, fig. 256 (M. Castelfranchi Falla).

74 Baldini, *L'architettura*, pp. 102–134; Baldini, "Il complesso episcopale".



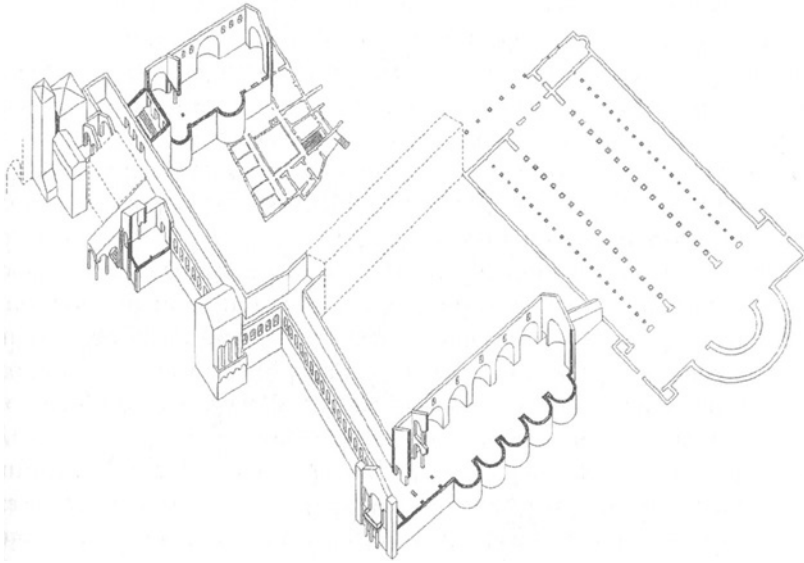
MAP 25.3 Ravenna, the episcopal district (after Cirelli, *Ravenna*, p. 148)

Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna composed by Andreas Agnellus in the 9th century.⁷⁵ Around the middle of the 5th century a *triclinium* with five apses called *Quinque Accubita* was added to the original structure and was still in use in the late 8th century.⁷⁶ The building housed five *stibadia*, according to a hierarchical concept of the official banquet that developed in Constantinople and was replicated in monumental forms even within the Lateran Patriarchate of Rome (map 25.4) during the pontificate of Leo III (795–816).⁷⁷

75 Andreas Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. D. Deliyannis (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 199), Turnhout 2006.

76 Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 100–101; Rizzardi, *Il mosaico*, pp. 63–68.

77 Augenti, “Tutti a casa”, p. 128; Santangeli Valenzani, *Edilizia*, pp. 27–28.



MAP 25.4 Rome, the Lateran Palace at the time of Pope Leo III (after Santangeli Valenzani, *Edilizia*, p. 28)

In both Ravenna (late 5th and early 6th centuries)⁷⁸ and Rome (7th century),⁷⁹ the episcopal complex included a private chapel. In Ravenna this element was also imitated in the Arian *episcopium*.⁸⁰ Near the Orthodox cathedral of the same city, a bath for the local clergy was investigated: its construction can be attributed to Bishop Victor (538–545), and it remained in use at least until the 9th century.⁸¹

Within the episcopal palace there were also a complex called *Tricoli*, an archive (burned between the late 7th and the early 8th centuries),⁸² a *cimeterium*,⁸³ a *salutatorium*,⁸⁴ and a *vivarium* to house animals of different spe-

78 Cirelli, *Ravenna*, pp. 75–76 and 247–248; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 188–196; Rizzardi, *Il mosaico*, pp. 106–115.

79 Della Giovanpaola, “Patriarchium”, pp. 62–66.

80 Deichmann, *Geschichte*, pp. 201–206; Cirelli, *Ravenna*, pp. 92–93; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, p. 177.

81 Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 1, p. 205; Cirelli, *Ravenna*, pp. 77, 148 e 213; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, p. 219; Pellacchia, “I ‘Bagni del clero’”.

82 Cirelli, *Ravenna*, p. 77.

83 Ibid., p. 77.

84 Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 1, pp. 207–208; Cirelli, *Ravenna*, pp. 146, 268; Rizzardi, *Il mosaico*, p. 730.

cies.⁸⁵ Hence, it was a huge monument, articulated in various nuclei on a large surface area, according to a residential model mainly attested to in the eastern part of the empire.

Despite a very fragmentary documentation, the excavations conducted in some Italian *episcopia* show the presence of representative structures: in Canosa, for example, an ecclesiastic 6th-century *skrinion* is perhaps recognizable in a building south of the church of St. Peter, linked to the figure of the prestigious Bishop Sabinus.⁸⁶ In Naples, a *triclinium* (*accubitus*) attributed to Bishop Vincentius has been attested to the second half of the 6th century.⁸⁷

In the 6th century only few private buildings still maintained a residential tone comparable to that of the aristocratic houses of the 4th through 5th centuries.⁸⁸ For example, in Ravenna the southern *domus* of the Via D'Azeglio quarter has been attributed to members of the Gothic or Byzantine aristocracy: the *triclinium* of the house reproduces the traditional motif of the cyclic passing of time through an original mosaic depicting four seasons dancing in a circle.⁸⁹

Concerning suburban dwellings in late antiquity which were occasionally used in an official capacity and for land administration, a remarkable reduction can be observed between the 6th and the 7th centuries. Evidently, the climate of uncertainty determined by the Gothic War completed a process which had started long before, leading to the final disappearance of the socio-economic system of the villae.⁹⁰ The residential complex of Colombarone (Pesaro) (map 25.5), for example, ceased its functions during the mid-6th century.⁹¹

After this period, the private residencies tend to change drastically their shape: the peristyle model was abandoned, even in the larger buildings.⁹² During the 7th century, even some of the monumental complexes located in southern Italy which have been interpreted as having been rural *praetoria* (Quote S. Francesco-Scolacium in Calabria, S. Giovanni di Ruoti in Basilicata) were deserted. These buildings were characterized by the location of the

85 Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 1, p. 206; Cirelli, *Ravenna*, p. 203; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, p. 294.

86 Baldini, "Tipologia".

87 Baldini, "La domus", p. 226, with bibliography.

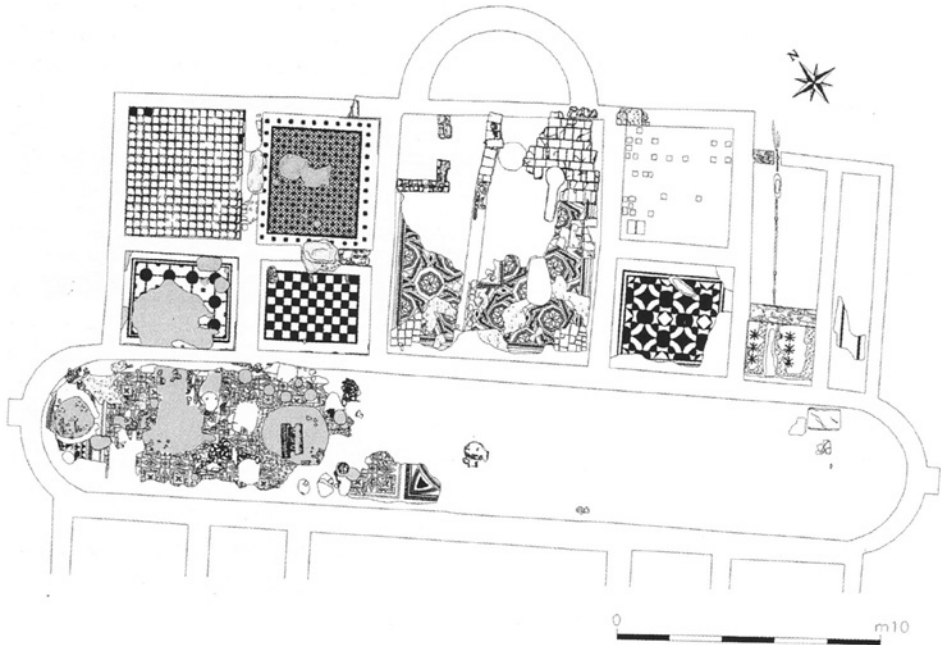
88 Baldini, "Palatia, praetoria ed episcopia".

89 Baldini Lippolis, I., "La chiesa di S. Eufemia", pp. 76–79; Cirelli, *Ravenna*, pp. 204–205; Jäggi, *Ravenna*, pp. 227–229.

90 Sfameni, *Ville residenziali*, pp. 285–298.

91 Dall'Aglia /Tassinari, "Nuove ricerche".

92 Augenti, "Tutti a casa".



MAP 25.5 Colombarone, residential rooms of the late antique villa (after Dall'Aglia/Tassinari, "Nuove ricerche", p. 370)

residential areas on the upper floor, according to a general typological architectural trend for housing in the early medieval period.⁹³

The *Life of Saint Pancras of Taormina* describes the foundation of a *praetorium* in the Calabrian city of Tauriana: it was a fortified construction around which the village was created; in addition to the main administrative building, the complex also included residential facilities, baths, cisterns, and warehouses.⁹⁴ In the 9th century the term *praetorium* came to designate the home of the *strategos*, and the same word was also used to refer to the seats of Bari and Reggio.⁹⁵

In apparent continuity with these high level settlements, on the eve of the Norman conquest of southern Italy, the headquarters of the *turmarchs* or

93 Noyé, "L'espressione", pp. 406–409; Santangeli Valenzani, *Edilizia*, pp. 29–30. On the late antique *praetoria*: Baldini, "Palatia, praetoria ed episcopia" (with bibliography).

94 Noyé, "L'espressione", p. 420.

95 Cosentino, *Storia*, p. 92. The existence of complexes of the same type is also supposed for Rossano and Crotone: Noyé, "L'espressione", pp. 420–421.

the officials *ek prosopou* were fortified residential buildings which included churches and other structures, such as prisons.⁹⁶

3 Ecclesiastic Architecture

In respect to other typologies, ecclesiastic architecture allows for a better characterization of Byzantine influence. In fact, the greatest percentage of the extant monuments concerns this category of structures. They were social centres par excellence and reflected the cultural behaviours of the customers as well as their typological, constructive, and decorative taste.

Byzantine involvement regarded almost always churches. Among the exceptions, two examples can be mentioned: in Rome, the *xenodochium* built by the general Belisarius,⁹⁷ and the monastery of San Pietro Imperiale (970) in Taranto, related to Michael Abidelas, catepan of Italy.⁹⁸ In both cases, structures were associated with ecclesiastic contexts.

Between the 6th and the 11th centuries, the form of the churches in the Byzantine regions of Italy changed significantly, from the large basilicas of the late antique period with a longitudinal orientation, divided into aisles, and covered by a pitched roof, to the small churches of the early medieval period which were covered with vaults and domes. Starting from the 6th century the Byzantine influence favoured a reduction of the longitudinal development of the basilicas. The central nave was higher, galleries were built above the aisles, the apse was semi-circular inside, polygonal outside, and frequently flanked by side rooms. The narthex sometimes took the form of a vestibule with double apses, in some cases protruding out from the church. Central-buildings were rare and were usually related to commissions of particular prestige. In the early Middle Ages a variety of typological solutions is attested: single-nave churches, basilicas with three apses, and Greek cross-shaped buildings. There was also frequent the use of domes, in accordance with Byzantine models.

Throughout the period between the 6th and the 11th centuries, one of the most evident and persistent aspects in relation with Constantinople was the use of marble elements imported from the island of Proconnesus (in the Marmara Sea) for architectural and liturgical furnishings: the preference for these artefacts involved a complex process of selection, purchase, transportation, and

96 Noyé, "L'espressione", p. 443.

97 Coates-Stephens, "La committenza", p. 315.

98 Cosentino, *Storia*, pp. 28, 148.

installation⁹⁹ that connoted the constructive task beyond the simple aesthetic and functional result. The quantity and quality of marble imported made up the difference between building and building, even surpassing the importance of the project; it was a discriminating factor in the social perception of the edifice, a sort of architectural status symbol, which in the 6th century – the period which experienced the greatest increase of the importation from the Near East – justified economic and practical efforts such as the ones witnessed by the basilicas of Ravenna, or the famous shipload of Marzamemi (Sicily).¹⁰⁰

An important role in updating the architectural and decorative types was exercised by the patrons, whose ranks included military heads, members of the civil administration, and the laity,¹⁰¹ but most often they were church leaders. It is no coincidence that between the middle of the 5th and the 6th centuries in the most important episcopal sees, within hagiographic literature the relationship with Constantinople assumed the profile of a personal connection between the bishops and the eastern court. For example, the early medieval Life of Lawrence of Siponto recalls such kinship of the bishop with the imperial family.¹⁰² His apostolic efforts resulted in the construction of churches in the diocese (St. John the Baptist *iuxta matricem ecclesia* and the basilica of the martyrs Stephen and Agatha *iuxta praefatum luittus Adriatici* in Siponto, as well as a church dedicated to the Archangel Michael on Mount Gargano).¹⁰³

Architectural elements added to the Basilica of Siponto during the second phase¹⁰⁴ include the limestone 'lyre' capitals,¹⁰⁵ Corinthian capitals,¹⁰⁶ and parapets in Proconnesian marble dating perhaps at the age of Bishop Lawrence. Twenty columns of Cipollino (fig. 25.1) marble may also be attributed to the same period which were reused in the nearby medieval church of St. Mary, and other slabs in Proconnesian marble at the Museum of Monte Sant'Angelo.¹⁰⁷ It is particularly interesting that these marbles, more than the

99 Baldini, "The Toilsome Journey". On the building site in Late Antiquity: Marsili, "Il cantiere episcopale"; Marsili, *L'archeologia*.

100 Marsili, "Sigle di lavorazione"; Paribeni/Castagnino Berlinghieri, "Produzione e commercio".

101 Cosentino, *Storia*, pp. 47–48.

102 Fabbri, "La basilica", p. 181.

103 Ibid., p. 181. On the sanctuary of Monte Sant'Angelo: Bertelli, "Il santuario di San Michele", pp. 37–50.

104 Fabbri, "La basilica"; Bertelli, "La chiesa paleocristiana".

105 Mazzei, *Siponto*, pp. 469–471, nn. 21–24 (A.G. Blundo).

106 Mazzei, *Siponto*, p. 471, nn. 25–26 (A.G. Blundo).

107 Barsanti, "Una breve nota". See also Farioli Campanati, "La cultura artistica", p. 215 and p. 254, n. 68; Mazzei, *Siponto*, p. 488, n. 82 (B. Bracci).



FIGURE 25.1 Manfredonia, Curia Arcivescovile, marble slab (after Mazzei, *Siponto*)

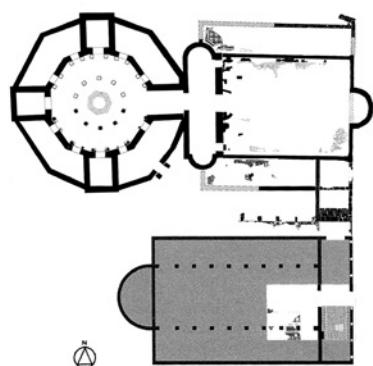
surviving structures, confirm the relationship with the Byzantine east evoked by the hagiographic tales.

The bishop of Canusium, Sabinus, was also part of the same network of personal connections between the upper echelons of the clergy and Constantinople.¹⁰⁸ A hagiographic text from the 9th century describes his long episcopate (which lasted fifty-two years, between 514 and 566), during which he was engaged in diplomatic expeditions in the eastern capital.¹⁰⁹ Many churches have been attributed to Sabinus:¹¹⁰ among the ones mentioned by the early medieval sources (the church of the martyrs Cosmas and Damian, the Baptistry of

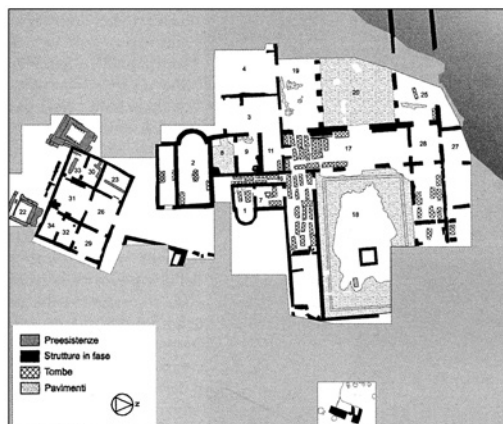
108 Volpe, "L'iniziativa", p. 406.

109 Ibid., p. 406.

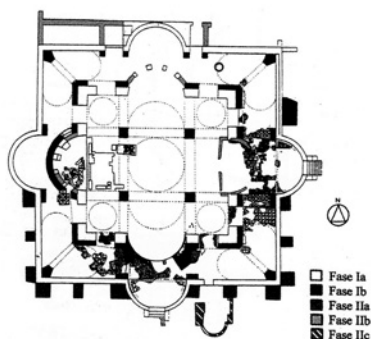
110 Volpe, "L'iniziativa", p. 407. To Sabinus is also ascribed the cathedral of Barletta: Bertelli, "Gli scavi".



a.



b.



c.

0 10 50 m

MAP 25.6 Canosa, early Christian churches (a.b.c) after Volpe, "L'iniziativa", p. 409, fig. 5; p. 411, fig. 9; p. 410, fig. 7)

St. John and the Basilica of the Saviour), only the octagonal baptistery (map 25.6a) may be assigned with certainty to the bishop thanks to the discovery of stamped bricks bearing his name. Similar items were discovered in the Basilica of St. Peter (map 25.6b).¹¹¹ However, the archaeological data regarding the Basilica of the Saviour has thus far not revealed itself to be in correspondence with the hagiographic chronicle; it can be attributed to sometime between the 7th and 8th centuries, while the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian (now St.

111 Baptistry: Krautheimer, *Architettura*, p. 224; Bertelli, "Il battistero di San Giovanni"; Volpe, "L'iniziativa", pp. 407–408; Volpe, "Architecture", pp. 142–143.

Leucius),¹¹² a wide tetraconch church (map 25.6c) comparable to similar late antique structures in the Near East has been difficult to date.¹¹³

The same context of relations between the major episcopal sees and Constantinople can be reflected by the building activity of the Ravennate bishops of Ravenna in the 6th century,¹¹⁴ when a huge quantity of marble artefacts was imported from Constantinople. Innovative ideas were introduced in architecture as well as in mosaic artistry. Bishop Ecclesius (522–532) probably founded the church of San Vitale after his return from Constantinople around 530,¹¹⁵ and it may be supposed that he received the commission while he was in that city. He cultivated good relationships with the eastern emperors and obtained a tax remission, which he used to donate a silver ciborium to the cathedral.¹¹⁶

It is evident that the bishopric of Ravenna was viewed as an important see, since both the emperors and popes appointed non-Ravennate individuals to hold it. Maximianus (546–557), a deacon from the city of Pola in Istria, was elevated to the bishopric by Justinian, and sometime before 553 the emperor granted him the title of archbishop.¹¹⁷ Andreas Agnellus in the 9th century tells of a journey Maximianus made to Constantinople to obtain relics and columns for the construction of large churches. In fact, the redefinition of Ravenna's ecclesiastical topography can be attributed to him, following the example of some eastern devotional practices, with an important celebratory intent directed towards the local church.¹¹⁸

Maximianus completed, decorated, and dedicated the Domus Tricoli in the *episcopium*, as well as the churches of St. Andrew,¹¹⁹ St. Probus,¹²⁰ and probably

112 Bertelli G., "La basilica"; Volpe, "L'iniziativa", p. 409.

113 Krautheimer, *Architettura*, pp. 258–259.

114 Augenti, "Ravenna e Classe", pp. 190–192.

115 Deichmann, *Geschichte*, pp. 226–256; Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 2, pp. 47–232; Krautheimer, *Architettura*, pp. 262–264; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 223–250; Rizzardi, *Il mosaico*, pp. 128–146; Jäggi, *Ravenna*, pp. 238–259. On the Church of S. Maria Maggiore: Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 2, pp. 343–348; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 222–223; Rizzardi, *Il mosaico*, pp. 119–122; Jäggi, *Ravenna*, pp. 224–227.

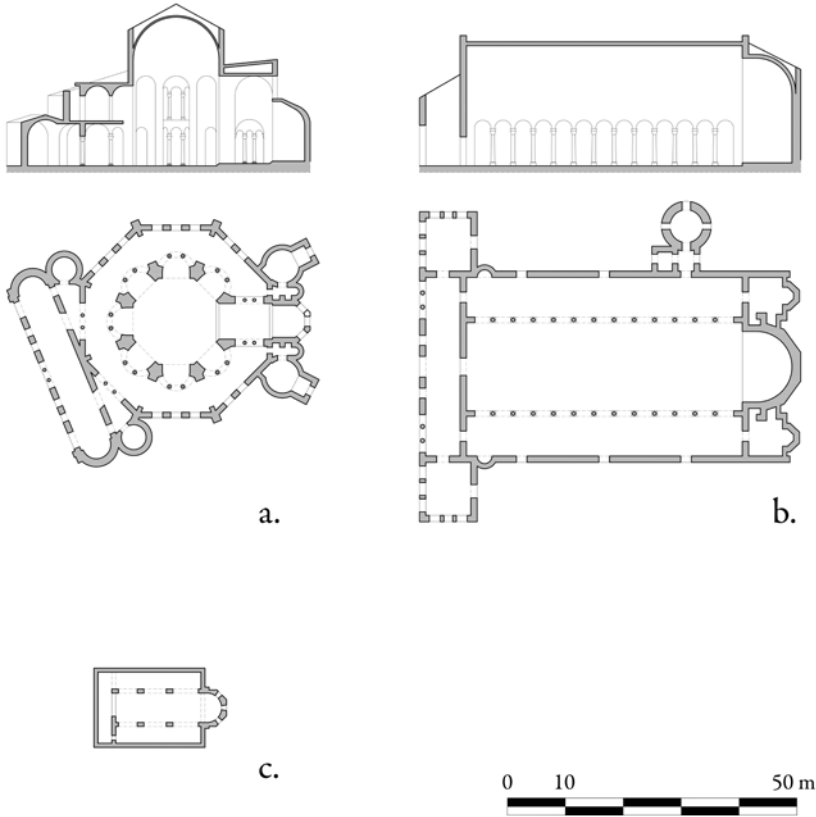
116 Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 209–210.

117 Farioli Campanati, "La cultura artistica", p. 167; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, 212–218.

118 Farioli Campanati, "Ravenna, Costantinopoli", pp. 134–135.

119 Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 2, pp. 305–307; Farioli Campanati, "Ravenna, Costantinopoli", p. 135; Cirelli, *Ravenna*, pp. 207–208.

120 Deichmann, *Geschichte*, 355–358; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 212–213 e 258–259; Rizzardi, *Il mosaico*, pp. 168–169.



MAP 25.7 Ravenna, 6th century churches (a.b.c.) (Drawing Claudia Lamanna)

St. Euphemia *ad Mare*;¹²¹ in Ravenna he founded a church dedicated to Saint Stephen.¹²² In many of these buildings, the images of the bishops of Ravenna were depicted, and in San Vitale, Maximianus himself was portrayed close to the emperor.¹²³ In addition to the display of ecclesiastical commitment, there was also the economic support of the *argentarius* Julianus,¹²⁴ as also occurred

121 Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 2, pp. 355–359; Farioli Campanati, “Ravenna, Costantinopoli” 1992, p. 136; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 213 and 258.

122 Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 2, p. 372; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 255–256; Rizzardi, *Il mosaico*, pp. 165–167; Jäggi, *Ravenna*, pp. 282–286.

123 Rizzardi, *Il mosaico*, p. 140.

124 Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 2, pp. 3–34; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 219–220, 224–225. On the *argentarii*: Cosentino, “Banking”.

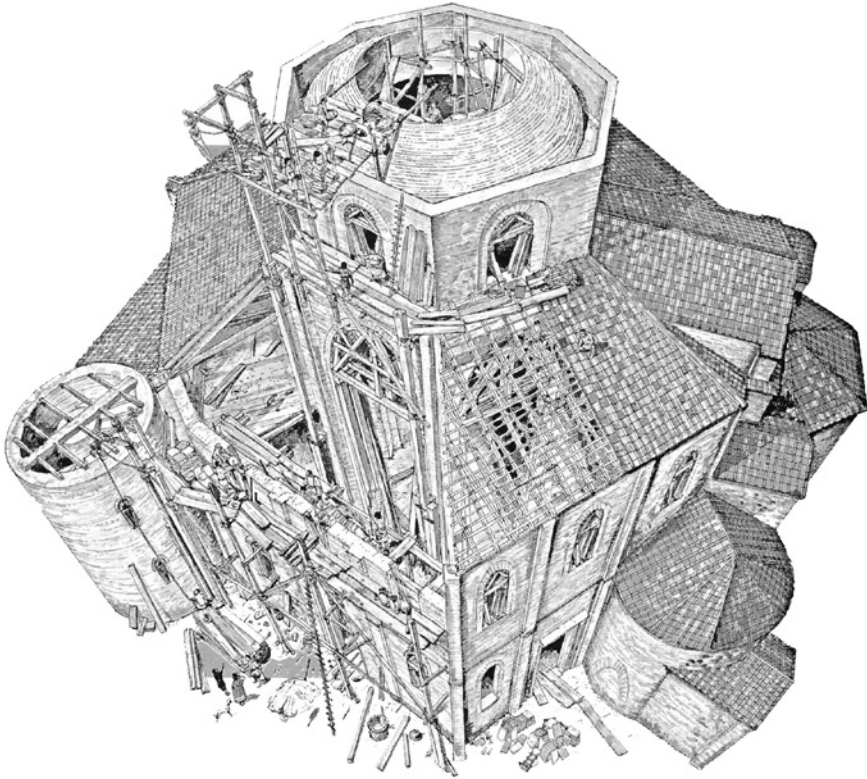


FIGURE 25.2 Ravenna, the building site of the church of San Vitale (after Cirelli, *Ravenna*, cover)

the church of San Michele in Africisco (545)¹²⁵ and the basilica of Classe dedicated to the first bishop of Ravenna, Apollinaris (549).¹²⁶

Founded by Bishop Ecclesius, the double-shell octagon church of San Vitale (map 25.7a and fig. 25.2) particularly reflects the adoption of Constantinopolitan models. Regarding the overall effect of the building, a comparison can be suggested with the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, which had been built close to the Justinian's palace between 527 and 536,¹²⁷ ten years before the dedication of the Ravennate church (547). There are differences, however,

125 Deichmann, *Geschichte*, pp. 220–225; Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 2, pp. 35–45; Farioli Campanati, “La cultura artistica”, p. 168; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 250–254; Rizzardi, *Il mosaico*, pp. 123–128; Jäggi, *Ravenna*, pp. 282–286.

126 Deichmann, *Geschichte*, pp. 257–278; Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 2, pp. 233–282; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 259–274; Rizzardi, *Il mosaico*, pp. 146–165; Jäggi, *Ravenna*, pp. 259–281.

127 Krautheimer, *Architettura*, pp. 254–260.

between the two churches both in plan and in elevation, with more harmonic proportions in Constantinople.¹²⁸ It should be noted that San Vitale, like other churches in Ravenna, received a full complement of architectural and liturgical furnishings from Constantinople¹²⁹ including an altar, carved *transennae*, and a ciborium, all made of Proconnesian marble. In the apse, the wall below the zone of the mosaics was covered with an elaborate revetment in *opus sectile*. Below there were marble panels around the *synthronon*, with the episcopal throne at the centre.

Another small church supported by Julian the banker and his son-in-law, Bacauda, was dedicated as an *ex voto* to the archangel Michael (545) (map 25.7c). The private building has almost entirely disappeared and today only the lower parts of the apse are visible. It was a basilica with a narthex and three aisles separated by a triple arcade formed of masonry piers, a very peculiar solution of Syrian derivation.¹³⁰ The apse had five sides externally and was pierced by three windows.

The centrepiece of Christian worship in the harbour of Classe was the church dedicated to Saint Apollinaris (map 25.7b). The site corresponds with one of the Roman cemeteries of the district, so it is possible that Ravenna's first bishop was buried there, like his successors. Bishop Ursicinus (533–536) decided to build a large basilica in his honour, and Maximianus continued and expanded the first foundation, creating a magnificent shrine.¹³¹ The church was built using masonry techniques that are almost identical to those used in San Vitale and San Michele¹³² On the exterior, the surface of the walls was articulated by pillars that formed arcades surrounding the windows, as was usual in many Ravennate churches. The basilica was preceded by a narthex that had rectangular towers to the north and south. The interior consists of a nave with single aisles separated by arcades of twelve bases, columns, and 'windblown acanthus capitals' made of Proconnesian marble.¹³³ Originally, the walls of the aisles, apse, and the western wall were covered with marble slabs as well. The apse, polygonal externally and circular on the interior, is flanked by rooms.

The program of ecclesiastical monumental development continued after the Byzantine conquest of Ravenna under Bishop Agnellus (557–570), to whom is attributed the rededication to the Orthodox cult of the Theoderic's

128 Farioli Campanati, "La cultura artistica", p. 166.

129 Ibid., pp. 168–169, 175–176, nn. 19–24.

130 Krautheimer, *Architettura*, p. 296.

131 Baldini/ Lamanna/ Marsili, "Committenza".

132 Rizzardi, *Il mosaico*, pp. 124–125, with bibliography.

133 Farioli Campanati, "La cultura artistica", pp. 169–170, 177, nn. 28, 30–31.

palace church (Sant'Apollinare Nuovo),¹³⁴ along with other buildings,¹³⁵ and the donation of an ambo to the cathedral, whose type recalls the famous *pyrgos* of the S. Sophia in Constantinople.¹³⁶

By the 6th century, in most Italian regions the systematic import of architectural elements from the workshops of Constantinople decreased.¹³⁷ However, the authority of the eastern capital, in terms of artistic tradition, continued to characterize some regions. The dedications to oriental saints and martyrs, and to a lesser extent, the foundation of the Greek monasteries in Ravenna (very few, actually), show the relations between this city and Constantinople in the Exarchal period.¹³⁸ During the 7th century the church of St. Theodore *ad Chalchi* was built close to the imperial palace,¹³⁹ as were perhaps St. Mary *Ipapanti*, close to the cathedral (like in Constantinople),¹⁴⁰ St. Mary *ad Blachernas* (extramural, as in Constantinople),¹⁴¹ and St. Severus in Classe (fig. 25.3).¹⁴²

Contacts with Byzantium are also evident in the Venetian lagoon.¹⁴³ At Torcello, the cathedral dedicated to the Theotokos was built by the *magister militum* Mauricius thanks to the wish of the Exarch Isacius (ca. 625–643): the baptistery, located in front of the facade of the church, circular on the outside and with an inner octagonal colonnade, can also be dated to this phase.¹⁴⁴ In Venice, the first basilica of St. Mark, a cruciform church, revealed the influence of the Near Eastern tradition inspired by the 6th-century *Apostoleion* of Constantinople.¹⁴⁵

134 Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 1, pp. 171–200; Rizzardi, *Il mosaico*, pp. 87–106; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 146–174; Jäggi, *Ravenna*, pp. 168–190.

135 After 561 the Arian baptistery was converted into the Church of S. Maria in Cosmedin: Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 2, p. 342; Farioli Campanati, “Ravenna, Costantinopoli”, p. 135; Rizzardi, *Il mosaico*, p. 82.

136 Deichmann, *Geschichte*, p. 73; Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 2, p. 11; Farioli Campanati, “La cultura artistica”, p. 169, 178, n. 36; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 213–214.

137 For the import of Proconnesian items in Sardinia and Sicily: Barsanti/Guiglia, “Il ruolo dei marmi”; Pedone, “Nuove considerazioni”.

138 Farioli Campanati, “Ravenna, Costantinopoli”. On Greek monasticism in Ravenna: Sansterre, “Monaci e monasteri”; Cirelli, “Monasteri greci”.

139 Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 2, p. 374; Cirelli, *Ravenna*, p. 239.

140 Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 2, p. 342; Farioli Campanati, “La cultura artistica”, p. 165; Farioli Campanati, “Ravenna, Costantinopoli”, p. 135; Cirelli, *Ravenna*, p. 209.

141 Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 2, p. 341; Farioli Campanati, “Ravenna, Costantinopoli”, p. 135; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, p. 293.

142 Deichmann, *Kommentar*, vol. 2, pp. 361–366; Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna*, pp. 274–275; Augenti, “Dalla villa romana”.

143 Gelichi, “Venezia”, pp. 151–183.

144 Farioli Campanati, “La cultura artistica”, p. 295; Gelichi, “Venezia”, pp. 169–171.

145 Farioli Campanati, “La cultura artistica”, p. 295; Krautheimer, *Architettura*, p. 441.

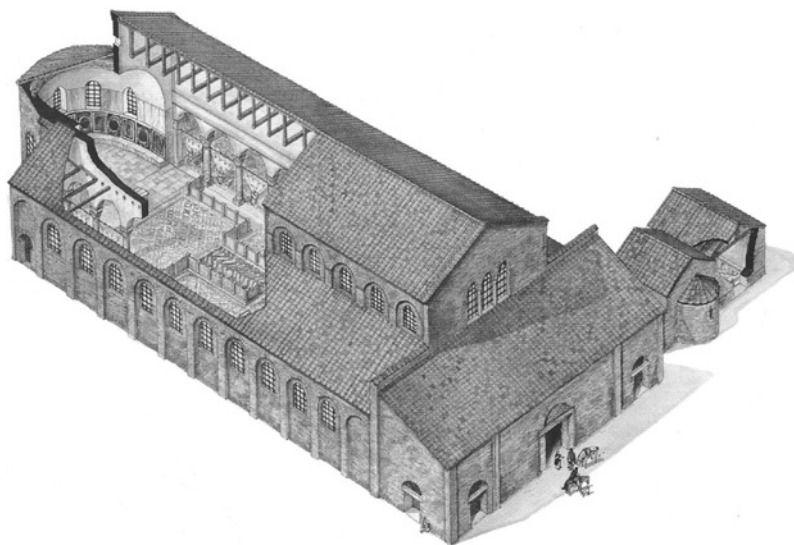


FIGURE 25.3 Ravenna, reconstruction of the church of St. Severus (after Augenti, "Dalla villa")

In the context of the religious architecture of Rome, from the age of Justinian, until the 8th century, significant traces of the cultural and religious Byzantine presence were recorded from the age of Justinian until the 8th century. At the beginning of the 6th century, Constantinopolitan artists worked the marble of Carrara, creating elements of the ciborium of the church of St. Clement in an oriental style, commissioned by the presbyter Mercurius at the time of Pope Hormisdas (514–523).¹⁴⁶ In the basilica, the parapets of the presbytery have also been attributed to Mercurius, who later became Pope with the name of John II (533–535).¹⁴⁷ The position of his monogram on some of the slabs was Byzantine in origin, as seen in similar finds in Poreč, Paros, Nicaea, and in the later examples of the episcopal complex of Kos.¹⁴⁸

After the mid-6th century, churches were built within the main monumental areas of Rome, some of which were dedicated to oriental saints or to the Virgin, revealing a derivation from Byzantine religious practices (for

146 Farioli Campanati, "La cultura artistica", p. 181; Russo, "Apparati", p. 195. Architectural sculpture: Farioli Campanati, "La cultura artistica", p. 207, nn. 40–42. Comparisons with elements of the church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin: *ibid.*, p. 207, nn. 42–43.

147 Russo, "Apparati", pp. 195–196.

148 Baldini, "Il complesso episcopale", pp. 171–173; Cosentino, "La documentazione".

example the church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus in the Forum of Peace¹⁴⁹ and St. Adrian in the Curia¹⁵⁰).

The church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, which shared the same name as the church in Constantinople and preserved the Byzantine devotion to military saints (as in the case of St. Theodore¹⁵¹), was reconstructed at the end of the 8th century next to the Arch of Septimius Severus;¹⁵² while the church of Santa Maria in Cannapara was built inside the Basilica Julia.¹⁵³ Even in the foundation of the churches of St. Mary in *Via Lata*, St. Mary in *Aquiro*, S. Mary in *Domnica* and S. Mary in *Cosmedin* it is possible to identify Byzantine patronage, which was also evoked by a dedication to the Theotokos.¹⁵⁴

From a typological point of view, the eastern influence on Rome's architecture is evident through the general characteristics already attested in Ravenna: a reduced longitudinal development of the basilicas, the presence of galleries, and the standardization of the marble furnishing. These elements can be noted, for example, in the basilicas of St. Lawrence outside the Walls, founded by Pope Pelagius II (579–590),¹⁵⁵ St. Agnes (map 25.8a attributed to Pope Honorius, 625–638)¹⁵⁶ and Santa Maria Antiqua (map 25.8.b), an episcopal church dating from the early 8th century¹⁵⁷ with typological similarities to Syrian architecture.¹⁵⁸

The remains of the presbytery fence dating to the last decade of the 6th century located in the church of St. Peter at the Vatican, completed under Gregory the Great (590–604). The fence includes a slab which displays the classic motif of a kantharos between two peacocks, while other slabs are decorated with diamonds and crosses.¹⁵⁹ Within the same building, dating from the time of Pope Gregory III (731–741), the work of high quality near-eastern artisans is evidenced by slabs decorated with arches, twisted columns, and palms: this

149 Serlorenzi, "All'origine", p. 119; Spera, "La cristianizzazione", p. 99.

150 Coates-Stephens, "La committenza", p. 311, 314; Serlorenzi, "All'origine", pp. 119–120; Spera, "La cristianizzazione", p. 97.

151 Spera, "La cristianizzazione", p. 100.

152 Coates-Stephens, "La committenza", pp. 312–313; Serlorenzi, "All'origine", p. 119; Spera, "La cristianizzazione", p. 97.

153 Serlorenzi, "All'origine", p. 119; Spera, "La cristianizzazione", p. 97.

154 Coates-Stephens, "La committenza", pp. 309–310.

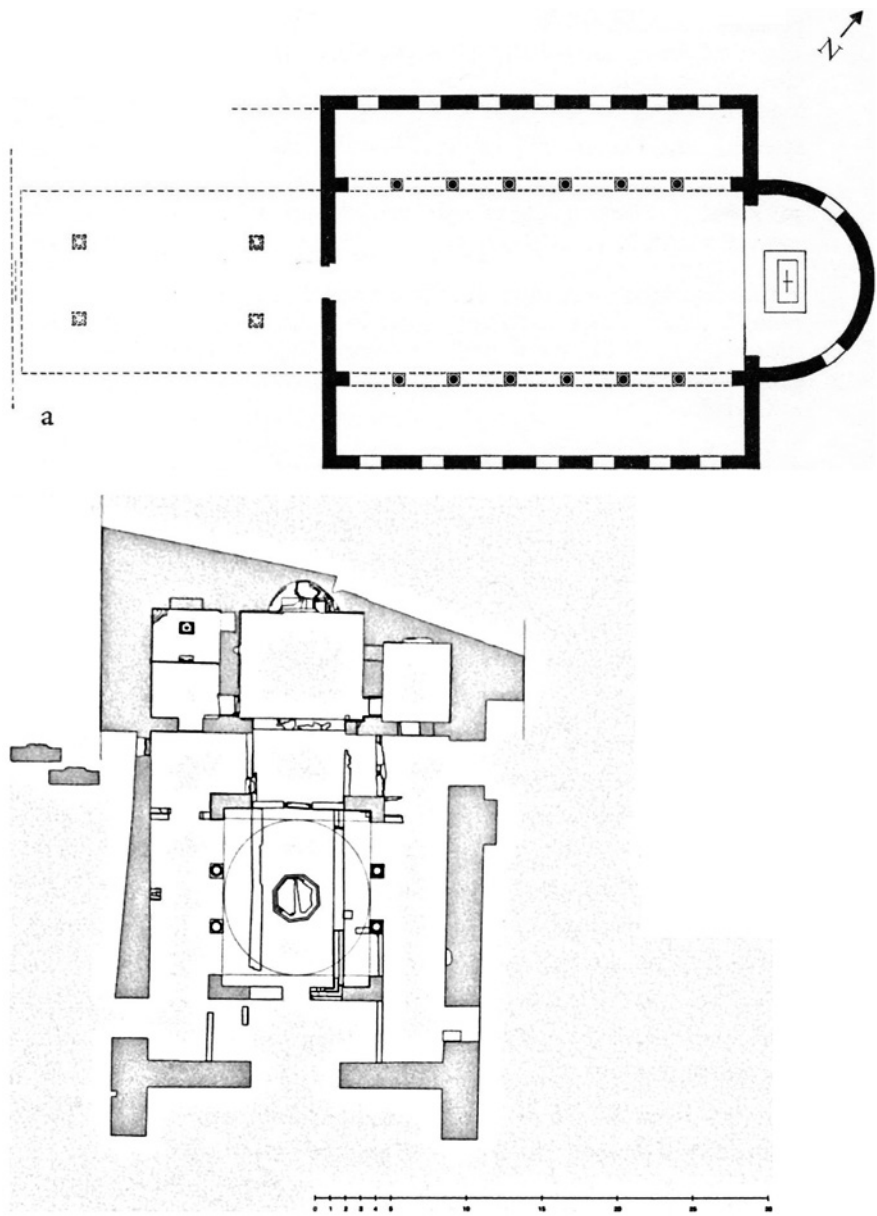
155 Farioli Campanati, "La cultura artistica", p. 182.

156 Ibid.

157 Farioli Campanati, "La cultura artistica", pp. 182–184; Andaloro/Bordi/Morganti, *Santa Maria Antiqua*.

158 Morganti, "Lo spazio", p. 66.

159 Russo, "Apparati", pp. 195–196.



MAP 25.8 Rome, a. St. Agnes (after Farioli, “La cultura artistica”, p. 211, 11); b. Santa Maria Antiqua (after Morganti, “Lo spazio”, p. 67, fig. 5).

pattern derives from the sculpture of Constantinople, in particular recalling the artistic peak of the first half of the 6th century.¹⁶⁰

In Rome, a testimony of the relations with Byzantium was also evident in the presence of Greek monasteries, whose foundation gradually increased thanks to the arrival of religious groups from the Christian east.¹⁶¹ Between 678 and 751 popes of Near Eastern and Sicilian origin followed one another on the papal throne: this presence served to enhance the Greek religious community, and it also introduced liturgical and devotional items from the Byzantine world. In the 7th century the Greek monasteries in Rome numbered seven, eleven in the next century,¹⁶² fifteen in the 9th century.¹⁶³ Among the most important were St. Anastasius in Aquas Salvias, St. Andrew, St. Erasmus, Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in Callinico, St. Agatha de Subura, St. Stephen and St. Sylvester, St. Mary and St. Gregory, St. Sabas on the Aventine.¹⁶⁴

The early Middle Ages coincided with a gap in the relations between the east and west in northern Italy. Nonetheless, these relationships persisted southern Italy and in the major islands (Sicily and Sardinia). In Apulia, for instance, it is possible to follow this continuity of inspiration, which mixed with the cultural influences of the Lombard territories. An example of this varied language is visible at the church of San Pietro di Crepacore. During the 6th century, the building was a shortened basilica with three naves. A second phase (late 9th or early 10th century) provided for the re-roofing of the church, with the addition of two domes in axis, which is considered one of the architectural features of the Lombard-Beneventan influence, despite it being originally inspired by Constantinople; new wall paintings were commissioned by a high rank individual, to be recognized, perhaps, in the framework of the Byzantine elites of Oria.¹⁶⁵

The single-nave building type, attested in monumental forms in Greece (Dormition of Skiprou in Beotia) and Constantinople (church of Küçükya), is too simple to be compared with a definite area, but similarities can be found in the Near East: examples include the churches of St. Marina in Muro Leccese

160 Ibid., pp. 196–197.

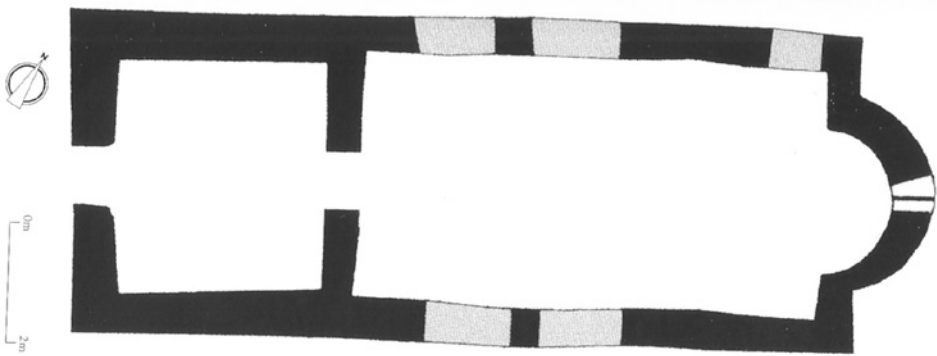
161 Castelfranchi Falla, “I monasteri”, p. 221. See Sansterre, *Les moines grecques*; id., “Le monachisme byzantin”, pp. 701–746.

162 Ibid., pp. 221–222.

163 Marazzi, *La città*, p. 184.

164 Castelfranchi Falla, “I monasteri”; Coates-Stephens, “La committenza”, pp. 304–305; Cosentino, *Storia*, pp. 326–327; Marazzi, *La città*, pp. 182–185. See also footnote 138.

165 Castelfranchi Falla, “La chiesa di San Pietro”; Other examples: S. Maria di Gallana near Oria: Bertelli, *Puglia*, pp. 252–254 (M. Castelfranchi Falla); Tempietto di Seppannibale near Fasano (Bertelli, *Puglia*, pp. 121–138 [G. Bertelli]); S. Apollinare di Rutigliano: Bertelli, *Puglia*, pp. 111–116 (G. Lepore); S. Salvatore a Monte Sant’Angelo: Bertelli, *Puglia*, p. 225 (G. Bertelli).



MAP 25.9 Muro Leccese, church of St. Marina (after Bertelli, *Puglia*, p. 197)

(map 25.9, first half of the 9th century) and San Pietro di Giuliano del Capo (10th century).¹⁶⁶

In the same period, the first Greek cross-shaped buildings begin to appear in Campania (San Costanzo in Capri, map 25.10a¹⁶⁷) and also the form with domes (San Giovanni a Mare in Gaeta, map 25.10b¹⁶⁸), of Byzantine derivation (in Constantinople the Theotokos of the Pharos and the so-called Nea of Basil I).¹⁶⁹ In some cases, the marble architectural decoration is the most significant reference to the Near Eastern tradition (Cimitile¹⁷⁰). One example can be found on the slabs of the Oratory of St. Asprenus in Naples, for example, an inscription was engraved in Greek that remembers the patrons Cabulus and Constantine.¹⁷¹ It derives from the Sassanid style, deeply rooted in the Byzantine world since the 6th century.¹⁷²

In the last period of the Byzantine presence in Apulia and Calabria, a religious architecture is attested which re-elaborated the traditional with original contributions. In Otranto the church of St. Peter (late 10th century, map 25.11a) is a Greek cross plan inscribed in a square, with the central dome supported by four columns and three apses to the east:¹⁷³ with respect to the Byzantine model, it is a simplified version, documented with variations also

166 Bertelli, *Puglia*, pp. 279–281 (M. Castelfranchi Falla).

167 Farioli Campanati, “La cultura artistica”, pp. 216, 255, n. 72; Krautheimer, *Architettura*, p. 438.

168 Farioli Campanati, “La cultura artistica”, pp. 216, 255, n. 73.

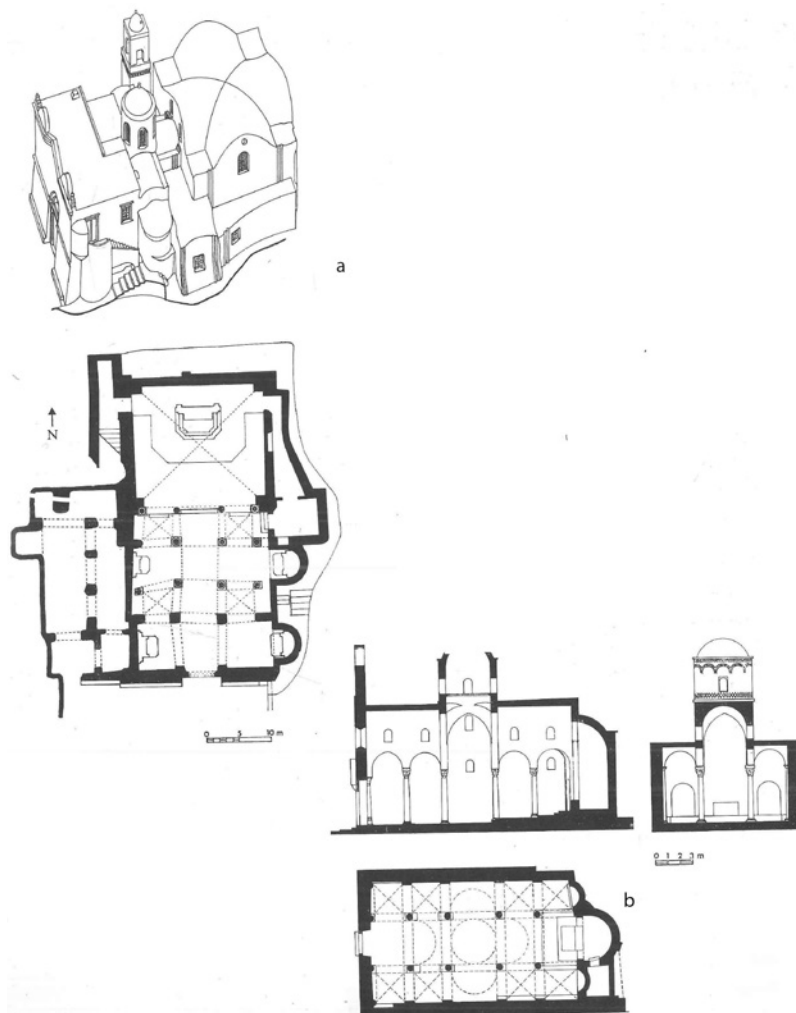
169 Krautheimer, *Architettura*, p. 401. Planimetric analogies with churches of Sardinia (S. Giovanni di Assemini): Farioli Campanati, “La cultura artistica”, pp. 216, 256, n. 76.

170 Ibid., p. 255, nn. 73–74; Ebanista, “L’arredo”. On the complex: Ebanista, *Et manet in mediis*.

171 Farioli Campanati, “La cultura artistica”, p. 256, n. 79.

172 Ibid., pp. 217–219.

173 Bertelli, “Bari”, in Bertelli, *Puglia*, p. 109.



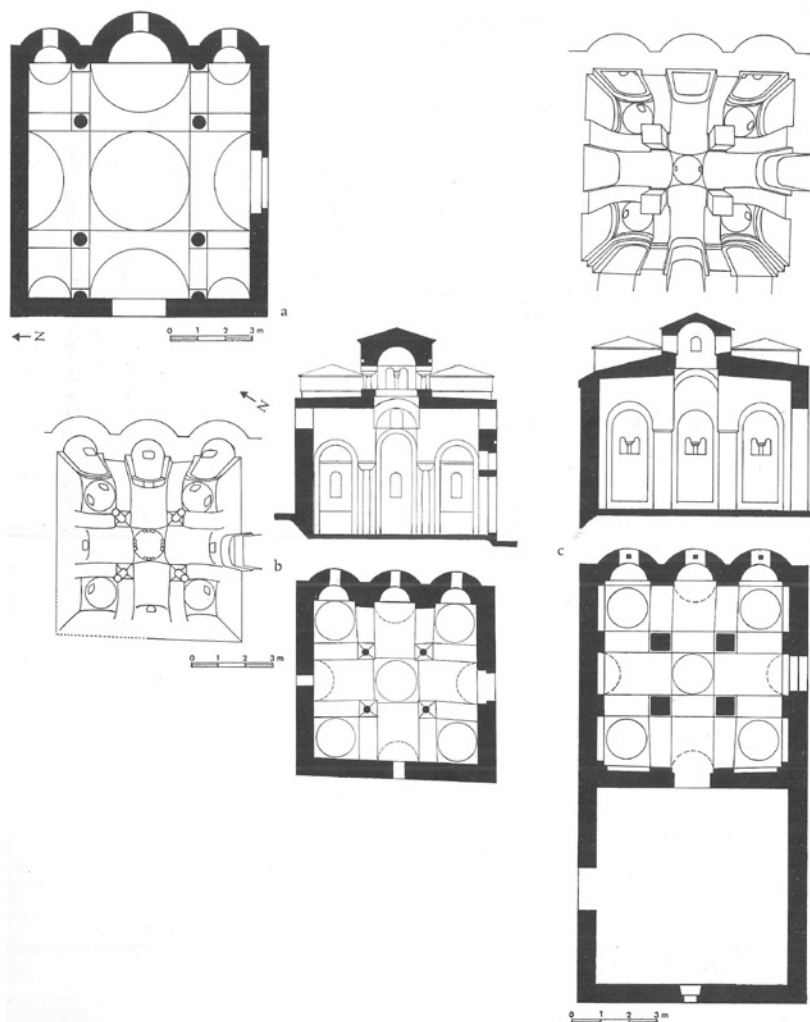
MAP 25.10 Capri, San Costanzo in Capri (a); San Giovanni a Mare (b) (after Farioli Campanati, "La cultura artistica", p. 263, IIII)

in other buildings dating from the second half of the 10th and the end of the 11th century (in Calabria, the Cattolica of Stilo (map 25.11b)¹⁷⁴ and St. Mark of Rossano (map 25.11c);¹⁷⁵ in Salento, the church of Castro¹⁷⁶). Nevertheless, between Otranto and Rossano there were some building differences in the roofing of the corner spaces, which are domed in Rossano and with barrel vaults

¹⁷⁴ Krautheimer, *Architettura*, p. 437.

¹⁷⁵ Farioli Campanati, "La cultura artistica", p. 269, n. 116; Krautheimer, *Architettura*, p. 437.

¹⁷⁶ Krautheimer, *Architettura*, p. 438; Bertelli, *Puglia*, p. 289 (B. Bruno).



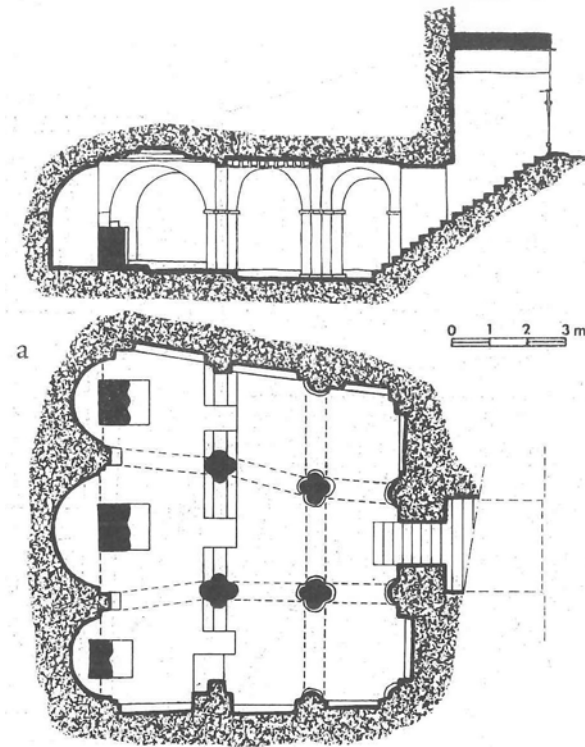
MAP 25.11 Otranto, St. Peter (a); Stilo, Cattolica (b); Rossano, St. Mark (c) (after Farioli Campanati, "La cultura artistica, p. 264, iv)

in Otranto: this second solution permits a comparison with churches from the 10th to the early 11th centuries (Mesembria in Bulgaria),¹⁷⁷ while the presence of the five domes, in Rossano as well in Stilo, with the central dome supported by a tambour, evoke the Macedonian style in Crete.¹⁷⁸

This architecture, dependent upon, the Greek liturgy, is repeated in numerous cave-churches of Apulia (Giurdignano Poggiardo, see map 25.11.c, Andria,

¹⁷⁷ Farioli Campanati, "La cultura artistica", p. 249.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 249–251.



MAP 25.12
Giurdignano, Cave-Church
of St. Saviour (after Farioli
Campanati, "La cultura
artistica", p. 289, VIII)

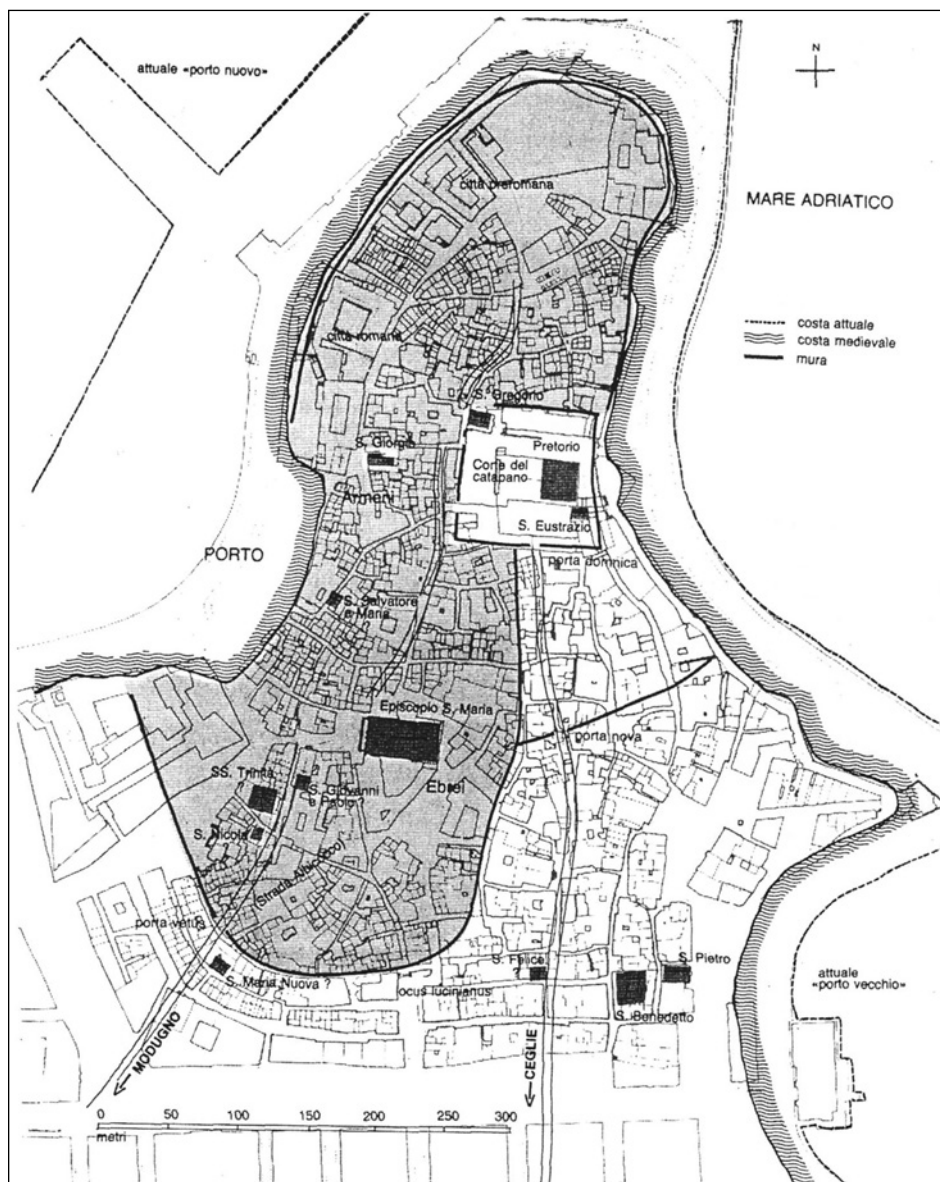
Laterza, Mottola, Massafra, and Matera) and Sicily (Pantalica, Lentini): Greek cross-shaped buildings, with some variety in the form of the roofs (plain, pitched, with cross vault or dome). The central pillars and the elements of separation between the presbytery and the main space are made by digging and shaping the tuff.¹⁷⁹

Considering the urban environment, it is necessary to refer to Bari yet again. The fortified citadel (map 25.13) that was the seat of the Byzantine governor of Bari in the early 11th century consisted of residential buildings and churches, the latter ones known for the most part from written documents and architectural elements.¹⁸⁰ Architectural decoration can be used as a chronological term of reference for the cathedral of St. Mary,¹⁸¹ whose marble furnishings (capitals of Constantinopolitan importation, slabs, and plinths) can be dated to before

179 Ibid., pp. 271–272. On Italian cave settlements: Cosentino, *Storia*, p. 61, with bibliography; Santangeli Valenzani, *Edilizia*, pp. 117–128.

180 See above, footnote 73. On the Church of St. Mary, John the Evangelist and John the Baptist, founded by the *protospatharius* and catepan Potus Argyrus before 1032: Cosentino, *Storia*, p. 53.

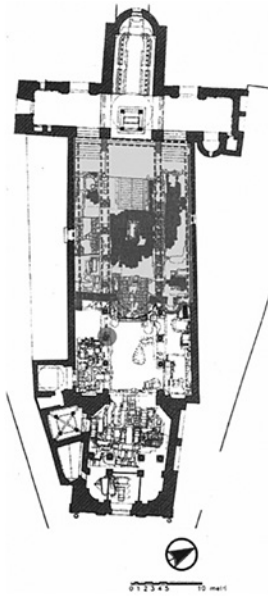
181 Bertelli, "Bari: la città".



MAP 25.13 Bari, *Praetorium* and fortified citadel (after Bertelli, *Puglia*, p. 15)

the beginning of the 11th century, at the time of the reconstruction promoted by the archbishop Bisantius.¹⁸² In the same city other churches have been

¹⁸² Farioli Campanati, "La cultura artistica", p. 260, n. 99; Bertelli, "Bari: la città", p. 93. For other examples of the Byzantine style in Bari (St. John cathedral), Trani and Siponto: Farioli Campanati, "La cultura artistica", pp. 219–239 and e pp. 258–262, nn. 89–90, 96–98, 109.



MAP 25.14
Taranto, Cathedral of St. Cataldus (after Biffino,
"Cattedrale")

investigated and dated to the phase of the Byzantine rule, close to the so-called Trulla (late 10th century), on Strada Lamberti (late 10th-early 11th centuries) and in the area of St. Teresa dei Maschi.¹⁸³ The first two buildings were similar in plan and dimensions: basilicas divided into three naves, with apses at the end of each aisles.¹⁸⁴ Bari also had a building dedicated to Saints John and Paul, near the monastery of St. Scholastica, with a central dome and narrow aisles reminiscent of eastern models, also present in the abovementioned church of St. Peter in Otranto.

Between the end of the 10th and the 11th century the Apulian architectural scenery began to change. It is possible to observe these transformations in the cathedral of Taranto (map 25.14). In the second half of the 10th century a cruciform presbytery with a crypt was added to the existing church to the west: the previous apse was demolished and the presbytery became the entrance to a much larger church with a reverse orientation.¹⁸⁵ This was the result of a major intervention of religious monumentalization, which can be attributed to the time of the Byzantine reconquest of the city by Nicephorus Phocas (967), or to the time of acquisition of the archiepiscopal role by the local church (978). This basilica was either never completed or was possibly just the initial nucleus of a

183 Bertelli, G., "Bari: la città", pp. 103–104.

184 The church of St. Saviour in Sanarica, in Terra d'Otranto (mid-11th century) belongs to the same type: Bertelli, *Puglia*, pp. 283–288 (M. Castelfranchi Falla).

185 Biffino, "Cattedrale", pp. 222–225.

church, a new version which did not present any typological analogy with the Byzantine architecture in terms of size nor, above all, its morphological characteristics, as it was already part of the new Norman artistic and cultural context.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Gregorius I, *Registrum epistolarum*, edd. P. Ewald/L.M. Hartmann, in *MGH, Epp.* 2 vols. Berlin 1887–1899.

Secondary Literature

Andaloro, M./Bordi, G./Morganti, G. (eds.), *Santa Maria Antiqua tra Roma e Bisanzio*, Rome 2016.

Arthur, P., *Naples. From Roman Town to City-State: An Archaeological Perspective*, London 2002.

Augenti, A., “Dalla villa romana al monastero medievale: il complesso di San Severo a Classe”, in Farioli et al., *Ideologia*, pp. 245–260.

Augenti A., *Il Palatino nel Medioevo. Archeologia e topografia (secoli VI–XIII)*, Roma 1996.

Augenti, A., (ed.), *Le città italiane tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo*, Florence 2006.

Augenti, A., “Lo splendore del vuoto: i palazzi senza imperatori”, in S. Ensoli/E. La Rocca (eds.), *Aurea Roma, Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*, Rome 2000, pp. 91–96.

Augenti, A., “Ravenna e Classe: archeologia di due città tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo”, in Augenti, *Le città*, pp. 185–217.

Augenti, A., “The Palace of Theoderic at Ravenna: a new analysis of the complex”, in Lavan/Özgenel, *Housing*, pp. 425–453.

Augenti, A., “Tutti a casa. Edilizia residenziale in Italia centrale tra IX e X secolo”, in P. Galetti (ed.), *Edilizia residenziale tra IX–X secolo, storia e archeologia*, Florence 2010, pp. 127–151.

Baldini, I., “Il complesso episcopale. Sviluppo architettonico e modelli”, in Baldini/Livadiotti, *Archeologia* pp. 154–172.

Baldini, I., “L'architettura urbana come spazio politico e sociale”, in I. Baldini/S. Cosentino (eds.), *Potere e politica nell'età della famiglia teodosiana (395–455). I linguaggi dell'impero, le identità dei barbari*, Bari 2013, pp. 65–86.

Baldini, I., “*Palatia, praetoria ed episcopia*: alcune osservazioni”, in Pensabene/Sfameni, *La villa*, pp. 163–170.

Baldini, I., “Tipologia, funzioni e contesto sociale” in E. Lippolis/L. Calì (eds.), *Gortina, l'isolato del ninfeo. La topografia, i monumenti e lo scavo (campagne 2003–2008)*, Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, Florence 2019, pp. 445–450.

- Baldini Lippolis, I., *L'architettura residenziale nelle città tardoantiche*, Rome 2005.
- Baldini Lippolis, I., "La chiesa di S. Eufemia ad Arietem; Il culto di S. Eufemia a Ravenna; Periodo bizantino; Gli ambienti", in G. Montevocchi (ed.), *Archeologia urbana a Ravenna. La "Domus dei tappeti di pietra". Il complesso archeologico di via D'Azeglio*, Ravenna 2004, pp. 71–115.
- Baldini Lippolis, I., *La domus tardoantica nelle città del Mediterraneo*, Imola 2001.
- Baldini, I./Livadiotti, M., (eds.), *Archeologia protobizantina a Kos. La città e il complesso episcopale*, Bologna 2015.
- Baldini, I., "The Toilsome Journey of Marbles and Stones", in S. Cosentino (ed.), *Ravenna and the traditions of late antique and early Byzantine craftsmanship: Culture, labor and the economy*, Berlin – Boston 2020, pp. 83–113.
- Baldini, I./Lamanna, C./Marsili, G., "Committenza, sepolture vescovili, scelte funzionali e decorative nella basilica di S. Apollinare in Classe", in Y. Marano, J. Pinar Gil (eds.), *Sepulture di prestigio nel bacino mediterraneo (secc. IV–X). Definizione, immagini, utilizzo*, Firenze, in press.
- Barsanti, C., "Una breve nota sui plutei di Siponto, Monte Sant'Angelo e Benevento", in Mazzei, *Siponto*, pp. 225–230.
- Barsanti, C./Guiglia, A., "Il ruolo dei marmi bizantini nella produzione scultorea della Sardegna tardoantica e paleocristiana", in Martorelli/Piras/Spanu, *Isole* pp. 349–368.
- Bertelli, G., "Bari: la città bizantina", in Bertelli, *Puglia*, pp. 99–110.
- Bertelli, G., "Gli scavi sotto la cattedrale a Barletta", in Bertelli, *Puglia*, pp. 233–236.
- Bertelli, G., "Il battistero di San Giovanni a Canosa", in Bertelli, *Puglia*, pp. 73–78.
- Bertelli, G., "Il santuario di San Michele Arcangelo", in Bertelli, *Puglia*, pp. 37–50.
- Bertelli, G., "La basilica detta di San Leucio a Canosa", in Bertelli, *Puglia*, pp. 67–77.
- Bertelli, G., "La chiesa paleocristiana di Santa Maria a Siponto", in Bertelli, *Puglia*, pp. 61–66.
- Bertelli, G. (ed.), *Puglia preromanica*, Milano 2004.
- Biffino, A., "Cattedrale di San Cataldo", *Taras* 23 (2002–2003), 221–227.
- Broise, H./Dewailly, M./Jolivet, V., "Horti Luculliani: un palazzo tardoantico a Villa Medici", in Ensoli/La Rocca, *Aurea Roma*, pp. 113–115.
- Castelfranchi Falla, M., "La chiesa di San Pietro di Crepacore nei pressi di Torre Santa Susanna", in Bertelli, *Puglia*, pp. 147–160.
- Castelfranchi Falla, M., "I monasteri greci a Roma", in Ensoli/La Rocca, *Aurea Roma*, pp. 221–226.
- Christie, N., *From Constantine to Charlemagne. An Archaeology of Italy AD 300–800*, Burlington 2006.
- Cirelli, E., "Monasteri greci a Ravenna nell'alto medioevo (VI–X): storia e archeologia", in F. Marazzi/Ch. Raimondo (eds.), *Monasteri italo-greci (secoli VII–XI). Una lettura archeologica*, Isernia 2018, pp. 15–25.
- Cirelli, E., *Ravenna: archeologia di una città*, Florence 2008.

- Coates-Stephens, R., "La committenza edilizia bizantina a Roma dopo la riconquista", in Augenti, *Le città*, pp. 299–316.
- Conti, C., "L'iscrizione bizantina sulla Colonna traiana", in A. Capoferro/L. D'Amelio/S. Renzetti (eds.), *Dall'Italia: Omaggio a Barbro Santillo Frizell*, Florence 2013, pp. 215–220.
- Corrado, M., "La cosiddetta 'valorizzazione delle mura del *kastron* bizantino di Crotone", *Salternum* 2 (2016), 161–170.
- Cosentino, S., "Banking in early Byzantine Italy", *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes* 28 (2014), 243–254.
- Cosentino, S., "La documentazione epigrafica", in Baldini/Livadiotti, *Archeologia*, pp. 240–245.
- Cosentino, S., *Storia dell'Italia bizantina (VI–XI secolo). Da Giustiniano ai Normanni*, Bologna 2008.
- Dall'Aglia, P.L./Tassinari, C., "Nuove ricerche a Colombarone (PU)", in Farioli et al., *Ideologia*, pp. 365–376.
- Deichmann, F.W., *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes. Geschichte und Monumente*, Wiesbaden 1969; *Kommentar*, vol. 1; Wiesbaden 1974; *Kommentar*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden 1976; *Kommentar*, vol. 3, Wiesbaden 1989.
- Della Giovanpaola, I., "*Patriarchium*", in *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, vol. 4, Rome 1999, pp. 62–66.
- Ebanista, C., *Et manet in mediis quasi gemma intersita tectis. La Basilica di S. Felice a Cimitile. Storia degli scavi, fasi edilizie, reperti*, Napoli 2003.
- Ebanista, C., "L'arredo scultoreo paleocristiano e medievale della basilica di S. Giovanni Maggiore a Napoli", in A. Coscarella (ed.), *Studi in memoria di Giuseppe Roma*, Rossano 2019, pp. 76–102.
- Ensoli, S./La Rocca, E. (eds.), *Aurea Roma, Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*, Rome 2000.
- Fabbri, M., "La basilica paleocristiana", in Mazzei, *Siponto antica*, pp. 179–187.
- Farioli Campanati, R., "La cultura artistica nelle regioni bizantine d'Italia dal VI all'XI secolo", in G. Cavallo et al., *I Bizantini in Italia*, Milan 1982, pp. 139–426.
- Farioli Campanati, R., "Ravenna, Costantinopoli: aspetti topografico-monumentali e iconografici", in A. Carile (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna*, vol. 2/2. *Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana*, Venice 1992, pp. 127–158.
- Farioli, R. et al. (eds.), *Ideologia e cultura artistica tra Adriatico e Mediterraneo orientale (IV–X secolo)*, Bologna 2009, pp. 365–376.
- Gelichi, S., "Venezia tra archeologia e storia: la costruzione di un'identità urbana", in Augenti, *Le città*, pp. 151–183.
- Groh, S., "Ricerche sull'urbanistica e le fortificazioni tardoantiche e bizantine di Aquileia", *Aquileia Nostra* 82 (2011), 153–202.

- Jacob, A./Martin, J.-M./Noyé, G. (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine: acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 363), Rome 2006.
- Jäggi, C., *Ravenna. Kunst und Kultur einer Spätantiken Residenzstadt. Die Bauten und Mosaiken des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts*, Regensburg 2013.
- Krautheimer, R., *Architettura paleocristiana e bizantina*, Turin 1986.
- Lavan, L./Özgenel, L. (eds.), *Housing in Late Antiquity. From Palaces to Shops* (Late Antique Archaeology, 3/2), Leiden 2007.
- Lippolis, E., *Fra Taranto e Roma: società e cultura urbana in Puglia tra Annibale e l'età imperiale*, Taranto 1997.
- Lippolis, E., "Taranto: forma e sviluppo della topografia urbana", in *Atti Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia* 41 (2001), 119–169.
- Marazzi, F., *Le città dei monaci. Storia degli spazi che avvicinano a Dio*, Milan 2015.
- Marsili, G., "Il cantiere episcopale di età tardoantica: attività edilizia ed evangelizzazione nel Mediterraneo orientale", in E. Piazza (ed.) *Quis est qui ligno pugnat? Missionari ed evangelizzazione nell'Europa tardoantica e medievale* (secc. IV–XIII), Verona 2016, pp. 209–226.
- Marsili, G., "Sigle di lavorazione e atelier marmorari: nuove riflessioni sul relitto di Marzamemi", in Martorelli/Piras/Spanu, *Isole*, pp. 369–376.
- Marsili, G., *L'archeologia del cantiere protobizantino. Cave, maestranze e committenti attraverso marchi dei marmorari*, Bologna 2019.
- Martorelli, R./Piras, A./Spanu, P.G. (eds.), *Isole e terraferma nel primo cristianesimo. Identità locale ed interscambi culturali, religiosi e produttivi*, 2 vols., Cagliari 2016.
- Mauskopf Deliyannis, D., *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2010.
- Mazzei, M. (ed.), *Siponto antica*, Foggia-Roma 1999.
- Morganti, G., "Lo spazio di Santa Maria Antiqua", in Andaloro/Bordi/Morganti, *Santa Maria Antiqua*, pp. 54–69.
- Noyé, G., 2015, "L'espressione architettonica del potere: *prætoria* bizantini e *palatia* longobardi nell'Italia meridionale", in J.-M. Martin/A. Peters-Custot/V. Prigent, (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 2. *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 461), Rome 2015, pp. 389–451.
- Paribeni, A./Castagnino Berlinghieri, E.F., "Produzione e commercio del marmo lungo le rotte del Mediterraneo: evidenze dai depositi e dai relitti navali delle coste italiane", in Martorelli/Piras/Spanu, *Isole*, pp. 395–402.
- Pedone, S., "Nuove considerazioni sulla scultura proto-bizantina delle isole tra importazione e produzione locale: il caso della Sicilia", in Martorelli/Piras/Spanu, *Isole*, pp. 377–394.
- Pellacchia, D., "I 'Bagli del clero'. Edilizia termale nel quartiere episcopale ravennate (IV–IX secolo)", in Pensabene/Sfameni, *La villa*, pp. 205–212.

- Pensabene, R./Sfameni, C. (eds.), *La villa restaurata e i nuovi studi sull'edilizia residenziale tardoantica*, Bari 2014.
- Raimondo, C., "Le città dei 'Bruttii' tra Tarda Antichità e Altomedioevo: nuove osservazioni sulla base delle fonti archeologiche", in Augenti, *Le città*, pp. 519–558.
- Rizzardi, C., *Il mosaico a Ravenna. Ideologia e arte*, Bologna 2011.
- Roma, G., "Monasteri bizantini fortificati della Calabria settentrionale: problemi archeologici e lettura", in Jacob/Martin/Noyé, *Histoire et culture*, pp. 505–514.
- Rotili, M., "Benevento fra Tarda Antichità e Alto Medioevo", in Augenti, *Le città*, pp. 329–331.
- Russo, E., "Apparati decorativi", in Ensoli/La Rocca, *Aurea Roma*, pp. 191–199.
- Santangeli Valenzani, R., *Edilizia residenziale in Italia nell'altomedioevo*, Rome 2011.
- Sannazaro, M., "Epigrafia e città", in Augenti, *Le città*, p. 84.
- Sansterre, J.-M., "Le monachisme byzantin à Rome", in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'Alto Medioevo*, 2 vols. (Settimane CISAM, 34), Spoleto 1988, pp. 701–746.
- Sansterre, J.-M., *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VI^e-fin du IX^e s.)*, 2 vols., Bruxelles 1980–1983.
- Sansterre, J.-M., "Monaci e monasteri greci a Ravenna", in A. Carile (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna*, vol. 2/2. *Dall'età tardoantica all'età ottoniana*, Ravenna 1992, pp. 323–329.
- Savino, E., *Campania tardoantica (284–604 d.C.)*, Bari 2005.
- Sfameni, C., *Ville residenziali nell'Italia tardoantica*, Bari 2005.
- Serlorenzi, M., "All'origine del Medioevo passeggiando nel Foro Romano", in Andaloro/Bordi/Morganti, *Santa Maria Antiqua*, pp. 111–129.
- Spanu, P.G., "Iterum est insula quae dicitur Sardinia, in qua plurimas fuisse civitates legimus (Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia V, 26)". Note sulle città sarde tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo", in Augenti, *Le città*, pp. 589–612.
- Spera, L., "La cristianizzazione del Foro Romano e del Palatino prima e dopo Giovanni VII", in Andaloro/Bordi/Morganti, *Santa Maria Antiqua*, pp. 97–107.
- Staffa, A.R., "I centri urbani dell'Abruzzo adriatico fra tarda antichità ed alto medioevo", in Augenti, *Le città*, pp. 345–476.
- Uggeri, G., "I 'castra' bizantini in Sicilia", in Jacob/Martin/Noyé, *Histoire et culture*, pp. 319–336.
- Vespignani, G., "Il circo di Ravenna *regia civitas* (secc. 5.–10.)", in *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale*, 2 vols., Spoleto 2005, pp. 1133–1142.
- Vespignani, G., *ἸΠΠΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ. Il circo di Costantinopoli Nuova Roma dalla realtà alla storiografia*, Spoleto 2010, pp. 137–162.
- Volpe, G., "Architecture and Church Power in Late Antiquity: Canosa and San Giusto (Apulia)", in Lavan/Özgenel, *Housing*, pp. 131–168.
- Volpe, G., "L'iniziativa vescovile nella trasformazione dei paesaggi urbani e rurali in Apulia: i casi di Canusium e di San Giusto", in Farioli et al., *Ideologia*, pp. 405–423.
- Zanini, E., *Le Italie bizantine. Territorio, insediamenti e economia nella provincia d'Italia, VI–VIII secolo*, Bari 1998.

Literary and Book Production in Byzantine Italy

Paola Degni

1 Introduction

It is no easy task to define the characteristics, extent, and intensity of Byzantine Italian civilisation by means of the cultural parameters of book production and literacy. The possibility of suitably evaluating the forms and results and efficiently measuring the range is conditioned by multiple factors of a different nature, which first and foremost are: 1) the persistence of the Graeco-Roman legacy which was still vital in the late antique period and was revitalised in certain areas by Byzantine contributions and fused with them, so it is very hard to distinguish the components of the old substratum from the subsequent one; 2) the plurality of the centres from which Byzantine civilisation spread. If indeed the capital Constantinople truly played a determining role in defining and transmitting the cultural orientations a highly important if not prevalent role was also played by the provinces close to Italy – Syria, Palestine, Egypt – which in turn took part in this mediation with their own specific characteristics and in accordance with the relationships and modes of contact that were various and diversified over time; 3) the relations that the Byzantines established with other nearby cultures and ethnic groups (Latin, Arab), with whom they lived not always peacefully and in accordance with geographies which were rendered changeable and unstable by conflicts and wars of conquest, but with whom they inevitably gave rise to various and original phenomena of interaction; 4) the singular features of the direct sources (above all historical and hagiographic) and indirect sources (epigraphs, public and private documents, manuscripts) which on the whole are scanty, discontinuous, and geographically not homogeneous.

The abovementioned grouping of factors acted in non-linear ways and timelines, actually conditioning the possibility of reconstructing, in an organic and continuous way, the history of literacy and book production in Byzantine Italy. At the same time, it is precisely the disordered and anarchic alchemy of these dynamics that shaped the culture of Byzantine Italy in a singular and

recognisable manner in comparison with Constantinople and other provinces of the Byzantine Empire.¹

A fairly significant image comes from manuscript testimony in southern Italy, especially Calabria, where for historical reasons they have survived in a greater number than in other regions of Byzantine Italy;² elsewhere, the localisation of the few extant manuscripts has been problematic in the absence of explicit indications of place, date, and chronology, and often in the absence of specific and connotative textual, graphic, material, and decorative features.

2 Ravenna

The end of the war between the Goths and the Byzantines which was fought for around twenty years (535–552) and which led to the re-annexing of vast areas of the Italian province to the Byzantine Empire, did not represent for Ravenna – later the capital of the exarchate (584–751) – a change in cultural orientation with regard to the period of Gothic rule. Written culture, both profane and sacred, continued to be substantially in Latin,³ but in considering the multiethnic composition of that society, there must have been a circulation of books in Greek which, unfortunately, we are obliged to reconstruct on the basis of hypotheses since elements permitting localisation with certainty are lacking. In any case, we cannot exclude that the circulation of Greek manuscripts was more intense than what we are led to suppose by hypotheses formulated on the activity of Latin translation. Nonetheless, it should be noted that Greek as a form of written communication was limited to specific contexts. The epigraphic monumental testimonies in the Greek language and alphabet in the exarchal period were the fruit of palace culture, so the referent and ideological

1 Cavallo, “La cultura italo-greca”, pp. 497–614 (with the note that in subsequent studies many manuscripts considered Italo-Greek were localised elsewhere); Jacob/Martin/Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture*.

2 Being unable to take account of the extensive bibliography on the subject with regard to the library Abbazia Monumento Nazionale Badia Greca (Grottaferrata, Rome) and the Vatican Apostolic Library (Vatican City), where most of the Basilian monastery manuscripts ended up after Napoleon’s suppression of monastic orders, we refer the reader to Batiffol, *L’Abbaye de Rossano*, *passim*; Mercati, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci*, *passim*; D’Aiuto/Vian (eds.), *Guida ai fondi manoscritti, ad indicem*.

3 Cavallo, “La cultura scritta”, *passim*; id., “La cultura a Ravenna”, *passim*, both with exhaustive bibliography; id., *Scrivere e leggere*, ch. 4.

objective of their production should be sought in the dimension of the political hierarchy (the exarch and his entourage).⁴

In comparison with the preceding period, there was in any case an impoverishment of the book collection as a phenomenon, with an absence of the classical texts that nourished the culture of that aristocratic class of ancient Roman tradition which had animated and also sustained the Gothic court of Theoderic and his successors.

The city, which has preserved superb monumental, architectural, and mosaic traces of its late antique and Byzantine past, has almost wholly lost its written cultural memory, especially as far as manuscripts are concerned: with the exception of documentary practice borne out between the first half of the 5th and the 8th century, the codices preserved in the local Archiepiscopal Archives are few and fragmentary, while those kept in other centers are equally few and hard to attribute. Between the late Gothic and the early Justinian age, we can localise certain books in Ravenna which refer to spheres of interest rooted in the late antique period (land surveying, mathematics, architecture, medicine). However, these attributions often have to be deduced from later manuscripts, as in the case of the corpus of writings by land surveyors handed down in the Vatican City, Vatican Library, Pal. lat. 1564, which was produced at the court of Louis the Pious in Aachen, but its illustrations would seem to presuppose a model of Ravenna's origins from the period of Justinian.⁵ Another manuscript attributable to Ravenna is the so-called *fragmentum mathematicum bobiense*, a 6th-century palimpsest which includes a mathematical text attributed to Anthemius of Tralles, the architect of Hagia Sophia and is currently contained in the later Milan codex, Ambrosian Library L 99 sup.⁶ The fragment bears witness to an interest analogous to what in the east was motivated by political exploitation of the sumptuous building activities promoted by Justinian. Both manuscripts reflect interests in the reading and study of a technical-scientific nature, which were not new in Ravenna but were said to be a continuation of the cultural orientations of the Gothic age. This is also true for medical books since various indications localise a centre of medical

4 Tomb inscriptions of the exarch Isaac the Armenian (625–643) and of his great-grandson: F. Fiori, *Epigrafi greche dell'Italia bizantina (VII–XI secolo)*, Bologna 2008, pp. 65–89.

5 Cavallo, "La cultura italo-greca", p. 501, 608; Bertelli, "Codici miniati", pp. 572, 600, fig. 463.

6 Martini /Bassi, *Catalogum codicum graecorum*, pp. III–IV n. 4, XX, XXIII–XXIV n. 44, XXVI, 593. The codex, which hands down the *Etymologiae* (ll. 1–x) of Isidore of Seville, transcribed at Bobbio in the 8th century, bears the palimpsest fragment on pp. 113–114, 117–120, 123–124, 129–130, 139–140, 143–144, 157–158, 187–190, 195–198, 235–236, 241–242, 249–252; Cavallo, "La cultura scritta", pp. 96–97. More recently, attribution of the fragment to Ravenna has been confirmed by von Büren, "La place du manuscrit Ambr. L 99", p. 27.

studies in Gothic Ravenna, where there must have been no lack of Greek manuscripts. One reference to a Greek school of medicine is the signature in a document dating to 572, P. Tjäder 35,⁷ whose author identifies himself as ‘Eugenius [...] filius Leonti medici ab schola Graeca.’⁸

The Latin commentaries to four treatises by Galen which are datable to the 6th century can be found within the 9th-century Ambrosian manuscript G 108 sup., which also recounts treatises by Hippocrates translated into Latin (*Prognosticon*, part of the *De septimanis*, *De aëre, aquis et locis*). The commentaries, whose contents refer to the medical school of Alexandria, were compiled by a Simplicius *medicus* on the basis of the lectures of one Agnellus *archiater*. The 6th–7th-century palimpsest fragment with origins in the exarchal court of Ravenna can be found in the Naples National Library “Vittorio Emanuele III” lat. 2 (sheets 62–65) of the 5th–6th centuries which handed down the work of Dioscorides and, in all probability, also the so-called ‘Dioscorides of Naples’, ex Vindob. gr. 1, kept in the same library and referable to the 6th–7th centuries.⁹ The graphic and codicological characteristics of this manuscript, which is an example of the *De Materia Medica* with illustrations and text in alphabetical order and illustrated, reveal its western manufacture. Nonetheless, the decorative apparatus as much as the textual typology are referable to the other far more sumptuous late antique testimony produced within the imperial circle of Constantinople (Vienna, Austrian National Library, Med. gr. 1) and therefore, to an oriental model of the Dioscorides of Naples, which perhaps arrived by way of Byzantine functionaries after the end of the Gothic War and the creation of the exarchate.

The circulation in 7th-century Ravenna of medical texts in Greek might be deduced from the Latin translations of medical works by Rufus of Ephesus, Oribasius, Alexander of Tralles and Dioscorides, which were perhaps produced in the exarchal capital.¹⁰

As for book production occurring at a high level of publishing, we should not exclude the possibility that in a multiethnic society like Ravenna it could have been at least partially commissioned by the Greek-Oriental community of functionaries and the upper administrative hierarchies. Yet this typology

7 Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen Papyri*, pap. 35 (Taf. 122–128), pp. 104–113; Cavallo, ‘La cultura scritta’, p. 98.

8 On Ravenna as a place of study and tradition of medicine, see Ieraci Bio, ‘La cultura medica a Ravenna’, pp. 280–281 with bibliography.

9 Bertelli, “Una proposta circa il committente”, pp. 122–123; Collins, *Medieval Herbals*, pp. 51–58, figs. 10–12.

10 Cavallo, “La cultura scritta”, pp. 98–99; Montero Cartelle, “Los textos médicos de Ravéna”, pp. 801–820.

seems to have been expressed in Latin, as we would guess from later manuscripts copied in an insular centre of book production or during the Carolingian age, which could have been transcribed from models previously produced in Ravenna.¹¹

Testimony regarding books and texts of ecclesiastic culture is also uncertain and fragmentary, although the *Liber pontificalis* by Agnellus¹² demonstrates that in the mid-6th century there was a writing centre active at the bishop's residence where Maximianus (546–554) had biblical and liturgical books produced. The sheets of a Latin manuscript of the New Testament (cod. 2a-b)¹³ might be attributable to this centre, as well as the well-known manuscript with works of Saint Ambrose¹⁴ (5th–6th centuries), both kept in the Archiepiscopal Archive of Ravenna, and other manuscripts kept elsewhere that are referable to Ravenna on the basis of common palaeographic and codicological aspects.¹⁵ The presence of a Greek-Oriental component in the Ravennate ecclesiastical institution presupposes the production of Greek books of a sacred nature, however there is no certain testimony extant. Of probable Ravenna origin are several sheets of palimpsest codices which were later rewritten in Bobbio during the 8th century which in the undertext bear traces of hagiographic or New Testament texts written in Greek capitals (the so-called biblical majuscule), produced between the 5th and 6th centuries.¹⁶

In the panorama of book production, which during the exarchate was scantier overall than in the period of Gothic rule, the *Cosmographia* by the so-called Anonymus Ravennatis is an outstanding example, produced at the close of the 7th century. The work is a geographic compilation of a factual character, inspired by late Roman models of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, but projected onto a cosmic construction of a Christian nature. Though written in Latin, with its

11 Cavallo, "La cultura scritta", pp. 99–100.

12 Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, p. 332 (ed. O. Holder Egger, in *MGH, ss Lang. et Ital.*, Hannoverae 1878); pp. 208–209 (ed. A. Testi Rasponi, in *RIS*, vol. 2/2, Bologna 1924).

13 Mercati, 'Frammenti antichissimi ravennati', pp. 1–6.

14 Campana, "Il codice ravennate di S. Ambrogio", *passim*.

15 Cavallo, "Cultura scritta", pp. 101–104. It has been suggested (Cavallo, "La cultura scritta", p. 98; id., "La cultura a Ravenna", p. 46) that the vertical liturgical scroll (Milan, Ambrosian Library, SP 1) containing a series of Advent prayers and produced at the time of archbishop Maurus (644–673) during the period of autocephaly of the church of Ravenna, was created in this specific form of Byzantine liturgical scrolls in order to highlight the bond with Constantinople. It should however be recalled that this book typology of a liturgical nature was already known to the western church of northern and central Italy. Cf. Benz, *Der Rotulus von Ravenna*, pp. 17–22; Jacob, 'Rouleaux grecs et latins', p. 96.

16 Cavallo, "Cultura scritta", pp. 106–107.

combined use of Greek, Latin, Gothic and Oriental sources it is the most representative testimony of composite Ravennate culture.¹⁷

3 Rome

In Rome, which was capital of the Byzantine duchy until the 8th century, it seems that knowledge of Greek did not spread beyond the community of ethnic Greeks who had settled in fairly considerable numbers in the city since the early 7th century. This phenomenon took place due to various waves of migration caused by multiple factors, chiefly by wars that afflicted the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire and sometimes involved Constantinople itself (the Persian wars of conquest, 604–628, and from 633–634 those of the Arabs).¹⁸ Yet no less weighty for their repercussions at the level of practical life and the migratory movements that ensued was the presence of tensions of a theological and denominational nature brought about by the Monothelite crisis of the 6th century and by the iconoclasm, the struggle for images, that would rage on and off for more than a century, roughly between 731 and 843. As regards their origins, the largest nuclei must have been Greeks forced into Italy from the provinces (Asia Minor, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Sicily) by the Arab invasions. A minority, and perhaps not stable, was probably formed during iconoclasm, by refugees from Constantinople, especially iconodule monks. These migratory waves, which were organised in more or less permanent forms, soon led to the foundation of numerous monasteries, since the monastic element was the most representative among the refugees inasmuch as it was most directly affected by the Muslim faith of the invaders and by the various religious.¹⁹ Among the best known examples of these foundations are S. Saba on the Piccolo Aventino, St. Erasmus at Celio, S. Silvestro in Capite, founded by Paul I (757–767), S. Prassede, at S. Maria Maggiore, of the time of Paschal I (817–824), and St. Caesarius in *Palatio* of which we hear of under Leo IV (847–855).²⁰

17 Mazzarino, *Antico tardo antico età costantiniana*, pp. 313–335; Cavallo, “La cultura scritta”, p. 107 (but there is no testimony of the work in the Parisian manuscripts, National Library of France, lat. 2769 + 4808, which instead hand down Julius Honorius’ *Cosmographia*).

18 See also the chapter by V. von Falkenhausen in this book.

19 The first mention of Greek monasteries in Rome is in the acts of the Lateran Council of 649 (Mansi vol. 10, cols. 904A = 903A–909C), written in Greek and subsequently translated into Latin; Sansterre, *Les moines grecques*, vol. 1, p. 9. See also Agati, “Centri scrittorii”, pp. 141–165 and von Falkenhausen, “Roma greca”, pp. 45–49.

20 The *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 2, p. 18, l. 24; p. 25, l. 20; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, p. 37.

Among the most significant expressions and consequences of a Greek presence on the religious, political, and cultural level is indubitably the succession to the papacy, between 642 and 752, of popes of Greek cultural origin or originating from Syria-Palestine and Sicily.²¹ Not without solid training and abilities in political and ecclesiastical affairs, it was precisely by virtue of their Greek culture, that they easily obtained the necessary approval to the papal throne from the Byzantine emperor or his representative, the exarch.

Though there is no lack of direct and indirect references to an albeit restricted literary production, to copies, or to the circulation and preservation of books, today it is impossible to indicate with certainty the contexts in which these dynamics were expressed, the individual protagonists, or even the manuscripts that resulted.

A first testimony of the political and binding role of Greek presence at the highest levels of ecclesiastic and monastic hierarchies comes from the Roman synod of 649 presided over by Martin I to condemn the Monotheletism maintained by Emperor Constans II. The text, prepared by Greek monks and counsellors including Maximus the Confessor, was then translated into Latin for western bishops.²²

One of the foremost Greeks in Rome was undoubtedly Methodius,²³ the future patriarch of Constantinople, who among other things was highly active in the city as a copyist.²⁴ Born in Syracuse in 789–790, where he received a thorough education which included instruction in tachygraphy, he moved to Constantinople to continue his studies and pursue a bureaucratic career, but he eventually forwent this decision and became a monk. At the onset of the iconoclasm persecutions promoted in 815 by Emperor Leo V the Armenian with the support of the patriarch Theodotus Melissenos, he fled to Rome, where he remained until 821, where together with John, bishop of Monemvasia, he would carry out activities to combat iconoclasm and play a foremost role in relations between the pope and the Byzantine imperial court. However, Methodius was also an expert copyist²⁵ and in Rome he also produced hagiographic books at St. Peter's. Of outstanding interest is a collection of which the original copy is

21 The lives of the 8th century popes in the *Liber pontificalis* may be read in English translation in Davis, *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*.

22 ACO 2, vol. 1, *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum*, ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin 1984, pp. IX–X.

23 *Vita Methodii*, in BHG, no. 1278; PG 4, cols. 669–684; 18, cols. 397–404; 100, cols. 1231–1272, 1286s., 1308–1317. Cf. Stelladoro, “Metodio”, pp. 35–39; Canart, “Le patriache Méthode”, passim.

24 Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, p. 175.

25 *Vita Methodii*, cap. 11 (PG 100, col. 1253B). This aspect has been investigated by Canart, “Le patriache Méthode de Constantinople”, pp. 343–353.

not extant but was used in 890 by a scribe called Anastasius²⁶ for an analogous work, which has come down to us in two manuscripts copied in 890, though we do not know where they were produced.

The role of Rome as a place for the diffusion of Greek culture and therefore the copying and preserving of Greek books is known also through other avenues. We know in fact that Pope Paul I (757–767) sent liturgical books, manuals of grammar, orthography and geometry and above all Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Aristotle to Pepin the Short (751–768), king of the Franks, who had requested Greek works.²⁷ Aside from the quality of the testimony, this episode is nonetheless important as it provides information regarding the availability of Greek books, which were evidently kept in the Lateran library or in some of the capital's Greek monasteries.

It is noteworthy that the list includes the work of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, who was considered by Maximus the Confessor and the council fathers of 649 to be at a level of a father of the church, a fact which must not have been without consequences on the process of transmission and preservation of these texts in Rome.²⁸ As mentioned previously, it was precisely in this instance that Methodius copied his example.

We may suppose that there was a moderate literary production in Greek, albeit limited to hagiographic texts which were included in monastic intellectual instrumentation and whose composition might have been functional to the defence of ideological and political positions. On this subject we must cite the *Life of Saint Gregory of Agrigento*, written between the 7th and 8th centuries by a hagiographer of Sicilian origin identified as Leontius, hieromonk and hegumen of the Greek monastery of San Saba,²⁹ and the *Life of Saint Grigentios of*

26 Gamillscheg /Harlfinger/Hunger, *Repertorium des griechischen Kopisten*, vol. 2, no. 19.

27 *Codex Carolinus*, no. 24, ll. 19–22 ed. W. Gundlach, in *MGH, Epp.*, vol. 3, Berlin 1982: *Direximus itaque excellentissime et praecellentiae vestrae et libros, quantos reperire potuimus: id est antiphonale et responsale, insimul artem gramaticam Aristotelis, Dionisii Ariopagitis geometricam, orthographiam, gramaticam, omnes Graeco eloquio scriptas, nec non et horologium nocturnum*. The excerpt is corrupt and it is therefore impossible to draw any certain conclusions with regard to the texts effectively sent and their provenance; Sansterre, *Les moines grecques*, vol. 1, pp. 182–183; vol. 2, pp. 205–206; Burgarella, “Presenze greche”, pp. 975–976; Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, vol. 2, pp. 827–829 for an updated discussion of the bibliography.

28 Lilla, “Ricerche sulla tradizione manoscritta”, pp. 296–386; Heil/Ritte/Suchta, *Corpus Dionysiacum*, vol. 1, pp. 00.

29 *Vita Gregorii* ed. A. Berger, Leontios presbyteros von Rom, *Das Leben des heiligen Gregorios von Agrigent* (Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten, 60), Berlin 1994; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, pp. 131–138, 151–152, 199–202. A different view about the date and authorship of the work has been proposed by Cosentino, “Quando e perché fu scritta”.

*Taphar*³⁰ (perhaps a variant of *Saint Gregory of Agrigento*) written by a Greek monk from Rome.

Knowledge of Greek however does not seem to have gone beyond the Greek communities, since the diffusion of Greek texts was normally in the form of Latin translations. This translation activity also concerned homiletic, liturgical, and canonical texts, which were therefore integrated with the production in Greek referred to so far. It must have been carried out from copies produced in Rome in the Greek milieu, as is supposed to have occurred regarding certain hagiographies, but there must also have been a circulation of books composed elsewhere.

Yet the interest in canonistic and hagiographic texts of Greek content continued even after the conclusion of the Byzantine epoch of the papacy and proceeded throughout the 9th century even when, with the reign of Pepin the Short, the political interlocutor was no longer Constantinople but the Empire of the Franks.

Over and above the events that characterised the circulation of these texts, it is important to underscore the role played by the Greek monastic communities in the preservation, circulation, and very likely, the transcription of Greek books, which were useful in the first instance for the spiritual formation of the clergy but also instrumental in fostering political relations first with Constantinople and later with the Frankish Empire, which the policy of the Roman episcopate was centred on safeguarding.

Certainly these communities, or at least the most important monasteries, must have played a leading role as places of theological elaboration and support, as we have seen in an examination of the positions assumed by the Roman church on the most delicate theological questions, from the Monothelite heresy to iconoclasm. Some of these communities played host to Maximus the Confessor, Theodore of Tarsus and Constantine-Cyril.

Equally incisive and meaningful references to book-related culture have also been preserved in the form of suggestion from other sources. The great Old Testament inscription located in the church of Saint Maria Antiqua dating to the time of Pope John VII (705–707), *eruditissimus et facundus eloquentia*,³¹ is set beneath a figurative composition on the triumphal arch in the presbytery and executed in white letters upon a red background. The style and form of the letters (which recall Constantinopolitan models), the differentiated use of colours, and lastly the frieze set as a complement to the writing in a manner not

30 *Vita Gregentii*, ed. A. Berger, *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar. Introduction, Critical Edition and Translation*, Berlin 2006, *passim*.

31 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, pp. 385–386.

unlike analogous decorative book expedients, hark back to the page of an illuminated manuscript.³² The reference is to a typology of luxury biblical books which were written in silver or gold letters on purple parchment. One of these works, the so-called *Codex purpureus Rossanensis*,³³ was brought to southern Italy by monks fleeing the Arab advance, probably sometime during the 7th century.

Thus far, the production and circulation of Greek books has been delineated upon the basis of indirect testimony. Nonetheless, though numerically few and largely attributable hypothetically to Rome, the material, graphic, and textual features of manuscripts traceable to Roman writing centres bear witness to a high-quality activity, that was certainly intended for the élite of the ecclesiastic hierarchy.

The codex Vatican City, Vatican Apostolic Library, Vat. gr. 1666 is a prime example from which to begin an analysis.³⁴ The manuscript is exceptional for many reasons, first and foremost because from the graphic and ideological viewpoint it is an exemplary product of the interaction between Greek and Latin writings; it is also one of the few codices attributable with certainty to a Roman writing centre, although only the chronological date is given (800), not the place of production. This hypothesis, formulated in 1888³⁵ on the basis of materials and content, became a certainty in subsequent studies. The manuscript is a Greek translation of the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great (590–604), curated by Pope Zachary (741–752), who wanted to render the text accessible “to the numerous people who couldn’t read Latin.”³⁶ We are informed about the author of the translation, its presumed readership, and purpose by two acrostic epigrams that precede it. The second, which has been preserved only in a 14th-century copy, Milan, Ambrosian Library, of D 69 sup.,³⁷ gives us the name of the copyist *Iohannes monachos* and illustrates the objective of the pope who, “like a present day Paul had the thoughtfulness to send the Orientals this book, which is divine law”³⁸ the first, also transmitted by Vat. gr. 1666,

32 Cavallo, “Le tipologie della cultura”, pp. 487–488, 492.

33 Facsimile reproduction and commentary in Cavallo/Gribomont/Loerke (eds.), *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis. Facsimile e commentario*, Rome 1992. The codex is so named because it is currently preserved in Rossano (Cosenza), Archiepiscopal Museum.

34 Described in Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, pp. 408–409; Follieri, *Codices graeci*, pp. 20–21, tav. 11; manuscript digitised (digi.vatlib.it).

35 Batiffol, “Libraries byzantines à Rome”, pp. 297–308.

36 *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 435, ll. 17–19; Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, p. 75 n. 150; Burgarella, “Presenze greche”, p. 974.

37 Described in Martini/Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum*, pp. 274–276; Pasini, *Bibliografia dei manoscritti greci*, pp. 231–232.

38 Mercati, “Sull’epigramma acrostico”, pp. 165–173 (the manuscript is erroneously indicated as Ambrosiano D 49 sup.).

with its thirty-three verses composes the acrostic Γρηγορίου βιβλίου Ζαχαρίου Πατριάρχου, which confirms Pope Zachary as the author of the translation of the work. The latter, done around 748,³⁹ should not be seen as a neutral operation since the choice of the *Dialogues* with models of western sanctity, presented with the spiritual and charismatic tones of the Byzantine saints, was instrumental to the political objective meant to bring the Roman church closer to the east. This end, which was also pursued through a skilful interpolation of the text carried out by Pope Zachary,⁴⁰ was certainly achieved, as confirmed by the work's wide manuscript tradition⁴¹ and the use made of it in Byzantine written production of a theological nature.⁴² Its success was certainly due to the vitality of the Greek-speaking nuclei in Rome and to the vast range of relationships and book circulation circuits within the Byzantine world.⁴³ The book was aimed at the monastic communities, as we learn from the prologue,⁴⁴ and is therefore indicative of awareness of the role of strong support expressed to the papacy by the Oriental and Greek nuclei settled in or passing through Rome.

The Vatican codex, which circulated in southern Italy among the Italo-Greek monastic communities before becoming part of the Vatican manuscript collection,⁴⁵ is executed in Greek capitals written using the so-named Biblical majuscule, common in Byzantine manuscripts with biblical, patristic, and liturgical content until the 10th century, but influenced by the contemporary

39 Ibid., pp. 169–170.

40 Maltese, “Appunti su Zaccaria”, p. 250.

41 Lizzi Testa, “La traduzione greca”, passim.

42 That circulation was immediate is also demonstrated by the knowledge that the patriarch Photios (858–867; 877–886) listed it in his *Bibliotheca*: Photius, *Bibliothèque*, ed. Henry, VII, codex 252, p. 209; cf. Rigotti, “Gregorio e il dialogo”, p. 277.

43 As has been noted (von Falkenhausen, “Il monachesimo greco”, pp. 140–141) the spirituality of pope Gregory the Great, like his open support of eastern and western monasticism, were well known in the East and one of his works, the *Regula pastoralis*, had already been translated into Greek by Anastasius, patriarch of Antioch.

44 Burgarella, “Presenze greche”, p. 958.

45 The codex was in fact kept at the Greek-Calabrian abbey of S. Maria del Patir and then in the monastery of S. Nilo of Grottaferrata. Cf. Bignami Odier/Ruysschaert, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane*, p. 101, 119 n. 18.

Also the second oldest codex of the Greek translation of the *Dialogues*, datable to the 9th century, should be placed in an Italian context. See Rigotti, ‘Gregorio e il dialogo’, p. 277. But the question ought to be investigated in depth. The twofold destination of the manuscript, to the Greeks of the East (as emerges from the second epigram) and to the western communities for which the copy of Vat. gr. 1666 was intended, may be reflected in the manuscript tradition of the work, which does not always have both epigrams, as in the case of the Vatican codex, evidently destined for Roman and then Italo-Greek monasteries.

Latin uncial script.⁴⁶ Also, the motifs and vivacious colours of the decoration of the four initials recall a western context; three of them (ff. 3r, 42v, 83r) harking back to ichthyoform models, widespread in the west between the late antique and early medieval period, while the fourth (f. 136v), a large module 'M' with the verticals filled with knots and plaits and featuring a the horizontal bar in the form of a snake, reprises an iconographic motif from insular decoration which spread throughout Italy shortly before the year 800.⁴⁷

In addition to the Vatican manuscript, there are other examples whose Roman attribution has been questioned. On the other hand, it would be useless to identify singular characters since, as we have seen, the Greek culture which this production might have fed was fairly differentiated in its components: depending on the time and circumstances there were Constantinopolitan Byzantines and provincial Byzantines of various provenance who nonetheless in the interaction with western culture often took on its models and orientation, as demonstrated by the Vatican codex of the *Dialogues* that we have just discussed, which may be assumed to be an exemplary model of these dynamics. Moreover, the Greek presence in Rome was, though intense, too brief for specific graphic-material elements to be formed and distinguished within the context of book production.

Yet this did not prevent the name of Rome from being evoked as the place of production of a series of prestigious decorated manuscripts written in majuscule, with regard to which the results of studies, especially of an artistic nature, have not been much in agreement regarding dates and places of production. It is only occasionally that the graphic characteristics seem convincing.⁴⁸ Between the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century two manuscripts of the Old Testament book of Job might have been produced in Rome: the Patmos, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, 171⁴⁹ and the Vatican City, Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 749,⁵⁰ which are so very similar in their

46 Cavallo, "Scrittura greca e scrittura latina", pp. 24–25, pl. 6b.

47 Osborne, "The Use of Painted Initials", pp. 77–80 and plates 1–4. The decoration of the codex is set beside that of a contemporary manuscript produced in Rome, the so-called *codex Juvenianus*, Rome, Vallicelliana Library, B 25 (*Codices Latini Antiquiores*, vol. 4, no. 430), a fact which further confirms the Roman origin of the manuscript of the *Dialogues*.

48 D'Agostino, "Furono prodotti manoscritti", which is the only in-depth study of the material and graphic characteristics of this group of manuscripts.

49 Sakkelion, *Πατμιακή Βιβλιοθήκη*, pp. 90–91; D'Agostino, "Furono prodotti manoscritti", pp. 43, 45 with other bibliographical references in the footnotes.

50 Devreesse, *Codices vaticani graeci*, pp. 264–265. D'Agostino, "Furono prodotti manoscritti", pp. 46–47. For other bibliographical references see www.mss.vatlib.it.

textual and iconographic aspect as to suggest a common model of derivation. The Patmos codex in fact presents a biblical majuscule influenced by the Latin typology of Roman uncial script, while the decorative cycle of the Vatican codex seems to be traceable to that of the manuscript in the monastery of S. Saba which, as we have seen, was one of the most important in the capital.⁵¹ Attribution to Rome of another luxurious decorated manuscript, Milan, Ambrosian Library, E 49 inf. + E 50 inf., (*Orations* by Gregory of Nazianzus), would appear to be unquestionable; executed in a majuscule different from the previous one (inclined ogival), comparable to other contemporary manuscripts of certain Italian origin.⁵² It is more problematic to attribute to Rome two other manuscripts whose writing, which is also inclined ogival, is very similar: Paris, National Library of France, gr. 923 (John of Damascus, *Sacred Parallels*)⁵³ and Florence, Medicean Library, Conv. Soppr. 202 (*Corpus Areopagiticum*). The first codex, much studied from the viewpoint of decoration, was recently assigned to Constantinople and dated to the third quarter of the 9th century,⁵⁴ although the writing would appear to contradict its assignation to this location.⁵⁵ Whereas for the Laurentian codex, the least decorated of the group, one may underline the highly important philological datum, meaning its kinship with the branch of ancient Roman tradition attested by the London, British Library, Add. 36821 copy of the example of Methodius, which nonetheless does not appear to have been produced in Italy.⁵⁶ So the question remains open.

Various factors may be invoked to explain the end of Greek culture in within the Roman tradition during the 10th century: the crisis of the papacy, whose interest up to that moment in the production of eastern theological and canonistic works had been considerable; the detachment of Byzantine authority from Italian questions, with the consequent loss of interest in the translation of documents; lastly the marginalisation of the Greek monasteries, which until the 9th century undoubtably played a role in the preservation and circulation of Greek books, with the concomitant diminution of eastern scholars in Rome. The phenomenon of this reduction may be measured in other ways, including

51 In Bordi, *Gli affreschi di S. Saba*, pp. 138–141, the affinities between the decorative cycle and contemporary Palestinian production is further underlined, though the scholar does not express herself decisively on the Roman origin of the codex.

52 Martini/Bassi, *Catalogo dei manoscritti greci*, pp. 1084–1086; D'Agostino, "Il Gregorio Nazianzeno", pp. 91–102; id., "Furono prodotti manoscritti", p. 44.

53 Omont, *Inventaire sommaire*, p. 176; manuscript digitised (gallica).

54 See bibliography in D'Agostino, "Furono prodotti manoscritti", p. 44, nos. 4–7.

55 Ibid., pp. 46–47, where Roman localisation is hypothesised; manuscript digitised (bl.uk).

56 Ibid., pp. 47–48, where however there are western symptoms in the decoration.

the growing rarity of Greek inscriptions, which progressively diminished and were destructured in their graphic models of reference in the course of the 9th century.⁵⁷ Although in the 10th century there was still no lack of personages of prestige active in revitalising a Greek-speaking presence in Rome,⁵⁸ it was nonetheless the last glimmer of a dying culture. The baton had now been passed to the southern sphere of Hellenism in Italy.

4 Southern Italy and Sicily

In Campania, there must have been no lack of a Greek community in Naples, a Byzantine duchy (661 to 755) created upon the initiative of Pope Gregory the Great as an imperial 'enclave' within Lombard territory. After the fall of Ravenna, the duchy retained the same institutions and continued to recognise the basileus in the chronological dates of documents until the Norman conquest, unlike Gaeta and Amalfi, which became independent of Naples in the 9th century, no longer respected this usage.⁵⁹ Despite this, Naples retained nothing of the Greek culture from which it was founded. There was undoubtedly a Greek presence, essentially linked to the same migratory movements that had affected Rome (monothelite crisis, migrations of Greek speakers from the south of Italy), but it never became a permanent settlement. Little remains of the Greek diaconias and monasteries established between the 6th and 11th centuries, which left no testimony in diplomatic documentation.

The period from the end of the 9th century to the beginning of the next is marked by an intense production in Latin of Greek hagiographic texts.⁶⁰ This phenomenon was not linked to the presence of Greek elements within the population and clergy, but rather to a wholly internal initiative at the ducal court which was indigenous and of Latin culture, yet still interested in maintaining a cultural and political relationship with Byzantium after the conclusion of the exarchate. Within the circle of the duchy élite during the late 9th century, Duke Sergius (ca. 840–864) and his son Gregory, later duke (864–870), were experts in Greek and Latin, while his nephew Bishop Athanasius I (876–898) commissioned the translation of hagiographic texts from Greek to Latin.⁶¹

57 Cavallo, "Le tipologie della cultura", pp. 483–492.

58 Burgarella, "Presenze greche", p. 986; Noble, "The Declining Knowledge", pp. 56–62.

59 Martin, "Hellénisme politique", p. 59.

60 Chiesa P., "Le traduzioni dal greco", pp. 67–86.

61 Cavallo, "La cultura greca", pp. 277–278.

This interest in Greek hagiographic texts (*Vita Mariae Aegyptiacae*, *Poenitentia Theophili*, *Passio Arethae*, etc.),⁶² certainly limited and circumscribed in scope, also corresponded to the production of the well-known liturgical calendar carved in marble dating to 840 in the church of S. Giovanni Maggiore, which benefitted from ducal privilege. The Greek saints, more numerous than their Latin counterparts, were also the protagonists of hagiographies translated into Latin.⁶³ A school for Greek instruction must have been connected with this episcopal-duc al environment.

The name day of the first series of dukes indicates that they were emissaries sent from Byzantium. Subsequently, starting with the pro-Roman policy inaugurated by Duke Stephen II (755–762), knowledge of Greek remained the privilege of the narrow social circle of rulers. In any case, it is notable that in Naples between 951 and 969 during the rule of Duke John III, the *archipresbyter* Leo made the first translation of a profane work, the *Historia Alexandri Magni* by Pseudo-Callisthenes, whose text had been copied in Constantinople by Leo himself.⁶⁴ Outside the political circle, Greek does not seem to have been widely used. The documentation of the presence of Greek residents in Naples in sources dating to the 9th and 11th centuries is very sporadic.⁶⁵ The attestations of Greek monasteries, which appear in documentation from the 10th century but were founded previously, indicate some adherence to the Greek liturgy,⁶⁶ while sporadic references to the liturgical use of bilingual chants and prayer may be interpreted as exterior manifestations which evidently aimed to recall Naples' past exarchal link, renewed by the duchy's political orientation. Although we cannot exclude the presence of Greek speakers in Greek monasteries – there were none among the clergy⁶⁷ – in any case, they must have represented a minority of the community. Additionally, the probability that knowledge of Greek was often an expression of a short-lived fashion is borne out by the ephemeral presence of Latin signatures in the Greek alphabet,

62 Ibid., p. 281.

63 Bianconi, "Le traduzioni in greco", pp. 519–568.

64 Pertusi, "Bisanzio e l'irradiazione", pp. 112–113; Martin, "Hellénisme politique", pp. 65–67.

65 Luzzati Laganà, "Firme greche", pp. 742–744.

66 The choice of rite between the rule of St Basil and that of St Benedict in Greek monasteries is a question that should be better investigated, and quite aside from the unstable indications of the name day and the documental signatures. Martin, "Hellénisme politique", p. 71, is for adherence to the rite of the Roman church.

67 *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, ed. G. Waitz, in *MGH, SS. Lang. et Ital.*, Hannover 1878, pp. 398–436; Martin, "Hellénisme politique", p. 60.

in capital letters, which recur in some documents from ducal Naples,⁶⁸ particularly as regards the property of the Greek monasteries of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus and St. Gregory the Armenian.⁶⁹ These signatures belonged to hegumens, several monks, and lay members of the military-administrative hierarchy; they ceased to appear after the mid-10th century, in concomitance with changes in the duchy's political orientation and military reorganisation.⁷⁰ Different consideration should be given to the Greek signatures, which very often appeared in lower case, which we find in several documents from the monastery of Saints Sergius and Bacchus in the 10th–11th centuries under Philip (983–1011). Indubitably, was an expression of a real knowledge of Greek on the part of those Greek monks who came from Calabria in the retinue of the monk Nilus and who, in the migratory movement that brought them from the south to Grottaferrata, spent several years in Montecassino.⁷¹

In Amalfi, which obtained de facto independence after 839 though Byzantine law, Greek culture did not reveal itself in forms that went beyond noble titles and Byzantine customs, although the intensity of the relationships of Amalfi, Montecassino, and Benevento with the Byzantines was such as to create a Benedictine monastery on Mount Athos (985/990–1287).

Before dealing with Calabria and Sicily, where there were considerable Greek-speaking settlements, a brief account of southern Basilicata and Puglia is useful towards providing a greater understanding of the situation in this part of Italy. Although these regions, following the Byzantine reconquest, were an integral part of the Byzantine Empire, the Greek communities situated in these areas lived in an unstable and precarious environment due to the ongoing threat represented by the Lombards in the north and by the Saracen raids

68 These documents, kept in the Naples State Archive, were lost in the destruction of 1943, but have survived in the complete transcription carried out by 19th century scholars in the *R. Neapolitani Archivi Monumenta* and in the form of registers of ancient documents in B. Capasso, *Monumenta ad Neapolitani ducatus historiam pertinentia*, 2 vols., Naples 1881.

The fashion also regarded epigraphs: over and above the few in Greek, chiefly referable to the period of the exarchate (Luzzati Laganà, "Firme greche", p. 740, n. 46; Guillou, *Recueil des inscriptions*, nos. 121–123, 125–126;) there are three epitaphs on sarcophagi found at the convent of S. Maria di Regina Coeli and at S. Maria a Pugliano, just outside Naples (Luzzati Laganà, "Firme greche", p. 740, n. 46, Guillou, *Recueil des inscriptions*, nos. 124, 127, 128).

69 This collection, which escaped destruction during the war, is published in J. Mazzoleni, *Le pergamene del monastero di S. Gregorio Armeno di Napoli*, Naples 1973.

70 Martin, "Hellénisme politique", pp. 75–76.

71 See below. To this period, not by chance, date some other Greek signatures on the Latin parchments in the archives of the Abbey of Cava dei Tirreni: cf. Luzzati Laganà, "Le firme greche", pp. 747–752; Cherubini, *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Gallucanta*, pp. 12–13; Martin, "Hellénisme politique", p. 71 e n. 77.

along the coasts. During the period of the theme of Longobardia and afterward, when it was transformed into a catepanate, the Byzantine territorial nucleus had fairly mobile frontiers and its entire existence was troubled by incursions by the Hungarians and Arabs, continual wars with the Lombards, and attempts by the Saxon emperors Otto I (962–973) and Otto II (973–983) to once more annex southern Italy to the Holy Roman Empire. There is no documentation of book production that is attributable with certainty to monastic centres located in these areas, except during a later age, dating to the end of the Norman rule in the 11th century. However, with regard to Puglia, a considerable documentary dossier has been preserved which demonstrates that, together with Calabria, Byzantine culture had spread within borders that were certainly more stable and that the area had preserved a quantity of public documents greater than any other provincial body in the period up to the end of the 11th century. Private documentation concerning Bari, capital of the theme and later of the catepanate, and Taranto, demonstrates a fairly lively Greek component which was more rooted and stable in Taranto. The latter, linguistically bilingual, was home to important Greek monasteries such as S. Pietro Imperiale, S. Vito del Pizzo and SS. Andrea and Bartolomeo de Insula Parva. Unlike Bari, where the Greek presence never took the form of a stable and permanent settlement; as a result, Greek notaryship was not widespread. In Taranto this practice was better organised and essentially traceable to a family activity in which it was handed down from the mid-11th century until well into the 12th.⁷²

Regarding the Byzantine period, the only actual writing activity that can be assigned to it via fairly in-depth palaeographic and codicological studies and textual traditions date from the 10th–11th centuries. Traces of book production from an earlier epoch that may be associated with certainty to specific institutions or environments, are very scarce. Northern Calabria produced the euchology transmitted by Vatican City, Apostolic Vatican Library, Barb. gr. 336, datable to the second half or the end of the 8th century. This is the oldest Byzantine euchology available today; it is also the oldest testimony of the Italo-Greek recension of the Byzantine rite, practised in certain southern regions of the peninsula until the end of the 16th century.⁷³ Egyptian-Palestinian influences have been identified in the formulary of the liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom.⁷⁴ Also attributable to the Italo-Greek area is also another codex in

72 For an examination of documentary production see D'Agostino/Degni, "Cultura grafica", pp. 573–603.

73 Jacob, "Les euchologes du fonds Barberini", pp. 154–157; D'Agostino, M. 'Per la data e l'origine', pp. 214–215; *L'Eucologio Barberini*, pp. 20–21; manuscript digitised (digi.vatlib.it).

74 Jacob, "L'evoluzione dei libri liturgici bizantini", p. 59; *L'eucologio Barberini*, pp. 2–6.

majuscule (inclined ogival) of patristic content, Vatican City, Apostolic Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 2066 + Washington, Congress Library 60 (works by Basil and Gregory of Nyssa), not only for its graphic and material features, but also for the textual recension of certain writings (such as the Life of Saint Macrina by Gregory Nyssen) to the Italo-Greek class.⁷⁵

As evidenced by traces of the Egyptian-Palestinian formulary found in the Vatican euchology, Calabria was intensely involved in the waves of Syrian-Palestinian migrations. It is well known that in the wake of this phenomenon books were brought to southern Italy, together with ornaments and art objects, evidently by the erudite élites, hegumens, and monks, who played a fundamental part in the reactivation of Greek culture. Among these treasures we should certainly mention the celebrated Rossano Gospels, also known as *Codex purpureus Rossansensis*, a luxurious illuminated evangeliary written in Biblical majuscule using gold and silver ink on red parchment, produced in the Syrian-Palestinian area between the 5th and 6th centuries, of which the entire Gospel of Saint Mark, as well as part of Matthew survive.⁷⁶ Nonetheless, there must have been numerous imported manuscripts of which the very widespread practice of reuse in the mediaeval period, known as palimpsest, has left many traces in books which were subsequently produced and are still largely to be studied analytically. Targeted investigations into these codices, for which pieces of older manuscripts that had become unusable in a given epoch were reused, knowledge of this older production, and imported production could be considerably increased; the same holds true with regard to book production and textual traditions from previous periods.⁷⁷

In the 10th century, book production began to flourish more systematically and coherently, integrating with the indirect testimonies of a hagiographic nature which refer to the copying of books within the monastic sphere: Saint Elias Spelaiotes (ca. 864–960), born in Reggio, is described as an assiduous and valued calligrapher;⁷⁸ the monk Daniel, who, in line with the values of a monasticism, was traditionally poor and uncultivated, threw an illuminated

75 Cavallo, “Le tipologie della cultura”, p. 507. This contribution is referred to also for few other manuscripts in majuscule attributable to southern Italy (pp. 507–509). Vat. gr. 2066 has been digitised (digi.vatlib.it).

76 Cf. bibliography, note 33.

77 See the promising results that emerged at the S. Lucà conference (ed.), *Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione restauro digitale, studio*, Rome 2008. It remains of fundamental importance not only for the results acquired concerning the Greek collection in the Biblioteca dell'Abbazia di S. Nilo, but also for the study methodology indicated by Crisci, *I palinsesti di Grottaferrata*, passim.

78 *AASS Septembris*, vol. 3, pp. 848–887; Schirò, “Testimonianze innografiche”, pp. 313–317.

manuscript into the pond as requested by Saint Elias of Enna (823–903);⁷⁹ and later the hagiographer of Saint Nilus (910–1005) highlighted the saint's graphic skill and described his writing, in perfect agreement with the many direct testimonies of his and his fellow monks' activity as copyists. The earliest dated testimony is from the first half of the 10th century. This is the monumental Patmos codex, Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, 33,⁸⁰ which hands down works by Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, produced in Reggio Calabria in 941 by the monk Nicholas and his spiritual son Daniel. Though Reggio was the capital of the theme of Calabria and Sicily, and was also the seat of the strategus and of the metropolitan church of Calabria, it has preserved no other certain testimony of book transcription and production, although they are to be presumed.

During the Byzantine age the main copying centres were in northern Calabria, the most outstanding being Rossano, which numerous studies have highlighted as an important centre for the spreading of Greek-speaking culture. This centre is linked with the calligraphic and philological activity of the monk Saint Nilus the Younger (910–1004) and his 'school' formed by fellow monks who were his disciples. Born, raised, and educated in Rossano, he soon embraced the monastic life.⁸¹ His activity as calligrapher was primarily in Calabria, in the mountainous area of Mercurion and in the monastery of S. Adriano, in the diocese of Rossano, until 980 when he was obliged by the Saracen invasions to take refuge in Langobardia minor (Capua, monastery of S. Michele of Vallelucio, an annex of Montecassino between 980 and 994, then Serperi near Gaeta). He eventually reached Grottaferrata near Rome, where in 1004 he founded the abbey of Santa Maria. A singular aspect of the 'Nilus school' was the wholly internal character of manuscript production: the monks commissioned, executed, and were recipients of the works.

The breadth of the role played by southern Italy in the transmission of ancient texts chiefly concerns many of the texts of literature which were privileged by monastic culture which have a specific tradition: we need only think of Methodius of Olympus,⁸² or the *Ascetica* of Basil the Great, or again of certain texts by John of Damascus and the ascetic and hagiographic sylloges, such

79 Cavallo, "Le rossignol et l'hirondelle", pp. 849–861.

80 Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule*, vol. 1, ms. 15, pl. 28–34; Prato, "Attività scrittoria", pp. 220–221; according to Perria, "La minuscola «tipo Anastasio»", pp. 271–318, the codex is the work of Constantinople craftsmen who had moved to Reggio.

81 *Vita Nili*, chaps. 15, 18 (pp. 63, 65), ed. G. Giovanelli, Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νεῖλου τοῦ Νέου, Grottaferrata 1972, for the description of writing and calligraphic activity. Among the numerous contributions by S. Lucà to this manuscript production, we limit our references to id., "Scritture e libri", *passim*.

82 Lucà, "Il Vat. gr. 2020 e Metodio di Olimpo", pp. 155–191.

as those attested to in the codex Vatican City, Vatican Apostolic Library, Vat. gr. 1589, traceable by its graphic characteristics to the school of Nilus, but with texts of Palestinian origin.⁸³

An emblematic instance of the effect of cultural intermingling and contacts between different cultures within the context of book production, already considered in the example of Nilian production executed in Campania, is represented by the codex Vatican City, Vatican Apostolic Library, Vat. gr. 1456, in which the reuse of books of Syrian-Palestinian and even Arab origin is accompanied by use of paper that was possibly of Arab manufacture, if it is true that ff. 15–53 were written on bombycine paper.⁸⁴

Italo-Greek Byzantine society appears to have given little consideration to profane literature. The *élite* who, together with the heads of the episcopal and monastic seats must also have included members of local families involved in the highest levels of administration, do not seem to have manifested any interest beyond knowledge of an instrumental kind in this specific book production. What emerges from direct and indirect testimony, present in the form of citations and extracts, is that there is no documentation of activities of reading, circulation, and copying of classical texts in accordance with methods attested to in Constantinople.⁸⁵

Profane Byzantine manuscripts are relatively few, as borne out also by the inventories of the surviving Basilian monasteries, and represent a repertoire limited to books useful for acquiring an average level culture or, at the most, for technical-professional training.⁸⁶

We know little about the education of high-level administrators and lower grade civil and military functionaries. Some were actually illiterate or semi-illiterate, but many must be considered as possessing an average cultural level.⁸⁷

83 *Codici greci*, no. 8 (described by C. Faraggiana di Sarzana); manuscript digitised (digi.vatlib.it).

84 *Codici greci*, no. 11 (pp. 54–55, described by Paul Canart); manuscript digitised (digi.vatlib.it).

85 On the other hand, this provincial monastic situation was not so different from that of the Byzantine capital where similarly the reading of books did not go beyond the Holy Scriptures, above all the Psalter, the liturgical books and the *typika*, lives of Saints, collected prayers and ascetic writings. On this subject see Cavallo, “Πόλις γραμμάτων”, passim.

86 Although manuscripts attributable to the Byzantine period are not numerous we have preferred to limit citation to only a few examples in order to avoid weighing down the treatise excessively. For a bibliography of the codices cited and the few others not explicitly considered, see Degni, “Testi scientifici”, passim.

87 Von Falkenhausen, “A Provincial Aristocracy”, pp. 222–223.

The average culture was the same in Constantinople and in the provinces, where in the worst-case scenario there were no or very limited possibilities of access to higher and rhetorical-type education.⁸⁸ What distinguishes Constantinople from the outlying areas, at least until the 12th century, is the great number of classical authors whose works were transcribed. The culture of the outlying regions of Byzantium should be considered not so much eccentric, but rather as the culture of the averagely-educated man.

A first Byzantine nucleus must have settled in Sicily following the Justinianic conquest (535–551), in the course of which its main port, Syracuse, played a foremost role. From several letters written by Pope Gregory the Great (594–604),⁸⁹ it has been determined that at the end of the 6th century, in Syracuse as much as in Catania, Greek-Oriental liturgical practices had been introduced from which we may deduce that part of the clergy officiated in Greek. Some decades later the Greek contingent in Sicily seems to have been very extensive: between 646 and 648, Maximus the Confessor sent a missive from Rome – in Greek – to the hegumens, monks, and the population a missive from Rome, in Greek, to warn them about the Monothelite heresy.⁹⁰

As we have seen, during the age of the Byzantine papacy there were many popes of Sicilian origin, or of Syrian-Palestinian origin who were nonetheless from the island,⁹¹ a phenomenon that ran parallel with the settlement of Greeks in Sicilian bishoprics. This also demonstrates that it was possible to receive high-level training, as we learn from references to popes of Sicilian origin or residence in the *Liber pontificalis*:⁹² as in the instance of Methodius, who studied in Syracuse as a notary, learning tachygraphy, before moving to Constantinople to take up an administrative-bureaucratic career.⁹³

After the 7th-century Arab invasions,⁹⁴ Syrian-Palestinian immigration evidently developed a lively Greek substratum which was highly influential in the definition of many expressions of Italo-Greek cultural life⁹⁵ and in the reinforcement of the network of relations with the east. In fact, it appears that there were frequent contacts between Sicilian monks and their counterparts

88 Cavallo, "EN BAPBAPOIΣ XOPIOIΣ", pp. 89–90, pp. 93–97.

89 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 1.9; 1.26 ed. D. Norberg, Gregorius Magnus, *Registrum epistularum*, 2 vols. (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 140–140A), Turnholt 1992.

90 *PG* 91, cols. 112–133. Cf. Guillou, "Grecs d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile", p. 82.

91 Cf. p. 739.

92 Von Falkenhausen, "Il monachesimo greco", pp. 146–147.

93 Cf. p. 738.

94 Cf. p. 739–740.

95 The Syrian influence is evident for example in hagiography: various saints who founded Sicilian bishoprics had been spiritually trained in Antioch. Cf. von Falkenhausen, "Il monachesimo greco", pp. 144–145.

in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 9th century,⁹⁶ relationships confirmed by the close links between the oldest Greek hymn-writing tradition of southern Italy and that of Jerusalem.⁹⁷ The far-ranging and dense network of relationships between the Italo-Greek and Syrian-Palestinian provinces has also been highlighted by certain textual recensions of written matter transmitted by Italo-Greek manuscripts from the 10th–12th centuries.⁹⁸

The Arab conquest of Sicily, which concluded with the fall of Rometta in 963, left the Greeks only a small settlement zone in the north-eastern section of the island and forced part of the population and numerous Sicilian monks, between the 9th and 11th centuries, towards Greece (Peloponnesus), Calabria, and Rome, as evidenced by the many hagiographies of Sicilian saints (e.g., Saint Sabas of Collesano, Saint Philaretus, etc.),⁹⁹ followed by the migration of Calabrian peoples and monks, who were also fleeing north from the Saracen raids. Among the Byzantine manuscripts attributable to southern Italy there is no acknowledgement of examples that are traceable with certainty to copying activity in Sicily, although there should have been no lack of it when one considers the high degree of culture spread throughout the island. However, the attributions of manuscripts which have thus far been seem destined to remain within the limits of hypothesis.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Guillou, A., *Recueil des inscriptions grecques médiévales d'Italie* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 222), Rome 1996.
- L'Eucologio Barberini gr. 336*, ed. S. Parenti/E. Velkowska, (Ephemerides liturgicae. Subsidia 80) Rome 2000 (2nd revised edition).
- Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, Le « Liber Pontificalis ». *Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2 vols., Paris 1886–1892.
- Tjäder, J.-O., *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, 3 vols., Lund-Stochkolm 1955–1982.

-
- 96 *Vita Michaelis Syncelli* 1.8–10 ed. M.B. Cunningham, *The Life of Michael the Synkellos. Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 1), Belfast 1991 (BHG 1296). Cf. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, p. 140 n. 92 with preceding bibliography.
- 97 Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, vol. 1, p. 18 n. 93 with preceding bibliography.
- 98 Irigoin, "L'Italie méridional" pp. 37–55; Canart, "Le livre grec", passim; Lucà, "Attività scrittorica e culturale", pp. 37–39.
- 99 See the list with bibliographical references to the hagiographies in Pertusi, "Bisanzio e l'irradiazione", p. 104 n. 84.

Secondary Literature

- Agati, M.L., "Centri scrittori e produzione di manoscritti greci a Roma e nel Lazio", *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 48 (1994), 141–165.
- Batiffol, P.H., *L'abbaye de Rossano. Contribution à l'histoire de la Vaticane*, Paris 1891 (repr. Ashgate 1971).
- Batiffol, P.H., "Libraries byzantines à Rome", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 8 (1888), 297–308.
- Benz, S., *Der Rotulus von Ravenna nach seiner Herkunft und seiner Bedeutung für die Liturgiegeschichte kritisch untersucht* (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 45), Münster 1967.
- Bertelli, C., "Codici miniati fra Goti, Longobardi e Franchi", in *Magistra Barbaritas. I Barbari in Italia*, Milan 1984, pp. 571–602.
- Bertelli, C., "Una proposta circa il committente del Dioscoride napoletano", in C. Bertelli/S. Lilla/G. Orofino (eds.), *Dioscurides neapolitanus. Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli. Codice ex Vindobonensis Graecus*, vol. 1. *Commentarius*. Introduzione di G. Cavallo, Rome 1992.
- Bianconi, D., "Le traduzioni in greco dei testi latini", in G. Cavallo (ed.), *Lo spazio letterario*, vol. 3. *Le culture circostanti*, 1. *La cultura bizantina*, Rome 2004, pp. 519–568.
- Bignami Odier, J./Ruysschaert, J., *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI. Recherches sur l'histoire des collections de manuscrits* (Studi e Testi, 272), Vatican City 1973.
- Bordi, G., *Gli affreschi di S. Saba sul piccolo Aventino. Come e dove erano*, Milano 2008.
- Büren, von, V., "La place du manuscrit Ambros. L. 99 sup. dans la transmission des Étymologies d' Isidore de Séville", in M. Ferrari/M. Navoni (eds.), *Nuove ricerche su codici in scrittura latina dell'Ambrosiana*, Milan 2007, pp. 25–44.
- Burgarella, F., "Presenze greche a Roma: aspetti culturali e religiosi", in *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente*, 2 vols (Settimane CISAM, 49) Spoleto 2002, II, pp. 943–988.
- Campana, A., "Il codice ravennate di S. Ambrogio", *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 1(1958), 15–64.
- Canart, P., "Le livre grec en Italie méridionale sous les règnes normand et souabe: aspects matériels et sociaux", *Scrittura e civiltà* 2 (1978), 103–162 (reprinted with an Italian translation in G. Cavallo [ed.], *Libri e lettori nel mondo bizantino. Guida storica e critica*, Rome 1982, pp. 0000 and in P. Canart, *Études de paléographie et de codicologie*, reproduites avec la collaboration de M.L. Agati e M. D'Agostino, 2 vols (Studi e Testi, 450–450A), Vatican City 2008, I, pp. 369–428.
- Canart, P., "Le patriarche Méthode de Constantinople copiste à Rome", in *Palaeographica, Diplomatica et Archivistica*, *Studi in onore di Giulio Battelli*, Rome 1979, pp. 343–353 (reprinted in P. Canart, *Études de paléographie et de codicologie*, reproduites avec la collaboration de M.L. Agati et M.D. Agostino, 2 vols. (Studi e Testi, 450–451), Vatican 2008, I, pp. 429–440.
- Cavallo, G., "EN BAPBAPOIC XOPIOIC. Riflessioni su cultura del centro e cultura delle periferie a Bisanzio", in *Byzantina – Metabyzantina. La périphérie dans le temps*

- et l'espace* (Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes. Dossiers Byzantins, 2), Paris 2003, pp. 77–106.
- Cavallo, G., "La cultura a Ravenna tra Corte e Chiesa", in *Le sedi della cultura nell'Emilia Romagna. L'Alto Medioevo*, Milan 1983, pp. 29–51.
- Cavallo, G., "La cultura greca. Itinerari e segni", in G. Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), *Storia e civiltà della Campania. Il Medioevo*, Naples 1992, pp. 277–294.
- Cavallo, G., "La cultura italo-greca nella produzione libraria", in G. Cavallo et al., *I Bizantini in Italia*, Milano 1982, pp. 495–612.
- Cavallo, G., "La cultura scritta a Ravenna tra antichità tarda e alto medioevo", in A. Carile (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna*, vol. 2/2. *Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana. Ecclesiologia, cultura e arte*, Venice 1992, pp. 79–126.
- Cavallo, G., "Le influenze bizantine nei secoli IX e X tra Campania e Lazio. Qualche aspetto", in K. Herbers/J. Johrendt (eds.), *Das Papsttum und das vielgestaltige Italien. Hundert Jahre Italia Pontificia* (Abhandlungen des Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. N.F., 5), Berlin 2009, pp. 69–73.
- Cavallo, G., "Le rossignol et l'hirondelle. Lire et écrire à Byzance, en Occident", *Annales* 56 (2001), 849–861.
- Cavallo, G., "Le tipologie della cultura nel riflesso delle testimonianze scritte", in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'Alto medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, 34), Spoleto 1988, pp. 467–516.
- Cavallo, G., "Πόλις γραμμάτων. Livelli d'istruzione e usi di libri negli ambienti monastici a Bisanzio", *Travaux et Mémoires (Mélanges Gilbert Dagron)*, 14 (2002), 95–114.
- Cavallo, G., "Scrittura greca e scrittura latina a Roma tra VIII e IX secolo", in P. Cockshaw/M.C. Garand/P. Jodogne (eds.), *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata MCMMLXXIX*, 2 vols. (Les publications de Scriptorium, 8) Gand 1979, I, pp. 23–29.
- Cavallo, G., *Scrivere e leggere nella città antica*, Rome 2019.
- Cavallo, G./Gribomont, J./Loerke, W.E. (eds.), *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis. Facsimile e commentario*, 2 vols., Rome 1992.
- Cherubini, P., *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Gallucanta (sec. IX–XII)* (Fonti per la storia del Mezzogiorno Medievale, 9), Altavilla Silentina 1990.
- Chiesa, P., "Le traduzioni dal greco: l'evoluzione della scuola napoletana nel X secolo", in W. Berschin, (ed.), *Lateinische Kultur im X. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1991, pp. 67–86.
- Collins, M., *Medieval Herbals: The Illustrative Traditions*, London 2000.
- Cosentino, S., "Quando e perché fu scritta la Vita di Gregorio di Agrigento?", *Quaderni di Archeologia Postclassica* (R.M. Carra Bonacasa/E. Vitale [eds.], *Studi in memoria di Fabiola Ardizzone*, 1, *Epigrafia e Storia*), 10 (2018), 17–36.
- Crisci, E., *I palinsesti di Grottaferrata. Studio codicologico e paleografico*, 2 vols., Naples 1990.
- D'Agostino, M., "Furono prodotti manoscritti greci a Roma tra i secoli VIII e IX?" *Scripta. An International Journal of Codicology and Palaeography* 6 (2013), 41–56.

- D'Agostino, M., "Il Gregorio Nazianzeno Ambr. E 49 inf. + E 50 inf. (gr. 1014). Una indagine codicologica con qualche riflessione paleografica", in P. Cherubini/G. Nicolaj (eds.), *Sit liber gratus, quem servulus est operatus. Studi in onore di Alessandro Pratesi per il suo 90° compleanno*, 2 vols., Vatican City 2002, I, pp. 191–202.
- D'Agostino, M., "Per la data e l'origine di alcuni codici in maiuscola tarda", in G. Prato (ed.), *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito*, 2 vols., Florence 2000, I, pp. 209–216, Tavole 1–12 (pp. 137–148).
- D'Agostino, M./Degni, P., "Cultura grafica nei documenti greci della Puglia", in *Bizantini, Longobardi e Arabi in Puglia nell'Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto 2012, pp. 573–603.
- D'Aiuto, F./Vian, P. (eds.), *Guida ai fondi manoscritti, numismatici, a stampa della Biblioteca vaticana*, Vatican City 2011.
- Davis, R., *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes*, Liverpool 1992.
- Degni, P., "I testi scientifici nell' Italia meridionale bizantina", in *La conoscenza scientifica nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane CISAM, 67), Spoleto, 2020, pp. 797–836.
- Devreesse, R. (ed.), *Codices Vaticani Graeci: Codices 604–866*, Vatican City 1950.
- Falkenhhausen, von, V., "Il monachesimo greco in Sicilia", in C. Damiano Fonseca (ed.), *La Sicilia rupestre nel contesto delle civiltà mediterranee*, Galatina 1986, pp. 135–175.
- Falkenhhausen, von, V., "Roma greca. Greci e civiltà greca a Roma nel Medioevo", in C. Carbonetti/S. Lucà/M. Signorini (eds.), *Roma e il suo territorio nel Medioevo. Le fonti scritte fra tradizione e innovazione*, Spoleto 2015, pp. 39–72.
- Follieri, E., *Codices Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae Selecti*, City of Vatican 1969.
- Gamillscheg, E./Harfinger, B./Hunger, H., *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600*, vol. 2. *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Großbritanniens* (A. Verzeichnis der Kopisten, erst. von E. Gamillscheg, D. Harfinger; B. Paläographische Charakteristika, erst. von H. Hunger; C. Tafeln), Wien 1989.
- Guillou, A., "Grecs d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile au Moyen Âge: les moines", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, 75 (1963), 79–110 (reprinted in id., *Studies on Byzantine Italy*, London 1970, XII).
- Guillou, A., "Table ronde sur la diplomatique", in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Paris 1977, pp. 525–533.
- Hack, A.T., *Codex Carolinus. Päpstliche Epistolographie im 8. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Päpste und Papsttum, 35), Stuttgart 2006.
- Heil, G./Ritte, A.M./Suchta, B.R., *Corpus Dionysiacum*, 2 vols., Berlin 1990–1991.
- Ieraci Bio, A.M., "La cultura medica a Ravenna nel VI secolo d. C.", *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana* n.s. 43 (1994), 279–308.
- Irigoin, J., "L'Italie meridional et la tradition des textes antiques", *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 18 (1969), 32–55 (reprinted in D. Harfinger [ed.], *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, Darmstadt, 1980, pp. 234–258).
- Jacob, A., "Les euchologes du fonds Barberini grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane", *Didaskalia*, 4 (1974), 131–222.

- Jacob, A., "Rouleaux grecs et latins dans l'Italie méridionale", in Ph. Hoffmann (ed.), *Recherches de codicologie comparée. La composition du codex au Moyen Âge, en Orient et en Occident*. Indices rédigés par Ch. Hunziger, Paris 1998, pp. 69–98.
- Jacob, A./Martin, J.-M./Noyé, Gh. (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 363), Rome 2006.
- Lake, S./Lake, K., *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, 11 vols., Boston, Mass., 1934–1945.
- Lilla, S., "Ricerche sulla tradizione manoscritta del « De divinis nominibus » dello Pseudo Dionigi l'Areopagita", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* s. II, 34 (1965), 296–386.
- Lizzi Testa, R., "La traduzione greca dei « Dialogi » di Gregorio Magno: trasmissione e fortuna del testo in area orientale", in P. Chiesa (ed.), *I « Dialogi » di Gregorio Magno. Tradizione del testo e antiche traduzioni*, Florence 2006, pp. 169–194.
- Lucà, S., "Attività scrittoria e culturale a Rossano: da S. Nilo a s. Bartolomeo da Simeri (secoli X–XII)", in *Atti del Congresso internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano*, Rossano 1989, pp. 25–73.
- Lucà, S., "Il Vat. gr. 2020 e Metodio d'Olimpo (Symp. VIII.13)", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 54 (2000), 155–191.
- Luzzati Laganà, F., "Le firme greche nei documenti del Ducato di Napoli", *Studi Medievali* 3a ser., 23/2 (1982), 729–752.
- Maltese, E.V., "Appunti su Zaccaria traduttore di Gregorio Magno", in C. Moreschini/C. Menestrina (eds.), *La traduzione dei testi religiosi*, Brescia 1994, pp. 243–252.
- Martin, J.-M., "Hellénisme politique, religieux et pseudo-hellénisme à Naples", *Néa 'Ρώμη. Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 2 (2005), 55–77.
- Martini, E./Bassi, D., *Catalogum codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, Milan 1906 (reprint, Hildesheim, 1978).
- Mazzarino, S., *Antico tardo antico età costantiniana*, Bari 1980.
- Mercati, G., "Frammenti antichissimi ravennati della Volgata", in id., *Opere minori*, 4 vols., Vatican City 1937, IV, pp. 1–6.
- Mercati, G., *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci di Genova, di varie badie basiliane d'Italia e di Patmo*, Vatican City 1935.
- Mercati, G., "Sull'epigramma acrostico premesso alla versione greca di s. Zaccaria papa del « Liber dialogorum » di Gregorio Magno", *Bessarione*, 23 (1919), 65–75 (reprinted in Id., *Collectanea byzantina*, 2 vols., Bari 1970, I, pp. 165–173).
- Messina, A., "I Siciliani di rito greco e il patriarcato di Antiochia", *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 32 (1978), 415–421.
- Montero Cartelle, E., 'Los textos médicos de Rávena', in *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale*, 2 vols., Spoleto 2005, II, pp. 801–820.
- Noble, T.F.X., "The Declining Knowledge of Greek in Eight- and Ninth- Century Papal Rome", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 68 (1985), 56–62.

- Noble, T.F.X., *The Republic of St. Peter, 680–825*, Philadelphia 1984.
- Omont, H. *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 4 vols, Paris 1886–1898.
- Osborne, J., “The Use of Painted Initials by Greek and Latin *Scriptoria* in Carolingian Rome”, *Gesta* 29 (1990), 76–85.
- Pasini, C., *Bibliografia dei manoscritti greci dell'Ambrosiana (1857–2006)*, Milan 2007.
- Perria, L., “La minuscola « tipo Anastasio »”, in G. Cavallo/G. De Gregorio/M. Maniaci (eds.), *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio*, 2 vols., Spoleto 1991, 1, pp. 271–318.
- Prato, G., “Attività scrittoria in Calabria tra IX e X secolo. Qualche riflessione”, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 36 (1986), 219–228 (reprinted in id., *Studi di Paleografia greca*, Spoleto 1994, pp. 1–11).
- Rigotti, G.P., “Gregorio e il dialogo con il mondo bizantino”, in I. Gargano (ed.), *L'eredità spirituale di Gregorio Magno tra Occidente e Oriente*, Verona 2005, pp. 271–292.
- Sakkelio, I., *Πατμιακή Βιβλιοθήκη*, Athens 1890.
- Sansterre, J.-M., *Les moines grecques et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantines et carolingiennes (milieu du VI^e s.–fin de IX^e s.)* (Académie Royale – Mémoires de la Classe de Lettres. Collection, Serie 2^e, 66/1), 2 vols., Bruxelles 1980–1983.
- Schirò, G., “Testimonianze innografiche dell'attività scrittoria di S. Elia lo Speleota”, in P. Wirth (ed.), *Polychordia. Festschrift F. Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag, (= Byzantinische Forschungen 1–3 [1966–1968])*, 3 vols., Amsterdam 1966–1968, 11, pp. 313–317.
- Stelladoro, M., “Metodio”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 47, Rome 2010, pp. 35–39.

Legal Texts and Juridical Practice in Byzantine Italy

Cristina Rognoni

With the imperial army's conquests – beginning in 531 in Sicily, and ending only around twenty years later – Byzantine sovereignty established itself over the territory, extending the empire's juridical regulations that were then valid to those who now lived within the Italic boundaries. However, neither the long duration of this conquest, which the imperial ideology treated as a *restitutio*, nor its relatively swift collapse occurred simultaneously across the empire's territories. After an ephemeral moment of unity that lasted less than twenty years (in 568 the Lombards began their penetration from northeast of the peninsula), the progressive fragmentation of imperial rule in Italy both shaped the politics of the peninsula and led to a divergency in the development of the juridical regulations in those regions under imperial rule.

The notion of *ennomos politeia*, which shaped the Byzantine juridical system and translated the equivalence of *nomos empsychos/basileus* into a universal application of the imperial laws in the areas subject to the *basileia*, was present in Italy as it was in the other provinces. Still, effective implementation of this notion was discontinuous and problematic, not only because of the changing boundaries of Byzantine Italy, which were porous and permeable and drastically reduced over the course of four centuries, but also due to the foundation of *ennomos politeia*.¹ Because of its original Roman model, imperial law remained an ideal even after the political dominance of Constantinople faded away. However, imperial law also had to reckon with the establishment of 'barbarian' customs in the former province of Italy that were largely influenced by the very same Roman model.² In addition, the Roman church played an important role in preserving aspirations towards the universality of the law.

If political membership in the empire implied the reception of legislation enacted in Constantinople, then strong state control was (a priori, at least) a guarantee of its application. When, at the end of the 7th century, the weak political experiment of the exarchate was beginning to dissolve, it was the Roman church, as the leading and vicarious institution of the imperial state, that presented itself as the empire's counterpart in the exercise of power. Reclaiming

¹ Dagron, "Lawful Society and Legitimate Power".

² See now Ghignoli/Bougard, "Elementi romani nei documenti longobardi?".

an authority derived from the sacred concept of imperium as perfectly embodied by Justinian, the pope tended to stand in for the emperor in Italy. This paper's intent is not to explore the various expressions of antagonism that arose between the emperor and pope, which was clearly political and marked the relations between Rome and Constantinople. What is important to underline in this context is that as far as juridical and legal texts are concerned, a uniform discourse on Byzantine Italy was only conceivable until the second decade of the 8th century, when Leon III's politics profoundly transformed the sense of political belonging to the empire within its two most Hellenized Western regions, Sicily and Calabria. This was a fundamental turning point, even more important than the 'physiological' diminution of legal spaces due to the territorial conquest of the Lombards. As is known, Leo III's strategy sparked serious resistance in Italy, the final outcome being Rome's detaching itself from Constantinople, that progressively played out for at least a century. The fall of Ravenna in 751 took care of the rest.

The much-debated evidence of different "Byzantine Italies"³ poses a series of hermeneutical difficulties common to other spheres of research. Yet, whoever would seek to use the legal texts which were produced and circulated within the Italian province in order to portray aspects of Byzantine culture and society faces a further complication: namely, the uncertainty that hovers around the nature and functions of those sources. Put simply, it is primarily a problem tied to the history of Byzantine law in itself, whose scholarship has long been hampered by strong ideological claims.⁴

On the other hand, this difficulty has arisen, as is well known, from the very appeal to *romanitas* that Justinianic political ideology established as the interpretive symbol for the remainder of the empire's history. This central theme has spurred endless debates. We will not take them up here, except to indicate how the uncertainty surrounding the criteria for determining the beginnings of the Byzantine state necessarily involved the law that shaped it. Proof of this can be found in the fact that, starting from Zachariae von Lingenthal and his *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts* (Berlin, 1892³) which has long remained the only complete manual of Byzantine legal history, scholars used the ambiguous phrase "Greco-Roman or Byzantine law."⁵

3 See Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine*, pp. 11–30.

4 For an updated treatment on this topic see Stolte, "Balancing Byzantine Law," pp. 57–75. See also Bénou, *Pour une nouvelle histoire*, pp. 11–25.

5 See Berger, "Pourquoi jus graeco-romanum?," Simon, "Die Epochen". Legal byzantine sources are reviewed in Pieler, "Byzantinische Rechtsliteratur"; Van der Wal/Lokin, *Historiae iuris graeco-romani*; Troianos, *Οι πηγές*.

The focus of this study will be certain Byzantine legal texts concerning Italy, which will be examined in light of recent scholarship as well as Justinian's opus, which may be understood as the linchpin for the development of Byzantine law not only as the translation, and tradition, of Roman law into Greek, but also as an original juridical creation.⁶ Here it is worth emphasizing that this Italy was reannexed into the empire right at the time when Justinian's legislative activity in Constantinople codified the Roman juridical production in a monumental corpus and, guided by the Greek language, opened those regulations to a Byzantine interpretation, thereby paving the way for a legal system that would serve as the basis of Byzantine jurisprudence.

This paper is organized into two parts that, for schematic reasons, will illustrate our theme in terms of the production, reception, and transmission of legal texts, but also in terms of praxis controlled by normative production. A comprehensive picture of the sources seems in order, primarily to frame the following discussion. However, no claim will be made to have exhausted (nor even, in certain cases, do we come close to exhausting) the many questions inherent in their creation, content, and function.

Anticipating my conclusions, it will be useful to underline how the manuscript tradition of legal books contrasts with the limited number of texts concerning Italy. Only partially related to imperial legislation, this tradition is notable especially for those "private" collections, or collections of special laws of uncertain origin that had legal force in Byzantium. Furthermore, with respect to other areas of the empire, Italy, together with Egypt, is the best-documented "peripheral" region, as far as juridical practice is concerned.⁷ This duality of evidence is attributable both to fortuitous archival circumstances and to the precise form that characterises Byzantine juridical culture.

1 Forms of Byzantine Legality

The law in Byzantium derived from imperial authority. The official codification acted as a general norm of reference; additions or amendments dictated by historical contingencies, or rather, by the changing economic and social conditions of the state, were only admitted under the sanction of the emperor.

⁶ Stolte, "Diritto romano e diritto bizantino", pp. 23–24 and more generally id., "The social function of the Law", pp. 79–80.

⁷ Beaucamp, "L'histoire du droit byzantin face à la papyrologie".

The canons of the church, voted and approved by the synods, were ratified by the emperor and became laws of the state. When a law was not applied for a long time and would thus fall into obsolescence, it could appear useless and be abrogated *de facto*, but in such cases jurisprudence and juridical practice could always draw from it. The only relatively “massive” abrogation was the one orchestrated by the commission that, under the Macedonian emperors, had to proceed, as ordered by Emperors Basil I and Leo VI, according to an *anakatharsis ton nomon*. The *Basilici* are the product of both the expunction of superseded norms and of the translation into Greek of the Justinianic compilation, already partially epitomized between the 6th and 7th centuries and reorganized according to thematic criteria. The *Basilici* remained *de facto* the only Byzantine codification in use until the end of the empire, or indeed until the redaction of the Civil Code of the Greek state in 1946.

Along with this enormous mass of codified *Nomoi*, there existed both current legislation and the vast production of juridical books, which were equally a source and an instrument of the law. These books include: (1) *eclogai*, *procheira*, *enchiridia* – that is, legislative collections, or compilations of special laws, as well as legal manuals compiled to meet juridical or scholarly necessity, lighter and easier to use; (2) juridical and administrative texts (*The Book of the Eparch*, 10th century) or single testimonies, like the collection of cases resolved by the judge of the Hippodrome Eustathius Rhomaïos (*Peira*, 11th century); (3) *scholia*, or appendices in manuscripts that accompanied and integrated the redaction of a legal text. These are what remains of a juridical literature that took place throughout the centuries under the shadow of Justinianic ideals and in the light of a *synetheia*, which texts have indicated were a source of law. In fact, these are the working materials used by jurists and functionaries alike, with the latter also serving as judges within their jurisdiction, as occurred in the early Middle Ages in general.⁸ Praxis functioned parallel to formal laws, sometimes even acting against legal provisions, in a constant state of adjustment in which it was easier to notice the ability of a *notarios*, the competence of a judge-functionary, or the adroitness of an extrajudicial procedure rather than references to the normative text. For the Byzantines, legislation “was not the only way in which they adapted their law to changing circumstances.”⁹

8 Guillaou, “Il funzionario”; Puliatti, “L’organizzazione” with preceding bibliography.

9 Stolte, “Not new but novel”, p. 273.

2 The Code of Justinian and the Exegesis of the Oriental School (6th to 7th Centuries)¹⁰

The first compilation approved by Justinian in 528 and published in 529 included all of the imperial constitutions collected and made effective as *leges generales* of the empire within a single codex. This began with the *Codex Theodosianus* of 438–439 and was supplemented by later constitutions, to which the emperor gave renewed validity as laws. A second edition of Justinian's laws appeared in 534, with the constitutions that appeared obsolete or contradictory taken out. This *Codex repetitae praelectionis*, compiled within twelve books, is the only one to have survived. It is important to emphasize that the collection presents itself as a comprehensive and exclusively valid compilation, repealing previous codification and laws.

3 Digest or Pandects

The body of *iura* – the source of law for classical jurisprudence – were chosen and collected in fifty books made up of titles and fragments: an immense collection intended as a single constitution and giving equal weight to jurisprudence and *leges*. In both practice and teaching, recourse to other writings that were not part of the Digest was banned. The text of the Digest was protected from the insertion of comments, notes in the margin, and any symbols that were not immediately useful for clarifying the various titles.

4 Institutiones

As a manual of the law, the four books of the *Institutiones* were conceived as an introduction to the fundamental elements of Roman law. They were a part of the didactical program that also required the study of chapters of the *Codex* and the *Digest* and, just like these, the *Institutiones* were fully enforced.

The codification of Justinian was never abolished and, having been amended, updated, epitomized, and translated into Greek, continued to be valid in the East. Obviously, this does not mean that all the constitutions were maintained over the course of time, nor does it mean that new laws could not have been promulgated. Justinian himself, after the promulgation of the *Codex*, legislated

¹⁰ See the useful summary with a complete bibliography now in Lokin/van Bochove, “Compilazione-educazione-purificazione”.

on new issues and, from that point on, the term *novella* was used to indicate a new juridically-ordained law. Promulgated by Justinian starting in 534, the *Novellae* were written for the most part in Greek and are known thanks to a compilation (168 constitutions) collected during or after the reigns of Justin II and Tiberius II.

Aside from the *Novellae*, the entire Justinianic *corpus* is in Latin, the language of Roman law: incongruous with the territorial, political, and linguistic situation of the empire, it would not be wrong to see in this “a way to declare, at least formally, the unity and universality of an empire in the process of disintegration.”¹¹ However, the necessities of practice and teaching made translations of the *corpus* into Greek immediately necessary. Despite Justinian’s strictures against producing commentaries on the laws, such translations were never literal and interlinear, but presented many levels of elaboration. The activity of the Byzantine jurists in the East gave rise to the double tradition (in Latin and in Greek) of the Justinianic compilation in which Italy would naturally play a fundamental role. Below, we will indicate only a few texts that will be cited in the present study.

Theophilus, teacher of law in Constantinople and *magister officiorum* who had participated in the commission for both the edition of the *Digest* and the *Institutiones*, prepared an adaptation of the *Institutiones* for didactic purposes. This adaptation, known as the *Paraphrasis*, has been dated to 533–534 due to its lack of references to the *Codex* of 534.¹² It is the only extant text from the time of Justinian, and with its comments and additions it illustrates certain aspects of the practices of the *antecessors* – the teachers, who were held in great esteem after the reform of juridical studies commissioned by Justinian.¹³ The *antecessor* Dorotheus was responsible for the integral Greek translation of the *Digest*, which was devoid of any comments and probably intended for legal practice. *Summae* and *indices* of the *Digest* are also known, the most important of which is attributed to Stephanus and was preserved, thanks to *scholia*, in the margins of the *Basilici*. Meanwhile, Taleleus of Beirut, also cited as a member of the imperial legislative commission, was responsible for the most important translation *kata podas*, with commentary in Greek, of the laws covered in the code. Even the *Novellae*, though published in Greek, were taken up in *summae* that would eventually become the base texts used by the *scholastikoi* (professionals dedicated to the practice of law). Two epitomes of the *Novellae* (from

11 Mazzucchi, “Il contesto culturale e linguistico”, p. 74.

12 Lokin/Mejering/Stolte/van der Wal, *Theophili antecessoris paraphrasis institutionum. With a translation by A.F. Murison*, Groningen 2010.

13 Scheltema, *L'enseignement du droit*; see also Falcone, “Premessa”.

the end of the 6th century) are preserved in their entirety: that of Athanasius of Emesa and that of Theodore of Hermopolis.¹⁴

If indeed the era of the *antecessores* and the *scholastikoi* represents the “Golden Age of Byzantine Law,” as some would maintain, it is certain that the juridical production tied to their activity was imposing and was the basis for the subsequent legislation.¹⁵ In fact, after the death of Justinian and for approximately the next two centuries, official legislative activity seems to have remained limited to the very infrequent imperial interventions of Justin II and Tiberius II, of Maurice and of Leo IV, and of Irene. Four *Novellae* of Heraclius are also preserved, concerning ecclesiastical issues. In the two centuries that separate Justinianic legislation from Isaurian legislation, the establishment of the official canonical *corpus* of the eastern church can be attested to starting from the Council in Troullos (691–692) and its later expansion by legislation after the council.¹⁶ The production of the first Nomocanons (compilations in which an ecclesiastical canon lies beside the imperial *nomos* concerning the same subject matter) likely dates back to the 7th century. The most important for subsequent legal tradition is the *Nomocanon in Fourteen Chapters*, written between 612 and 629.¹⁷

In the years between 726 and 741, Leo III and Constantine V charged a commission of jurists with the task of composing a selection of pertinent laws in the major, valid legal codes – the *Institutiones*, *Digest*, *Codex*, and *Novellae* “of Justinian the Great” – with the aim of adapting this legislation to the needs of contemporary society and correcting it *eis to philanthropoteron*. Dated by its most recent editor to 741,¹⁸ such a selection incorporates 150 chapters, concerning the broad spheres of civil law and of penal law. Such an undertaking, intended as “the first work of Byzantine legislation to seek to implement a juridical world order through a clearly defined legal and political agenda,”¹⁹ was directed towards improving the arrangement and simplification of the system of justice. The practical approach of the *Ecloga*, the relative “limitedness” of its intent when compared to the Justinianic codification and certainly the historical context of its beginnings (that is, the political reform of the iconoclasts) have all divided the opinion of scholars. Some are inclined to view this as a radical change in the direction of a fully Christian legal system. Others read

14 Gorla, “Il giurista”. On Theodore of Hermopolis see Martino, “Teodoro di Ermopoli”, pp. 441–453.

15 Scheltema, “Byzantine Law”, p. 42.

16 Pitsakis, “Le droit canonique”.

17 Van der Wal/Lokin, *Historiae iuris graeco-romani*, pp. 60–70.

18 Burgmann, *Ecloga*, pp. 10–12; 100–104.

19 Simon, “Legislation”, p. 12.

this as an expression of *Volksrecht* lacking a high juridical value. Still others see this as “ultima tappa della volgarizzazione del diritto romano dopo duecento anni di decadenza nella prassi.”²⁰

5 Compilations from the Macedonian Period

According to the proem of both juridical manuals redacted during the reign of Basil I, the iconoclastic emperors in reality did not reform but perverted the law: the *Ecloga* was formally repealed, but in practice remained a source of law. It underwent revisions, emendations, and additions (*Ecloga privata*/*Ecloga privata aucta*/*Eclogadion*/*Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*),²¹ which were completed during the Macedonian period. In the process of adapting the legislation of the iconoclast emperors, their successors turned as often to the Code of Justinian, through the Greek commentators, as they did to new rules not predicted in previous legislation. The *Ecloga* did not cease to be handed down and was often done so with earlier modifications and appendices, and with the three compilations called “special” or “social” that appear to be complementary to the Isaurian legislation:²²

1. The *Nomos Rhodion Nautikos* is an anthology that can be traced back to the legislative formulations of the Rhodian law as well as to maritime customs that cannot be found in the *Codex*. Its date of composition is uncertain. Traces of the *Nomos Rhodion* are apparent, even in Italy, at later dates.²³
2. The *Nomos Stratiotikos* contains norms of military penal law, taken in part from the *Taktika* of the 9th century, part from the *Corpus Iuris* and part from the *Ecloga*.
3. The *Nomos Georgikos*, a compilation of agrarian laws in eighty-five chapters concerns casuistry for rural judges for the protection of the small land properties. Probably composed sometime between the end of the 7th and the 8th centuries; its origins were previously attributed to Italy due to the presence of elements that are not traceable to Justinian, but are rather the results of a vulgarisation affected by Germanic elements.²⁴

20 Cortese, *Il diritto nella storia medievale*, p. 288.

21 Zachariae von Lingenthal penned these names.

22 The dating of the three manuals is currently a subject of debate, see Burgmann, *Ecloga*, p. 85 and no. 19; id. “Die Nomoi Stratiotikos, Georgikos und Nautikos”.

23 Cortese, *Il diritto nella storia medievale*, p. 301.

24 The Italian origin of the *Nomos Georgikos*, refuted by the recent literature, was reposed by Simon in “Provinzialrecht und Volksrecht,” p. 116.

The *Prochiron Nomos*, a manual composed of forty chapters of norms in use for the most common subjects, whose sources are the Theophilus' *Paraphrasis* of the *Institutiones* and the very same Isaurian *Ecloga*, has quite another significance for the history of Byzantine law. Probably composed between 870 and 879, it represents a more ambitious phase of the reform that would come later, (i.e., the *anakatharsis ton palaion nomon*).²⁵ The *Prochiron*, which also includes new laws resulting from imperial legislative intervention in unedited cases, would remain in use for the entire Middle Byzantine Period, although it supplanted neither the *Ecloga* nor the almost contemporaneous and in many ways analogous compilation known as *Eisagoge tou nomou*.²⁶ Inspired by Photios – at least in its introduction and in the second and third chapters, which concern the authority of the basileus and of the patriarch – it is debatable whether it ever had force of law.²⁷

6 The *Basilici*

The new compilation, known as the *ta Basilika nomima*, or imperial laws, was divided into sixty volumes and was initiated by Basil I and probably brought to completion by his son Leo VI. It was the fulfillment of the “purification of the laws” already initiated in the *Prochiron*. In order to update Justinian's compilation and make it more accessible, the *anakatharantes* took chapters from the *Digest* (in the version of the *Summa* of Anonymous the Elder) and the *Codex* (via the *Index* of Taleleus), arranged them thematically, and translated them into Greek. The *Novellae* also appear in their original formulation, but minus the proem and epilogue. The updating of the Justinianic text involved not only omissions, but also modifications and additions. Even in this case, the enactment of the *Basilici* did not necessitate abrogation of previous laws not included in those books. The text, which represented the outcome of “an undertaking entirely internal to the Justinianic code,”²⁸ was completed by *scholia* over the course of the following two centuries. The ancient sections were taken from works not included in the compilation and volumes of the 6th-century commentators; the newer parts were added later to the original

25 *Jus Graecoromanum*, vol. 2, pp. 107–228. The preface to the *Prochiron* is edited in Schminck, *Studien*, pp. 55–61.

26 *Jus Graecoromanum*, vol. 2, pp. 229–368. The preface to the *Eisagoge* is edited in Schminck, *Studien*, pp. 1–11. The question of dates and composition of the two books are currently a subject of debate: for an update see van Bochove “Some Byzantine law books”, pp. 239–266.

27 Signes Codoñer/Andrés Santos, *La introduccion al derecho (Eisagoge)*.

28 Van Bochove, *To Date and Not to Date*, p. 208.

ones as explications and commentaries. These “new” scholia were the fruits of the legal work at the school in Constantinople, founded and patronized by Constantine IX Monomachos (1025).²⁹

7 *Novellae* of Leo VI³⁰

Promulgated by the emperor himself some time around 887–893 as a timely intervention relative to problematic cases, the *Novellae* of Leo VI are a testament to both the history of law and the history of literature thanks to the quality of rhetoric used to justify legislative norms. The classical sheen of this compilation aimed to defend the “Romanness” of the laws against the “barbarity” of the Iconoclastic period. Moreover, the *Novellae* recognize legislative validity in customs already taken up by the *Ecloga* and norms of canonic law. According to a recent interpretation, only a part of the 113 *Novellae* that have survived to the present day thanks to an Italo-Greek manuscript tradition (Marc. gr. 179), was arranged and ordered thematically during the reign of Leo VI.³¹

The latter legislation continued to adapt the norms already in place to the current sociopolitical situation. What matters in this context are certain provisions made by the emperors which succeeded Leo VI – particularly Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, Romanus Lecapenus, and Nikephoros Phokas – in legislation concerned with military property, the right of preemption, and limitations on church property.³²

8 Official Normative Interventions in Byzantine Italy

In Justinianic propaganda *arma* and *leges* were the foundation upon which the imperial power and the unity of the empire was based.³³ Thus, the Byzantines’ swift conquest of Sicily – the first step towards expansion into the peninsula – brought with it a new constitution, while the victory over the Lombards was likewise accompanied by a new legislative provision.

29 Lemerle, *Cinq études*, pp. 207–212.

30 *Les Nouvelles de Léon VI*, ed. Noailles/Dain; Sp. Troianos, *Οι Νεαρές του Λέοντος ζ' του Σοφού*, Athens 2007. Regarding the *Novels* see now Signes Codoñer, “Las Novelas de Léon VI”.

31 Signes Codoñer, “Las Novelas de Léon VI,” p. 270.

32 Svoronos, *Les Nouvelles des empereurs macédoniens*.

33 *CJC*, vol. 1, *const. Deo Auctore*; *const. Imperatoriam maiestatem*; vol. 2, *const. Summa rei publicae*.

In 537 the *Novella* 70/104 was enacted, thereby regulating the administrative sphere of Sicily, as had happened in other recently conquered territories in those same years.³⁴ However, despite what may have occurred in other provinces, the imperial novella gave the island a privileged status: *quam modo peculium* of the emperor, Sicily was exempted from the authority of the praetorian prefect, being placed instead under a local *praetor*. In civil matters, the praetor answered to two central officials: the *quaestor sacri palatii*, who were appellate judges responsible for appointing urban magistrates, and the *comes patrimonii per Italiam*, who specialized in fiscal matters.³⁵ Justinian's provision would determine the political history of the island in the centuries to come, marking it out as a region in which structural reforms of the military and of the administrative systems promulgated throughout the empire occurred early on and were a sign of continuity. This continuity was manifested in both Sicily's immediate adjustment to the imperial chamber's decisions and in the tight relationship between the central authority and the island elite.³⁶

9 *Pragmatica Sanctio*

In 554, with the conquest completed, Justinian established the *Pragmatica Sanctio* for Italy.³⁷ This was a normative provision in twenty-seven chapters in response to the Roman church's demand for an imperial intervention in Italian affairs to regulate, after a long military enterprise, land assets and public administration. It did not consist of a systematic constitution intended to reorganize the Italian territory, as was done in 535 for Africa.³⁸ However, its political influence was notable because it indicated, in a "conservative" sense, the reinforcement of imperial control over Italy, thought of in terms of decentralization and with the involvement of the elite and the church in local government.³⁹ In the *Sanctio*, the annulment of legislative provisions taken *tirannice* by Totila must be clearly understood, as opposed to the confirmation of what was established by his legitimate predecessor, King Theoderic. The chapter on the documentation of trades and their registration for fiscal

34 *CJC*, vol. 3, *novella* 75/100; Tamassia, "La novella giustiniana"; Guillou, "La Sicile byzantine", p. 97.

35 Prigent, "Administration and the Army" in this volume.

36 Prigent, "La Sicile byzantine, entre papes et empereurs".

37 *CJC*, vol. 3, App. VII.

38 *CJC*, vol. 3, *novella* 27.

39 Prigent, "Administration and the Army", in this volume.

purposes into the *gesta municipalia* is justified with the renewal of the rights of the *possessores* and the senatorial class close to Byzantium.⁴⁰

More relevant for our purposes is the text of §11. Historians and jurists debated it, offering different interpretations regarding the extension and the legitimacy of the Justinianic compilation as well as the location (Rome or Ravenna) and the date of its publication before 554. The position most widely held today is that imperial legislation, including the *Novellae* to the extent of their promulgation, would have been sent to the province and extended to it *sub edictali programme*, probably in Rome around 540. From here, Justinianic sources would have been diffused and hence not “confined to the East.”⁴¹

In 6th- and 7th-century Italy – unlike countries beyond the Alps, where Justinian’s army held no power and the *leges Visigothorum* and *Burgundiorum* would adopt the Theodosian Roman laws – the official law was Justinianic, whose fate was tied to the Roman church and to the flexibility of juridical practice after the Lombard conquest, as discussed above. However, as is well-known both direct and indirect references are few: the last citation of the Digest goes back to 603, attached in a letter from Gregory the Great to the *defensor* charged with settling a controversy which required the application of legal norms.⁴² As a result, the reconstruction of the “mythical mosaic,” which overpoweringly reemerged north-central Italy during the 11th century, and the arrangement of its tesserae remains one of the most heated arguments in scholarly literature.⁴³

That Byzantine Italy had a role in this story is logical as well as evident. As a bilingual territory (certainly among the elites, who were, however, the only actors in this story), and the seat of the exarchate and the popes (who were first and foremost imperial officials), the province was a place of reception of official legislative texts issued at Constantinople as well as of the legal and didactic texts composed according to imperial orders. Even if we may dispute the Italian origins of the few oldest manuscripts containing the different parts of the Justinianic compilation, these certainly came from the capital into the province and circulated quickly, probably before the political crisis of the

40 Archi, “Pragmatica sanctio”, pp. 1971–1980; Puliatti, “Le riforme costituzionali”, pp. 39–51.

41 Astuti, “Tradizione dei testi del *Corpus iuris*” p. 175; quotation from Ferrari Dalle Spade, *La legislazione dell’Impero d’Oriente*, p. 52, who compared to other historians of his time appears to have been the least afflicted by orientalism.

42 Gregorius I, *Registrum epistularum*, 13.49 ed. D. Norberg, vol. 1, *Libri I–VII* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, CXL); vol. 2, *Libri VIII–XIV. Appendix* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, CXL A), Turnhout 1982.

43 Nicolaj, “Documenti e *libri legales*”; and Loschiavo, “Was Rome still a center of legal culture”. Regarding the transmission of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* see Radding/Ciaralli, *The Corpus Iuris Civilis in the Middle Ages*; Macino, *Sulle tracce delle Istituzioni di Giustiniano*.

8th century. Such was the case with the only complete copy of the Digest, found in the *Codex Florentinus*, that played a fundamental role in the tradition that followed; the palimpsest fragments of the *Veronensis* LXII (60) with passages of the *Codex* and related *scholia* in Greek, as well as for the original text of the oldest glosses of the *Institutiones* preserved in the *Glossa taurinensis* (11th century).⁴⁴ The *Summa perusina*, containing summaries of laws from the *Codex*, seems to be traceable to the still-Byzantine Italy, perhaps within the environs of Rome, and probably during the Carolingian period. This compilation, proof of an exegetical effort exerted on Justinianic texts, although “very primitive and full of misunderstandings,”⁴⁵ seeks to adapt antiquated standards and terminology to new social realities.

As for the *Novellae*, they initially circulated in Italy by means of the church, in the Latin translation of the *Authenticum*, which was originally a translation *kata podas*, but was later transmitted separately. Yet, after the Edict of Rothari (643), the version of the volume of Julian *antecessor*, which was a Latin compendium with paraphrases, summaries, and rearrangements of the Greek text for scholastic purposes, would become the Latin text of reference in Italy on which the most important manuscripts of the text are based.⁴⁶ As in the case of the tradition of the *Codex* in the early Middle Ages, circulated in a compendium version without the last three books, the rearrangements seemed to have specifically affected the laws that were no longer active once the political and institutional framework of Italy had shifted.

Instead, the *Lex Romana canonice compta* emerged within the Roman ecclesiastic area, becoming particularly widespread in northern Italy.⁴⁷ It was an abridged version of a broader anthology of Justinianic juridical texts composed in Italy for practical purposes and was somewhat intended to embody the written Justinian law in Frankish Italy.

On this “scenario tutto sommato prevedibile”⁴⁸ and in light of the specific political and institutional situation of exarchal and postexarchal Italy, two parallel stories unfold: that of the “Italian” tradition of Justinianic texts and that of the normative Byzantine texts issued after Justinian.

44 On this question see Calasso, *Medio Evo del diritto*, pp. 283–296; and Stolte, “Diritto romano e diritto bizantino,” pp. 27–28.

45 Cortese, *Il diritto nella storia medievale*, p. 241.

46 Cortese, *Il diritto nella storia medievale*, pp. 242–243, 245; Nicolaj, “Documenti e libri legales,” p. 766.

47 Kaiser, *Die Epitome Iuliani*, pp. 493–614.

48 Stolte, “Diritto romano e diritto bizantino,” p. 35.

10 **The Tradition of Post-Justinianic Law**

The most recent studies suggest relatively delayed beginnings for this tradition in Greek-speaking southern Italy, dated to approximately the 10th century, which necessarily presupposes the presence in situ of examples originating in the East. Nonetheless, it is important to emphasize that even in the East, the manuscript tradition started in that same period. Thus, the question to be posed regards the effective perpetuation of such laws and the ways they were applied, for the manuscript tradition is not our sole evidence.

Given the concomitance between the fall of Ravenna (751) and the legislative activity of the Isaurian emperors (especially if we agree with the dating of the *Ecloga* in 741), as well as the extremely tense relations of Constantinople and the Roman church caused by the politics of Leo III,⁴⁹ historiography agrees that the *Ecloga* never really penetrated the exarchate or Rome.⁵⁰ As for its diffusion throughout the still-Byzantine territories in Italy, the scarcity of documentary sources has given rise to discordant opinions.⁵¹ In fact, given that the imminence of the Lombards over the exarchate must have played a role in the intervention of Leo III in Italy on the subject of the ecclesiastic jurisdiction over Sicily and Calabria (ca. 720 according to Prigent's interpretation), it is easy to believe that the duchy of Rome did not follow Isaurian legislation. Moreover, the thematic reform, whose earliest establishment was in Sicily during the time of Justinian II, necessarily resulted in their compliance with the imperial norms which, with the institution of the *thema*, had already removed a large portion of the pope's juridical power. Consequently, rather than the concrete feedback in praxis⁵² which was impossible to observe except on the basis of much later documentation, it is the extensive manuscript production that attested to the wide distribution in southern Italy of both the *Ecloga* and its elaborations.

This is true also in the case of the Macedonian codification. In this instance, the secondary literature has been even more skeptical concerning the spread of the *Basilici* in the south. Sources agree instead on the propagation of successive legislation, thanks to the solid conquest and the establishment of the *thema* of Longobardia (891/892), later the Catepanate of Italy (ca. 960), as well as the uninterrupted Byzantine government in Calabria, which became

49 Prigent, "Les empereurs isauriens".

50 D'Emilia, "Il diritto bizantino nell'Italia meridionale", pp. 344–345; Minale, "Sulla ricezione dell'*Ecloga*".

51 Brandileone, *Il diritto bizantino*, pp. 12–13.

52 For a mention of the Isaurian *Ecloga*, see B. Capasso, *Monumenta ad Neapolitani ducatus historiam pertinentia*, vol. 2, Naples 1881, no. 79, p. 64.

a *thema* after the definitive loss of Sicily. Elsewhere in this volume the administrative and military restructuring that the empire brought to those regions is discussed, a sign of the application of public laws in effect in the East; this chapter will remain focused upon juridical practice and the manuscript tradition of normative Byzantine texts.

11 The Manuscript Tradition

The question of the production and circulation of legal texts in Italy has been discussed throughout the years both by the editors of these texts and by specialists in the fields of paleography and codicology. Although recent studies have refuted certain attributions to Byzantine and post-Byzantine Italy, it is irrefutable that the transmission of juridical works attested to these periods is substantial, both qualitatively and quantitatively.⁵³ In Italy, like in Byzantium, legal texts were normally copied into miscellaneous collections that involved juridical subject matter only, implying that they had a specific practical function. Also as in Byzantium, the texts seems to be copied based on a specific choice and according to an intentional sequence. Sometimes this systematic intent is less evident. However, Ménager's thesis, according to which these texts would be "fruits de cogitations érudites" or even the sign of a "manie du malaxage de texte," does not seem convincing. This is precisely because these are technical, juridical manuscripts; although considered to be "poorly written," they are hardly the result of an "unintelligent" copy or just "oeuvre de pure exegèse scolastique."⁵⁴

Let us briefly recapitulate certain particularly significant works.

The *Ecloga* is well-known thanks to a manuscript tradition that almost invariably associated the compilation of Leo III with its derivative texts: *Eclogadion*, *Ecloga Privata Aucta*, the so-called "special laws" (military, agrarian, nautical) and the *Ecloga a Prochiron Mutata*. The purpose of these appendices was presumably to provide a simplified legal recourse to the letter of the law for those who were called to apply it, much needed in Italy as elsewhere. A Norman origin for *Ecloga Privata Aucta* and *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, which was initially proposed by Zachariae (partially because of the Salentine origins of the

53 References may be found in the bibliography to recent studies that build on the pioneering work of Canart, "Le livre grec en Italie"; and Cavallo, "La circolazione dei testi"; see especially Lucà, "Note"; Rodriquez, "Riflessioni" and the chapter "Literacy and Book Production" in this same volume by Paola Degni.

54 Ménager, "Notes sur les codifications", pp. 267, 301.

oldest manuscript that contains the most “genuine” version of the *EPM*, the Par. gr. 1384, dated on 1166), has at this point been disproven.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the presence in Norman times of the Par. gr. 1384 as well as other miscellanea that associate a *corpus* of law with other manuals (or *excerpta* of manuals) proves the circulation of earlier textual recensions. In particular, the Par. gr. 1384 deserves attention because it transmits a partial Greek version of the Edict of Rothari, further proof of a technical and practical manuscript production.

The tradition of the *Basilici* in southern Italy is controversial. The fact remains that an important part of the manuscript evidence of Macedonian legislation was copied in the Italo-Greek area, or at least circulated there in the period immediately following the 10th century, beginning with the *Epitome Basilicorum* conserved in the *scriptio inferior* of the Ambr. gr. F 106. Although the manuscript's origin is not Italo-Greek, it was nevertheless rewritten at the end of the 13th century in Italy in the area controlled by the Archimandrate of Messina.⁵⁶ The study of palimpsests, especially the work of M.T. Rodriquez, has allowed us in the past few years to complete the picture, identifying new passages of the *Basilici* in folia of eastern origin that were reused for the binding of Mess. gr. 158, also belonging to the Monastery of St. Salvatore. To these we can add new and very important discoveries: (1) a brief legislative collection in Latin, probably of Salentine origin (mid-12th century) “for technical use in areas of mixed population,” which includes chapters on Byzantine and Lombard law and especially references to passages, in translation, of the Isaurian *Ecloga*, datable to the mid-12th century; (2) a juridical compilation in Greek going back to the first quarter of the 12th century of Italo-Greek origin, including passages taken from the *Basilici*, an excerpt from the *Prochiron* (of Isaurian legislation), and Athanasius' version of the *Novellae*.⁵⁷

Other well-known juridical manuscripts of Italo-Greek origins go back to the Norman period, manuscripts whose creation presupposes the use of preceding material. First of all, it is important to recall the unique tradition of the 133 *Novellae* of Leo VI, conserved in the Marc. gr. 179 (ending of 12th century). The collection of the 168 Justinianic *Novellae* were also transmitted, as well as the manuscripts that include the *Synopsis maior* of the *Basilici*: the Marc. gr. 177 (beginning of the 12th century), probably written in Messina and belonging to St. Salvatore, and its derivation Vat. Ott. gr. 15, both of which represented representing an Italo-Greek “new life” for texts with eastern origins. The most

55 Burgmann, *Ecloga*, p. 22; Pieler, “Byzantinische Rechtsliteratur,” pp. 457–461; 477; Ménager, “Notes sur les codifications.”

56 Rodriquez, “Un ‘nuovo’ palinsesto”.

57 Rodriquez, “Riflessioni”; see also Lucà, “Ars renovandi”, pp. 131–154.

well-known and studied is probably the Vat. gr. 845, a miscellany composed between the 12th and 13th centuries in northern Calabria. This manuscript preserves a text, the *Prochiron Legum* or *Prochiron Calabriae*,⁵⁸ a manual attributed to a scribe who copied, but also updated and reorganized, passages from both the Isaurian and Macedonian compilations and passages of Justinianic legislation. The code also mentions the *Nomos Georgikos*, the *Nomos Rhodion*, *Ecloga ad Procheiron Mutata*, the *Synopsis legum* of Psellus, a commentary on the *hypobolon* and the *theoretikon*, as well as the *Novella* of King Roger II, enacted in 1050, and some gnomic sentences of Menander. The identifiably different phases in the creation of the manuscript suggest that the scribe worked with different antigraphs. The code Marc. gr. 172, copied in Calabria in 1175 and containing a collection of legal texts of the same sort (known as the *Epitome Marciana*), confirms this method.

The texts conserved in the Italo-Greek manuscripts should be understood neither as a product of “doctrine,” nor as an indication of legislative activity promoted by the Norman rulers for their Italo-Greek subjects, as demonstrated by Ménager. However, this does not undermine their value, especially in relation to its increasing the understanding the history of Byzantine law.

In conclusion, the origin and the significance of Italo-Greek productivity in the juridical sphere, here only alluded to, can be paraphrased according to two guiding principles.

Firstly, practical and/or scholastic needs favoured the distribution of material created in Constantinople, probably in concert with its appearance. This material arrived in Italy as much through the “official” paths as through known migratory phenomena which linked Syria-Palestine and Egypt to the Italian peninsula between the 7th and 9th centuries. This material would be taken up and elaborated on during a later period, starting in the 11th century, responding to similar, though lessened, Byzantine juridical needs of the population of in southern Italy.

Secondly, professional and/or intellectual interests of the educated upper-middle-class favoured the transcription and the conservation of manuscripts, including juridical-leaning ones, in which the distinctive geographical markings can be recognized, starting in the 12th century.

It is clear that over time the two tendencies overlapped. Hence, the origin, or in any case the presence of juridical manuscripts which began during a fruitful period are a testament to the key role of Byzantine administration

58 F. Brandileone/V. Puntoni, *Prochiron Legum pubblicato secondo il codice Vaticano greco 845* (Fonti dell'Istituto Storico Italiano, 30), Rome, 1895. A more recent exhaustive description of the manuscript can be found in Ronconi, “Una miscellanea giurisprudenziale”.

in southern Italy in the transmission of such works. The Italo-Greek elite from the Norman and Swabian periods had an equally fundamental role in this. First adopted and then integrated by the ruling power into the exercise of functions presupposing a juridical training, the elite maintained a strong relationship with Byzantium or, at least, with the idea of Byzantium.⁵⁹ The role played by the Greek church and especially by monastic organizations in channeling Byzantine culture and values through language and writing was fundamental, though it lies beyond the scope of this paper. It is enough to remember the Studite and Athonite influence on the rules of Italo-Greek monasteries,⁶⁰ the close ties with Byzantium entertained by the *protonobelissimus* emir Christodoulos, the “vero patrono laico” of the monastery of Santa Maria del Patir, founded by Bartholomew of Simeri in Rossano,⁶¹ or the importance of the Archimandrate of Messina, a foundation promoted by Roger II (1131).⁶²

Rather, it is interesting to note how even beyond the traditional circles of reception and transmission of text, where specific professional skills were developed, the Byzantine juridical material may have had a remarkable destiny in southern Norman Italy thanks to a residual but uninterrupted demand for such material in the context of a legislative production that started with the Byzantine normative system as a point of reference.⁶³ Theoretical interests (for example, the text of Theophilus’ Greek paraphrase of the *Institutiones*, copied in the middle of the 12th century, or the *Synopsis Legum* of Psellus produced one century later, both preserved today in manuscripts belonging to the Archimandrate) were tied to practical interests and lasted throughout the 12th century; the aforementioned codex Marc. gr. 179 was commissioned by a judge, Senator Maleinos from Rossano, a member of one of the most ancient and well-known families of Italo-Greek Calabrian society;⁶⁴ the renowned *iudex* Tarentinos was a Greek from Apulia, judge of the *regalis magna curia* from 1159 to 1171 who had carried fourteen *nomima biblia* with him, entrusting them to St. Salvatore, where he adopted the monastic habit;⁶⁵ however, they were destined to remain within his family, because his nephews inherited them.

The abundant production of conserved deeds – the Latin documents of Ravenna (5th to 7th centuries), Venice (9th to 12th centuries), Rome (7th to 11th centuries), the Tyrrhenian duchies, and the records in Greek, all of which

59 Von Falkenhausen, “I funzionari greci”.

60 See Enrico Morini’s chapter in this volume, “Monastic Life and Its Institutions.”

61 Breccia, *Nuovi contributi*, p. 28.

62 Von Falkenhausen, “L’archimandritato del San Salvatore”.

63 Cortese, “Il diritto romano in Sicilia”, p. 16.

64 Lucà, “Rossano”, pp. 123–127.

65 Jamison, “*Judex Tarentinos*”; von Falkenhausen, “I funzionari greci”, pp. 188–190.

were distributed over a territory ranging from Latium to Sicily (9th to 14th centuries) – makes Byzantine and post-Byzantine Italy a region particularly apt to serve as a source of data for the study of the juridical Byzantine culture in the sense indicated over thirty years ago by Alexander Kazhdan. The challenge aimed at historians, particularly historians of Byzantine law, by the renowned article *Do We Need a New History of Byzantine Law* was taken up both in theoretical debate on the nature and social function of Byzantine law and in fieldwork. This fieldwork has, not coincidentally, privileged Italy and Egypt, and work has recently been undertaken addressing 14th-century Byzantium, with commendable results.⁶⁶

In the pages that follow, which deal neither with diplomacy nor with notarial activity (both of which exceed the scope of this paper),⁶⁷ this article will refer only to Italo-Greek documents, using them as historical examples of norms and customs that derive from Byzantine law and that presuppose the reception and tradition of legal texts. After a brief introduction concerning the state of the sources, we will refer to three cases, or rather three institutions that can illustrate three different historical periods in the tradition of legal texts in Italy: the Isaurian dotal contract, the law on the *protimisis* of Macedonian emperors, and Justinianic manumission.

12 Greek Written Sources: Consistency and Limits

First of all, it is useful to note that juridical acts in Italy continued to be drawn up in Greek and according to the Byzantine diplomatic formula for a duration of approximately four centuries. The first original document is an *hypomnema* issued by the *anthypatos* and *katepano* Michael for the monastery of S. Pietro Imperiale (Taranto, Apulia) on 975 and the last is, as far as we know, a Sicilian private act from 1355. As one would expect, the best-documented areas are the southern regions, with the partial exception of Salento. For the Byzantine period, ca. 100 documents are preserved, ca. fifteen of which are public acts. These records, in part attributable to archival factors, should still be discussed in relation to our knowledge of eastern documentation, which in turn starts to become substantial only beginning in the 11th century. The limited amount

66 Bénou, *Pour une nouvelle histoire*.

67 In addition to the classical Ferrari dalle Spade, *I documenti greci medioevali*, see also von Falkehausen/Amelotti, "Notariato e documento"; Saradi, *Le notariat byzantin*; von Falkehausen, "La tecnica dei notai"; Martin/Peters-Custot/Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII–XII siècle)*, vol. 1.

of public documents – *sigillia*, *hypomnemata*, and *entalmata* issued in favour of an ecclesiastical institution – and especially the lack of juridical sentences makes it difficult to study the way the law functioned and to understand the juridical skills of those charged with administering it. As recently pointed out by Vivien Prigent (in particular for the 7th and 8th centuries, and lasting until the “rebirth” in Constantinople of the study of law in the 11th century), the Byzantine government in Italy as elsewhere, seems to have been able to function even when settling for reduced elements, with jurisprudence often leaving room for the extrajudicial.⁶⁸ This may cause us to ask ourselves whether the scarcity of sources is a cause or an effect of an attitude less-inclined to entrust conflict resolution to *ius* and its documentation. Essentially patrimonial in nature, these conflicts could be resolved in various ways, expressing a political use of jurisprudence in a society that did not know the separation of powers, and where military and ecclesiastical authorities collaborated with civil ones in administrative matters.

What writings remain of procedural practice are still certainly a negligible portion compared to how much was produced in reality and, unfortunately, nothing similar to the *Peira*, the compendium of statements of Eustathius Rhomaïos, has been preserved for Byzantine Italy. It is important to note that, even in this fundamental work for the study of legal procedures in the 11th century, it is rare that the judge goes further than the generic affirmation that he has resolved a controversial case *kata nomon*. The few public acts preserved in Greek from monastic sources go back to a period in which the various local judges, in a manner analogous to eastern practice, appealed to the tribunal of *krites tou thematou* and to the *strategos* and represented the emperor only as a last resort. In 11th-century Longobardia the *protospatharius* and the *katepano* could delegate the juridical practice to a *turmarcha* or a *gastaldus* that acquired the title of *krites* or *komes tis kortis*.⁶⁹ Only in one case was public authority delegated to a private person: in 1045, the *katepano* Eustathius Palatinos transferred civil jurisdiction over the farmers assigned to him to judge Byzantios of Bari.⁷⁰

It is therefore difficult to describe what the juridical capacities of officials were on the basis of surviving court sentences. These capacities were probably slight, or at the very least not enough to presuppose any specific training. Furthermore, already in Isaurian times, provincial judges far from the capital

68 Prigent, “Conclusions”, p. 222.

69 Von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina*; Martin, “Les thèmes italiens” pp. 530–532; Gorla, *La giustizia nell'impero d'Oriente*, pp. 320–329.

70 Lefort/Martin, “Le sigillion du catépan d'Italie”.

firstly had to possess a rigorous moral discipline before receiving a specific professional training, and likewise for the witnesses.⁷¹

In any case, as hinted above, even in Italy, as everywhere in the society of that time, a number of different juridical powers were experimented with in accordance with the period and in step with the political and institutional development of the state.

Despite the Justinianic norms regarding written documents and *insinuatio*, the *Novellae*, as well as the provisions contained in the Isaurian legislation, can attest to the importance in the process of the *excussio* of witnesses within the process of *excussio*.⁷² Additionally, despite the frequent hinting at the existence of *dikaïomata* evidence, in preserved documents it is often observed that the court appeals to the oral testimonies of *axiopistoi martyres* or *chrisimoi andres* – reputed as such by virtue of their dignity, office, or social standing – were often corroborated by the oaths, as the only conserved *Novella* by Empress Irene indicates.⁷³ Let us recall the case of the *strategos* of Lucania, Eustathius Skepides, who in 1043 issued a sentence concerning the possession of land prior to the swearing-in of witnesses and of the priest who had prepared the attached documents.⁷⁴ Another exemplary case, the reverse of the latter, consists in an act that was probably the last sentence issued by a Byzantine *kriterion* before the arrival of the Normans: the court that was presided over by the *turmarcha* of the *drungos* of Briatico, after having listened to the summoned witnesses, rejected the accusation made by a private citizen against a monk concerning a question of boundaries without turning to a single written document and only after this witness had sworn on the four Gospels.⁷⁵

The public documents dating from Norman times are more numerous. Though no longer issued from a Byzantine authority, they are primarily notable as evidence of a tradition, the “inheritance” of Byzantine models transferred into a different juridical order. The great prevalence of private legal documents, especially starting from the 12th century, confirms not only traces of Byzantine private law, along with the use of the Greek language, but also the

71 Puliatti, “L’organizzazione della giustizia”, pp. 455–466.

72 *CJC*, vol. 3, *novella* 47; *novella* 73.

73 Burgmann, L., “Die Novellen der Kaiserin Eirene”, in *Fontes Minores*, vol. 4, Frankfurt am Main 1981, pp. 1–36: 29–33.

74 A. Guillou, *Saint-Nicolas de Donnoso* (1031–1060/1061) (*CAG*, 1), Vatican City 1967, no. 3, pp. 44–49.

75 Rognoni, *Les actes privés grecs de l’Archivo ducal de Medinaceli (Tolède)*, vol. 1. *Les monastères de Saint-Pancrace de Briatico, de Saint-Philippe-de-Bojôannès et de Saint-Nicolas-des-Drosi (Calabre, XI^e–XII^e siècles)*, Paris 2004, no. 10, p. 111; Delouis, “Eglise et serment à Byzance”, pp. 235–236.

continuity of Byzantine juridical and administrative culture in territories that by then had already passed to other powers.

As Italo-Greek notarial acts referring explicitly to juridical norms were so rare (as was the situation in the rest of the empire), a close reading of the acts' contents may suggest a way of deriving the laws in use from the social and economic context. The symbolic worth of written documents and the relatively fixed nature of their wording, which in order to be valid needed to follow a precise structure, allow us to use structures, formulas, and technical vocabulary as signs by which we may verify the nature of the changes that the content of the act presupposes.

13 Isaurian Legislation and Marital Law

As we have seen, the *Ecloga* regulated marital law. For its anthropological and sociocultural implications, even more than for its economic ones, it appears that this field should ideally be investigated through the lens of the relationship between official laws and customary or unofficial jurisprudence. This probably constitutes the most valid theoretical approach for studying the theme of Byzantine legal texts in Italy and elsewhere.

Marital law and the related issue of patrimonial relationships between spouses (covered by the Justinianic norms, the *Ecloga*, and the *Novellae* of Leo VI) is one of the most studied, as far as southern Italy is concerned, in relation to the successive adoption of certain norms into the custom of southern cities during the late Middle Ages. In reality, the idea of joining assets *more graecorum* represents a development of Byzantine regulations or rather, it represents a custom regarding the assets acquired after marriage that was based upon one of the possibilities provided for in these norms.⁷⁶

Summarizing in a few lines a complex and debated issue, it is useful to remember that Byzantine law recognized a woman's right to manage and dispose of her own assets, differing in this respect from Lombard law. In all formerly Byzantine regions of Italy, the principle long remained entrenched. Regarding the marriage contract as written (*engraphos gamos*), the *Ecloga* allowed for the drawing up of a document in which the patrimonial assets of each spouse were outlined. The dowry given to the husband by the father of the bride in anticipation of her inheritance (from which women do not necessarily seem automatically excluded) is matched by an additional gift from the husband to the wife, the *hypobolon*, with the objective being to bring the two assets together into a

76 Simon, "Zur Ehegesetzgebung der Isaurier," in Simon, *Fontes Minores*, vol. 1, pp. 16–43.

communal patrimony (*proix* or *proikoupobolon*), which served as an inalienable economic base for the new family.⁷⁷ In this case, as in many others, the Isaurian norms adopted customs widely diffused in the practice of the time, that were derived from the Roman and later Justinianic custom of the marital gift (*donatio propter nuptiae* or *progameia dorea*). The *hypobolon* distinguished itself from the former by the fact that it was not compared to the dowry but to the assets of the husband. The detailed report of the assets, which specified the origin of the patrimonial right of each, guaranteed the juridical recognition of such a right, which marriage did not nullify. In fact, in the case of a breaking of marital bonds, the originating family bore the obligation of restitution. The noncorrespondence in economic terms between the two assets would become more distinct during the Macedonian period with the introduction of the *theoretion*. Calculated on the value of the *hypobolon*, this additional marital gift was immediately handed over to the woman at the moment of signing and she was free to do with it as she wished. The *theoretion*, conveyed in the form of cash or landholdings, varied to a certain extent according to local customs, but as it was based upon the *hypobolon*, it could not be estranged without the wife's consent. Taking into account the fact that the management of the common *oikos* fell to the husband, the joining of assets actually only referred to those assets acquired by the couple after the wedding; the full management of assets, recognized as a woman's right in Byzantine law, could be exercised only upon those assets that had not entered into the calculation of the dowry. A wife maintained her own rights over these and the *theoretion*, and her consent was required before proceeding along with a transaction, as was that of all the co-inheritors.

In southern Italy, this custom is largely attested to within the documentary practice going back to the post-Byzantine era. From these sources, firstly, we can extract an innovation as far as the form of contract is concerned:

1. A two-part document (*syngraphe*) shared by the contracting parties and representing (including symbolically) the union of the parties that maintained completely distinct initial patrimonies, at least juridically-speaking
 2. The absence of provisions in the case of the death of one of the spouses.
- Yet, the tendency to combine into a single prenuptial dowry both the *hypobolon* and the *theoretion* privileged the gifting of landed assets over money. This occurred especially in Calabrian (and also Sicilian) dotal documents, where the term "*theoretion*" was explicitly used. In Apulia, the two elements remained distinct, but the *theoretion* was often proportional to the wealth of the husband

77 Beaucamp, "Προικουπόβολον-ύπόβολον-ύποβάλλω"; Beaucamp/Dagron, "La transmission du patrimoine".

and corresponded precisely to a fourth of his worth. The additional presence in the same geographical area of the Lombard *morgengabe*, the “morning gift,” which could correspond to up to a quarter of the husband’s worth, can be understood as a corresponding manifestation of customary jurisprudence.⁷⁸

14 Macedonian Legislation and *Protimesis*

In the territories reconquered by Basil I (characterized by the Latin language, obeisance to the Roman church, and the use of Lombard law) the Byzantine authorities established an administrative structure whose organization provided for the coexistence of Lombard law, as the personal law of local people, and Byzantine law, for public affairs, such as taxation and government affairs. This adaptability of the Byzantine government – a sign of the pragmatism, different from the Justinianic grandeur, that also defined the very enterprise of “reconquering” Apulia – constitutes perhaps the most immediate precedent of a governmental practice that can also be detected about a century later, in the politics of Roger II, the first Norman king. This connotes the application of the principle of personality of law with the consequent phenomenon of two bureaucratic traditions and the concomitance of two languages (if not three, including the presence of the *župan* in northern Apulia). This writer also explicitly refers to religious affiliation. However, this discussion, in order not to be oversimplified, deserves its own separate treatment.

Military and fiscal administration is a theme treated elsewhere in this volume. We mention it here only to observe that, in the *thema* of Longobardia, administration was regulated by legal decrees and by practices that came from Constantinople. For example, we also find evidence in Apulia of the *strateia* that was imposed upon the possessors of lands registered as “military”⁷⁹ in the well-known *Novella* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (947–948).⁸⁰ Furthermore, according to the reconstruction by Salvatore Cosentino based on an act from Bari in 1017, the existence of a regulation that tied any military obligation (whether this be the expectation of service or a monetary payment) to the possession of land could go back to at least a century before, to the moment when the *thema* was first constituted (891/892).⁸¹ Sources from this

78 Martin, “Pratiques successorales en Italie méridionale”; see also Martino, “Aspetti giuridici e linguistici”.

79 Von Falkenhausen, “Amministrazione fiscale”, pp. 548–549.

80 Svoronos, *Les nouvelles des empereurs macédoniens*, pp. 62–71; Prigent, “Byzantine Administration and the Army” in this volume.

81 Cosentino, “Rileggendo un atto pugliese”.

period attest to the Lombard-type lending practice, as well as practices such as *exkousseia*, or the *ius affidandi* conceded to churches and monasteries, two practices which were referred to in both the traditions.

It is important to briefly mention the case of *protimesis*. The law regarding the right of pre-emption in case of the estrangement of immobile assets, regulated by the *Novella* issued in 922 (or 928) by Romanus Lecapenus was in fact implemented everywhere in Byzantine and post-Byzantine southern Italy.⁸² Such widespread presence, even in a region such as Sicily where the “second Byzantine domination” did not take place, is again probably connected to a tendency deeply rooted in customs, that influenced the transactions of immovable property far before their integration into the legal Byzantine system in the 10th century. Reintroduced primarily as a measure intended to protect the village communities collectively responsible for tax collection, the law concerning *protimesis* in its successive formulations and restrictions came to be applied in the *thema* of and Calabria. In Sicily, the exercise of the right of preemption is regularly documented in the Norman sources (Greek and Latin), later fixed in the *Consuetudines* of the cities, starting from the 13th century, as a *lex graeca consuetudinaria de iure protimeseos*; perhaps we should imagine a continuity of law carried throughout the Islamic period.⁸³

15 Justinian, the Church, and Post-Byzantine Law: Manumission

In Byzantium, the provisions regarding manumission, regulated by Justinianic legislation, are discussed in the *Ecloga* and in the *Prochiron*, and therefore in the *Novellae* of Leo VI. The lord who wished to free his own *doulos* could do so in a number of ways: *per epistolam*; declaring him free in public or in church before three to five witnesses charged with drafting the act; through baptism; as well as *per testamentum*.⁸⁴ The little surviving evidence from southern Italy go back to the 11th and 12th centuries and fall under the latter category: the clause of the enfranchisement was inserted between the various provisions concerning legatees and does not provide for particular formulae other than the declaration of *eleutheria*.⁸⁵ However, a Sicilian document from 1146 attests

82 Papaghianni, “Protimesis”, pp. 1075–1081. Von Falkenhausen, “Amministrazione fiscale”, pp. 548–549; Brandileone, “Il diritto di prelazione”; see also Re/Rognoni, “Gestione della terra”, pp. 135–136, 142–143.

83 Siciliano Villanueva, *Raccolta delle consuetudini siciliane*.

84 *CJC*, vol. 1, 13; *CJC*, vol. 3, *novella* 1.1; Burgmann, *Ecloga*, 8.1.1 and 4; *Les nouvelles de Léon VI*, no. 37; *Procheiron*, 38.8 and 18.12.

85 Von Falkenhausen, “L’atto notarile”, pp. 254–255.

to a case of manumission through written document in front of witnesses. The action provides for the right to mobility, the declaration of complete freedom, and Roman citizenship for the manumitted *doule*.⁸⁶ The formulary of the document corresponds both to the models of *engrapha tis eleutherias* and to southern Italian and eastern deeds: the *doule* would be *eleuthera panteleuthera kai politis romaia*.⁸⁷

Formularies of Byzantine practice in a Greek document from the Norman period are not in themselves surprising, and yet in this case the text also implies other influences: the mention of the *traditio* of *eleutheria* to the *manumittendo* is in fact completed by referring to the *kossos tis eleutherias*, which was the symbolic slap of emancipation given by the *manumissor* in the presence of witnesses. The practices and the procedures attested in this document are those of Roman traditional civic rites whose traces persisted into the Middle Ages, namely, in the *manumissio in ecclesia*.⁸⁸ The Byzantine iteration of this ancient institution, which goes back to the Constitutions of Constantine I, is essentially owed to formularies transmitted by the euchologies written in southern Italy (specifically in Calabria in approximately the 10th century).⁸⁹ This text demonstrates the cross-contamination between the civic rite of Roman tradition and the religious rite. Should we see in this the persistence and/or Byzantine adoption of an earlier Roman juridical tradition in an act redacted in Norman Sicily?

16 Conclusions

In lands reconquered by the empire at the end of the 9th century, the coexistence of Lombard and Byzantine norms seems to have been facilitated by the fact that such norms took from, and/or elaborated in their own way on a common Roman juridical basis. Custom (the *synetheia* that both Leo III in the 8th century and Leo VI discussed, subsequently “normalizing” it in the *Ecloga* and the *Novellae*, respectively) could graft itself onto that basis, creating renewed forms of juridical practice (“not new but novel”); it would continue to run parallel to the law; occasionally *contra legem*. Moreover, the dialectical

86 Rognoni, “Disposer des hommes”, with bibliography.

87 K. Sathas, *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, vol. 6, Venetiis 1877, pp. 617–618; Ferrari Dalle Spade, *Scritti giuridici*, vol. 1, no. 38, pp. 356, 402; Simon/Troianos, “Dreizehn Geschäftsformulare”, p. 294; *CDB*, vol. 4, no. 46, pp. 92–94. Lemerle, “Le testament d’Eustathios Boilas”.

88 Fabbrini, *La manumissio in ecclesia*.

89 Giannelli, “Alcuni formulari”.

relationship of theory and praxis, and the extreme flexibility of the latter, are distinctive characteristics of the Byzantine juridical system. This dialectic can be exemplified, empirically and perhaps a bit clumsily, by the distinction between the official text of the law, collections of laws or practical manuals, and records of praxis. It is not surprising, then, that in regions where boundaries, whether these be military or ideological, were uncertain but not too dissimilar under the social and economic lens, private customs, limited de facto to family law and *in rem* jurisdiction, ended up influencing each other to the point of confusion. This is true for marital customs and for patrimonial relationships between spouses and children, as seen through the Byzantine *theoretikon* (when determined by the fourth part of the husband's assets, as in Apulia) and the Lombard *morgengabe*; it is true also for recourse to the *falcidium*, (i.e., the *lex Falcidia*, recorded in iambic verses and interpreted in Marc. gr. 172).⁹⁰ Yet this can also be true for administrative and notarial practices into which Byzantine tradition incorporated local customs. A paradigmatic case showcasing this flexibility can be found in a passage of the *Brebion* of the metropolis of Reggio, the inventory of the cathedral's estate dated to the first half of the 11th century. Recording certain fields subject to *pakton emphyteuseos*, the text mentioned both the regulations contained in the *Basilici* and the local customs: for the payment of the canon the contractor could indeed follow the norm for the duration of five years and then honor the contract *kata ton typon tis choras*.⁹¹

Several decades later, the normative provisions of Byzantine law would become practices of personal right for the Italo-Greek subjects of the Norman kingdom, whose *notarioi*, *kritai*, and *strategoi ton grikon* had to comply with the general laws of the kingdom. Similarly, a century before, Lombard *gastaldi* collaborated in operating the Byzantine administrative machine in the *thema* of Longobardia. An example can be seen in a Greek Calabrese act of 1136 which referenced a *nomikon diatagma* that regulated the strictly Lombard custom of the counter gift (*launegild*) in Norman lands, but in a Byzantine setting.⁹²

Varying levels of use and meaning identifiable in the manuscript tradition of legal texts treat these officials – who were also, at the highest level, members of that Italo-Greek elite who surrounded first the count, and later the king – as the primary link in the transmission of Byzantine juridical culture, which the most important monastic centers (e.g., the Patir and Archimandritat

90 Martin, "Le droit Lombard", pp. 97–121 and Prigent, "Conclusions", pp. 225–228; Irigoien, "Notes sur la tradition juridique byzantine", p. 594.

91 A. Guillou, *Le Brébion de la métropole byzantin de Région (vers. 1050)* (CAG, 4), Vatican City 1974, p. 67; see Bénou/Guillou, "Le contrat emphytéotique", p. 83.

92 Rognoni, "Il monastero di S. Bartolomeo *tou Silipingou*", pp. 79–81, 88–89.

of Messina) knew how to reproduce and preserve. The links of both of these offices with the royal court are well known, and there is no need to verify the presence or the creation of a juridical manuscript in a monastery in order to postulate the impact in Messina and Palermo of the Byzantine tradition on the retinue of the Norman court and the impact of its practice on the upper-level administration. The symbols and the exercise of sovereignty would not be understandable without a connection to the *basileia* of Constantinople and to the constant appropriation of Islamic, and more precisely Fatimid, elements.⁹³ We do not know which were the *nomima biblia* of the *iudex* Tarentinus, nor do we know what was the language of “those notebooks of Justinian” that a list of books transcribed in Arabic claims were circulated in Palermo, perhaps even already in the first half of the 12th century.⁹⁴ Nonetheless, the fact that Justinianic texts were already well-known in the Sicilian court (in and of itself possible), has been confirmed by a citation contained in the *Carne anonimo* (ca. 1143–1145) addressed to the emir of the emirs George of Antioch, the minister plenipotentiary of both Byzantine and Islamic culture and the very powerful mastermind behind Roger’s politics. The author of the long pleas in iambic verses, which begs for a revoking of his exile, boasts of his outstanding and encyclopedic culture.⁹⁵ Furthermore, he mentions the *Codex*, *Digest*, and *Institutiones* (the “four books full of wisdom that embrace and synthesize the art of jurisprudence”), as well as the “*ton nearon axiagaston biblion*.” The *Institutiones* are appealed to again in a second passage which recalls their introduction and the “dogma” according to which “*tin basilikin axian ou tois oplois monois diaprepousan, alla kai nomois*.” This is prefaced with an almost literal citation of the §1 of Justinianic constitution *Imperatoriam maiestatem* introducing the *Institutiones*.⁹⁶

The identity of the author is unknown, but recently his bilingual culture has been the subject of analysis;⁹⁷ his references range from Saint Paul to Boethius, and certainly the allusion to the *Institutiones* can be interpreted as anecdotal. It is interesting that it refers precisely to that relationship between *arma* and *leges* that constitutes the imperial ideology of Justinian. Setting aside the specific occurrences in Norman legislation, which are contested,⁹⁸ it is undeniable

93 Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner la Sicile islamique*, chap. 1 et passim.

94 Martino/De Simone, “Un documento in arabo”.

95 Bassis/Polemis, ‘*Ενας έλληνας εξόριστος στην Μάλτα*’: specifically, Justinian’s quotations, respectively vv. 1093–1101 and 1950–1962; Rognoni, “*Libri legales* alla corte di Ruggero II”.

96 *CJC*, vol. 1, §1.

97 Lauxtermann, “Critical Notes on a Twelfth-Century Southern Italian Poem of Exile”.

98 Pennington, “The Birth of the *Ius commune*”; but cf. also Cortese, “Il diritto romano in Sicilia”, pp. 11–21.

that the political theory of Roger II (largely owed to George of Antioch), also models itself after the principle of Byzantine *ennomos politeia* and to the imperial prerogatives of the *basileus*.

Aside from the identity of the anonymous author, the fact that the primary sources of the Justinianic *ius commune* seemingly and most likely made their way to Sicily via western routes matters little at this point. It is more important to note, alongside Bernard Stolte, the way in which the Constantinopolitan origin of a codification issued in Latin that was however elaborated upon, excerpted, and redacted in the 6th century in the Greek capital of an increasingly monolingual empire gave Byzantine Italy a crucial role in the history of its transmission, starting from a time almost contemporaneous with its promulgation.⁹⁹ The southern Byzantine territory (and later Norman Italy), that “periphery” of the 8th through 11th centuries, nevertheless also had a crucial role in the transmission of post-Justinianic law.

Having overcome the ideological investment that seeks to understand the Byzantine juridical order (upon which the empire rested for nine centuries) as the expression of an unresolved tension between the propagandistic repetition of laws and the constant breaking of these same laws, even the modalities and the meaning of their transmission become clearer. If we no longer see Byzantine legal texts in terms of decadence, always trying to find in them traces of genuine Roman law (and succumbing thereby to a latent Gibbonian prejudice), it becomes clear that the legal texts circulating in Italy in the 6th through 13th centuries were typically Byzantine precisely in the way that they replicated, adapted, paraphrased, innovated, and excerpted Justinianic and post-Justinianic material, canons, and customs *kata ton typon tes choras*.

Finally, even if today we don't necessarily agree with Francesco Calasso's statement (in 1954) that with the “risorgimento giuridico” of 12th-century Italy, “verrà compensata dai molti dolori e sacrifici che l'attaccamento all'impero bizantino, superstite lembo dell'autentico impero romano, le sarà costato,” the significance of Byzantine legal texts and juridical practice in Italy is incontestable both in terms of legal and cultural history.¹⁰⁰

99 Stolte, “Diritto romano e diritto bizantino”, p. 24.

100 Calasso, *Medio Evo del diritto*, vol. 1, pp. 84, 104.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Burgmann, L., *Ecloga. Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. Und Konstantinos V.* (Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte), Frankfurt am Main 1983.
- cjc*, vol. 1: *Institutiones*, ed. P. Kruger and *Digesta*, ed. Th. Mommsen; vol. 2: *Codex Justinianus*, ed. P. Krüger; vol. 3: *Novellae*, ed. R. Schoell/W. Kroll, Berlin 1892–1855 (reprint 1945–1946).
- Jus Graecoromanum*, vol. 2. *Leges Imperatorum Isaurorum et Macedonum*, ed. J. Zepos / P. Zepos, Athens 1931.
- Les Nouvelles de Léon VI le Sage*, ed. P. Noailles/A. Dain, Paris 1944.
- Svoronos, N., *Les Nouvelles des empereurs macédoniens concernant la terre et les stratiotes*. Introduction, édition, commentaire. Édition posthume et index by P. Gounaridis, Athens 1994.
- Tjäder, J.-O., *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700* (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, ser. In 4°, XIX: 1–3), vol. 1, Papyri 1–28, Lund 1955; vol. 2, Papyri 29–59, Stockholm 1982.

Secondary Literature

- Archì, G.G., “Pragmatica sanctio pro petitione Vigiliì”, in id., *Scritti di Diritto Romano*, vol. 3, Milano 1981, pp. 1971–2010.
- Astuti, G., “Tradizione dei testi del *Corpus iuris* nell’alto medioevo”, in G. Diurni (ed.), *Tradizione romanistica e civiltà giuridica europea. Raccolta di scritti*, (Ius Nostrum. Studi e Testi pubblicati dall’Istituto di storia del diritto italiano dell’Università di Roma 2a serie, I.II) Napoli 1984, pp. 173–235.
- Bassis, I./Polemis, I., *Ένας Έλληνας Εξόριστος στην Μάλτα του Δοδεκάτου Αιώνα*, Athens 2016.
- Beaucamp, J., “L’histoire du droit byzantin face à la papyrologie juridique. Bilan et perspectives”, in L. Burgman (ed.), *Fontes Minores*, vol. 11 (Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte) Frankfurt am Main 2005, pp. 5–55.
- Beaucamp, J., “Προικουπόβολον-ύπόβολον-ύποβάλλω”, in *Mélanges N. Svoronos*, vol. 1, Rethymnon 1986, pp. 153–161.
- Beaucamp, J./Dagron, G. (eds.), *La transmission du patrimoine. Byzance et l’aire méditerranéenne* (Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies, 11), Paris 1998.
- Bénou, L., *Pour une nouvelle histoire du droit byzantin*, Paris 2012.
- Bénou, L./Guillou, A., “Le contrat emphytéotique byzantin: un contrat d’aliénation ou de location d’un bien-fond?”, *Νέα Ψώμη. Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 3 (2007), 57–87.

- Berger, A., "Pourquoi jus graeco-romanum?", *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientale et Slave* 7 (1937–1944), 357–368.
- Bochove, van, T.H., "Some byzantine law books. Introducing the continuous debate concerning their status and their date", in J.H.A. Lokin/B.H. Stolte (eds.) *Introduzione al diritto bizantino. Da Giustiniano ai Basilici*, Pavia 2011, pp. 239–266.
- Bochove, van, T.H., *To Date and Not to Date. On the Date and Status of Byzantine Law Books*, Groningen 1996.
- Brandileone, F., *Il diritto bizantino nell'Italia meridionale. Dall'VIII al XII secolo*, Bologna 1886 (reprint Naples 1987).
- Brandileone, F., "Il diritto di prelazione nei documenti bizantini dell'Italia meridionale", in *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, vol. 1, Palermo 1910, 38–48.
- Brandileone, F., "L'Italia bizantina e la sua importanza nella storia del diritto italiano", in C.G. Mor (ed.), *In Scritti di storia giuridica dell'Italia meridionale*, Bari 1970, pp. 5–23.
- Brescia, G., *Nuovi contributi alla storia del Patir. Documenti dal Vat. gr. 2605* (Comitato Nazionale per le Celebrazioni del Millennio della Fondazione dell'Abbazia di s. Nilo di Grottaferrata), Rome 2005.
- Burgmann, L., "Die Nomoi Stratiotikos, Georgikos und Nautikos", *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta* 46 (2009), 53–64.
- Burgmann, L., "Ecloga", in *ODB*, *sub voce*.
- Burgmann, L., "The production of Law books in Byzantium.", Lokin/Stolte (eds.), *Introduzione al diritto bizantino*, pp. 239–266.
- Calasso, F., *Medio Evo del diritto*, vol. 1. *Le Fonti*, Milan 1954.
- Canart, P., "Le livre grec en Italie méridionale sous les règnes normand et souabe: aspect matériels et sociaux.", *Scrittura e Civiltà* 2 (1978), 103–162.
- Cavallo, G., "La circolazione dei testi giuridici in lingua greca nel Mezzogiorno medievale", in M. Bellomo (ed.), *Scuole, diritto e società nel Mezzogiorno medievale d'Italia*, vol. 2, Catania 1987, pp. 91–107.
- Cortese, E., *Il diritto nella storia medievale*, vol. 1., Roma 1985.
- Cortese, E., "Il diritto romano in Sicilia", in Martin/Peters-Custot/Prigent, *L'héritage byzantin en Italie*, vol. 2, pp. 11–21.
- Cosentino, S., "Rileggendo un atto pugliese del 1017. Osservazioni sulla « terra militare » a Bisanzio.", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 60 (2010), 47–67.
- Dagron, G., "Lawful Society and Legitimate Power.", in A.E. Laiou/D. Simon (eds.), *Law and Society in Byzantium, Ninth-Twelfth Centuries* (Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection), Washington, D.C. 1994, pp. 27–52.
- D'Emilia, A., "Il diritto bizantino nell'Italia meridionale", in *L'Oriente Cristiano nella storia della civiltà* (Quaderni della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, 62), Rome 1964, pp. 343–374.
- De Malafosse, J., "Chronique du droit byzantin", *Byzantion* 32 (1962), 605–619.

- Delouis, O., "Eglise et serment à Byzance: norme et pratique.", in M.-F. Auzépy/G. Saint-Guillain (eds.), *Oralité et lien social au Moyen Âge (Occident, Byzance, Islam): parole donnée, foi jurée, serment* (Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance. Monographies, 29), Paris 2008, pp. 211–246.
- Fabbri, F., *La manumissio in ecclesia* (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di diritto romano e dei diritti dell'Oriente mediterraneo, 40.), Milan 1965.
- Falcone, G., "Premessa per uno studio sulla produzione didattica degli *antecessores*", in Lokin/Stolte (eds.), *Introduzione al diritto bizantino*, pp. 147–157.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Amministrazione fiscale nell'Italia meridionale bizantina (secoli IX–XI)", in Martin/Peters-Custot/Prigent, *L'héritage byzantin en Italie*, vol. 2, pp. 533–556.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Da Roma tardoantica a Bisanzio medievale. Un percorso diplomatico: riflessioni conclusive", in J.-M. Martin/A. Peters-Custot, V. Prigent (eds.) *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. I. *La fabrique documentaire* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 449), Rome 2011, pp. 303–314.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "I funzionari greci nel regno normanno", M. Re/C. Rognoni (eds.), *Byzantino-Sicula V. Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam* (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Quaderni 17), Palermo 2009, pp. 165–202.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo*, Bari 1978 (originally published as *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1967).
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "L'Archimandritato del San Salvatore in lingua phari di Messina e il monachesimo italo-greco nel regno normanno-svevo (secolo XI–XIII)", in *Messina. Il ritorno della memoria*, Palermo 1994, pp. 65–88.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "La tecnica dei notai italo-greci", in F. Burgarella/A.M. Ieraci Bio (eds.), *La cultura scientifica e tecnica nell'Italia meridionale bizantina*, Soverina Mannelli 2006, pp. 9–49.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "L'atto notarile greco in epoca normanno-sveva", in F. D'Oria (ed.), *Civiltà del Mezzogiorno d'Italia. Libro, scrittura, documento in età normanno-sveva*, Salerno 1994, pp. 241–270.
- Falkenhausen, von, V., "Le istituzioni bizantine in Puglia nell'alto medioevo", in *Bizantini, Longobardi e Arabi in Puglia nell'Alto Medioevo* (Atti dei Congressi CISAM, 20), Spoleto 2012, pp. 185–209.
- Falkenhausen, von, V./Amelotti, M., "Notariato e documento nella Italia meridionale greca (secoli X–XV)", in M. Amelotti (ed.), *Per una storia del notariato meridionale* (Studi storici sul notariato italiano, 6), Rome 1982, pp. 6–67.
- Ferrari dalle Spade, G., *I documenti greci medioevali di diritto privato dell'Italia meridionale e loro attinenze con quelli bizantini d'oriente e coi papiri greco-egizii*, Leipzig 1910, pp. 133–301 (reprinted in id., *Scritti giuridici*, vol. 1, Milano 1953, pp. 133–301).

- Ferrari dalle Spade, G., "La legislazione dell'Impero d'Oriente in Italia", in id., *Scritti giuridici*, vol. 3, Milan 1956, pp. 51–77.
- Ghignoli, A./Bougard, F., "Elementi romani nei documenti longobardi?" in J.-M. Martin/A. Peters-Custot/V. Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 1: *La fabrique documentaire*, (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 449), Rome 2011, pp. 241–301.
- Giannelli, C., "Alcuni formulari relativi alla *manumissio in ecclesia* tratti da eucologi italo-greci e slavi", *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale*, 1/1 (1959), 127–147.
- Goria, F., "Il giurista nell'impero romano d'Oriente (da Giustiniano agli inizi del secolo XI)", in L. Burgmann (ed.), *Fontes Minores*, vol. 11, Frankfurt am Main 2005, pp. 147–211.
- Goria, F., "La giustizia nell'impero romano d'Oriente: organizzazione giudiziaria", in *La giustizia nell'alto Medio Evo (secoli V–VIII)* (Settimane CISAM, 42), Spoleto 1995, pp. 259–330.
- Guillou, A., "Il funzionario", in G. Cavallo (ed.), *L'uomo bizantino*, Bari 1992, pp. 291–338.
- Guillou, A., "La Sicile byzantine: état des recherches", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 5 (1977), 95–145.
- Irigoin, J., "Notes sur la tradition juridique byzantine dans l'Italie méridionale", in id., *La tradition des textes grecs. Pour une critique historique*, Paris 2003, pp. 593–598.
- Jamison, E., "Judex Tarentinos. The Career of Judex Tarentinus *magne curie magister justitiarius* and the emergence of the Sicilian *regalis magna curia* under William I and the regency of Margaret of Navarra 1156–1172", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 53 (1967), 289–344.
- Kaiser, W., *Die Epitome Juliani. Beiträge zum römischen Recht im frühen Mittelalter und zum byzantinischen Rechtunterricht*, Frankfurt a. M. 2004.
- Kazhdan, A., "Do we need a new history of byzantine law?" *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 39 (1989), 1–28.
- Laiou, A.E./Simon, D. (eds.), *Law and Society in Byzantium, Ninth-Twelfth Centuries* (Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection), Washington D.C. 1994.
- Lauxtermann, M.D., "Tomi, Mljet, Malta. Critical Notes on a Twelfth-Century Southern Italian Poem of Exile", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 64 (2014), 155–167.
- Lefort, J./Martin, J.-M., "Le sigillion du catépan d'Italie Eustathe Palatinos pour le juge Byzantios (décembre 1045)", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen-Âge* 98 (1986), 525–542.
- Lemerle, P., *Le testament d'Eusthatios Boilas (avril 1059)*, in id., *Cinq études sur le X^e siècle byzantin*, Paris 1977, pp. 15–63.
- Lokin, J.H.A., "The Significance of Law and Legislation in the Law Books of the Ninth to Eleventh Centuries", in A.E. Laiou/D. Simon (eds.), *Law and Society in Byzantium, Ninth-Twelfth Centuries* (Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection), Washington D.C. 1994, pp. 71–92.

- Lokin, J.H.A./Bochove, van, T.E./Bochove, van, T.E., "Compilazione – educazione – purificazione. Dalla legislazione di Giustiniano ai *Basilica cum scholiis*", in Lokin/Stolte (eds.), *Introduzione al diritto bizantino*, pp. 99–146.
- Lokin, J.H.A./Stolte, B.H., *Introduzione al diritto bizantino. Da Giustiniano ai Basilici*, Pavia 2011.
- Loschiavo, L., "Was Rome still a Centre of Legal Culture between the 6th and 8th Centuries?" *Rechtsgeschichte/Legal History. Zeitschrift des Max-Planck-Instituts für europäische Rechtsgeschichte/Journal of the Max Planck Institute for European Legal History* 23 (2015), 83–108.
- Lucà, S., "Ars renovandi: modalità di riscrittura nell' Italia greca medievale", in id. (ed.), *Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio*, Rome 2008, pp. 131–154.
- Lucà, S., "Note per la storia della cultura greca nella Calabria meridionale", *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 74 (2007), 43–101.
- Lucà, S., "Rossano, il Patir e lo stile rossanese. Note per uno studio codicologico-paleografico e storico-culturale", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici*, n.s., 22–23 (1985–1986), 93–170.
- Macino, F., *Sulle tracce delle Istituzioni di Giustiniano nell'alto medioevo: i manoscritti dal VI al XII secolo*, Rome 2008.
- Martin, J.-M., "Le droit Lombard en Italie méridionale (X^e–XI^e siècle): interprétation locales et expansion", in F. Bougard/L. Feller/R. Le Jan (eds.), *Dots et douaire dans le Haut Moyen Âge* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 295), Rome 2002, pp. 97–121.
- Martin, J.-M., "Les thèmes italiens: territoire, population, administration", in A. Jacob/J.-M. Martin/Gh. Noyé (eds.), *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine. Acquis et nouvelles recherches* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 363), Rome 2006, pp. 517–558.
- Martin, J.-M., "Pratiques successorales en Italie méridionale (X^e–XII^e siècle): Romains, Grecs et Lombards.", in J. Beaucamp/G. Dagron (eds.), *La transmission du patrimoine. Byzance et l'aire méditerranéenne*, (Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et de Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies, 11), Paris 1998. pp. 189–210.
- Martin, J.-M./A. Peters-Custot/V. Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 1. *La fabrique documentaire* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 449) Rome, 2011.
- Martin, J.-M./A. Peters-Custot/V. Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 2. *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 461), Rome 2012.
- Martino, F./De Simone, A., "Un documento in arabo e il diritto comune alla corte di Ruggero II", *Rivista internazionale di diritto comune* 19 (2008), 93–136.
- Matino, G., "Aspetti giuridici e linguistici nella legislazione matrimoniale dell'Italia meridionale bizantina.", in F. Burgarella/A.M. Ieraci Bio (eds.), *La cultura scientifica e tecnica nell'Italia meridionale bizantina*, Soveria Mannelli 2006, pp. 155–173.

- Matino, G., "Teodoro di Ermopoli ed il commento alle Novelle di Giustiniano" in A. Rigo/A. Babuin/M. Trizio (eds.), *Vie per Bisanzio. VII Congresso Nazionale dell'Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini*, Bari 2013, pp. 441–453.
- Mazzucchi, C.M., "Il contesto culturale e linguistico. Introduzione al lessico giuridico greco," in Lokin/Stolte (eds.), *Introduzione al diritto bizantino*, pp. 71–78.
- Ménager, L.R., "Notes sur les codifications byzantines et l'Occident," in *Varia. Études de droit romain de l'Institut de droit romain de l'Université de Paris*, vol. 16/3, Paris 1958, pp. 239–303.
- Minale, V.M., "Sulla recezione dell'*Ecloga* isaurica nell'Italia bizantina. Variazioni sul leit-motiv 'alla periferia dell'impero'," *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana* 60 (2011), 55–80.
- Nef, A., *Conquerir et gouverner la Sicile islamique aux XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 346), Rome 2011.
- Nicolaj, G., "Documenti e libri *legales* a Ravenna: rilettura di un mosaico leggendario", *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale*, 2 vols. (Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale CISAM), Spoleto 2005, pp. 761–800.
- Papaghianni, E., "Protimesis (Preemption) in Byzantium", in A.E. Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, vol. 3, (Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection), Washington D.C. 2002, pp. 1071–1082.
- Pennington, K., "The 'Big Bang': Roman Law in the Early Twelfth-Century", *Rivista Internazionale di Diritto Comune* 18 (2007), 43–70.
- Pennington, K., "The Birth of the *Ius commune*: King Roger's II Legislation", *Rivista internazionale di diritto comune* 17 (2006), 1–40.
- Pieler, P.E., "Byzantinische Rechtsliteratur", in H. Hunger (ed.), *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. 2, Munich 1978, pp. 341–480.
- Pitsakis, K., "Le droit canonique. Droit de l'Église et droit romain" in Lokin/Stolte (eds.), *Introduzione al diritto bizantino*, pp. 325–350.
- Prigent, V., "Conclusions de la première partie", in Martin/Peters-Custot/Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie*, vol. 2, pp. 221–235.
- Prigent, V., "La Sicile byzantine, entre papes et empereurs (6^{ème}–8^{ème} siècle)", in D. Engels/L. Geis/M. Kleu (eds.), *Zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit: Herrschaft auf Sizilien von der Antike bis zur Frühen Neuzeit*, Stuttgart 2009, pp. 201–230.
- Prigent, V., "Les empereurs isauriens et la confiscation des patrimoines pontificaux d'Italie du Sud", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 116/2 (2004), 557–594.
- Puccia, M., "L'Anonimo Carme di supplica a Giorgio di Antiochia e l'elaborazione dell'idea imperiale alla corte di Ruggero II", in M. Re/C. Rognoni (eds.), *Byzantino-Sicula V. Giorgio di Antiochia. L'arte della politica in Sicilia nel XII secolo tra Bisanzio e l'Islam* (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Quaderni 17), Palermo 2009, pp. 231–262.

- Puliatti, S., "Le riforme costituzionali dal tardo impero all'età bizantina", in Lokin/Stolte (eds.), *Introduzione al diritto bizantino*, pp. 3–70.
- Puliatti, S., "L'organizzazione della giustizia dal V al IX secolo", in Lokin/Stolte (eds.), *Introduzione al diritto bizantino*, pp. 381–466.
- Radding, Ch.M./Ciaralli, A., *The Corpus Iuris Civilis in the Middle Ages. Manuscripts and Transmission from the Sixth Century to the Juristic Revival*, Leiden 2007.
- Re, M./Rognoni, C., "Gestione della terra ed esercizio del potere in Valle Tuccio (fine secolo XII): due casi esemplari", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 58 (2008), 131–146.
- Rodriguez, M.T., "Un 'nuovo' palinsesto dei Basilici", *Nέα Πώμη. Rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 7 (2010), 73–95.
- Rodriguez, M.T., "Riflessioni sui palinsesti giuridici dell'area dello Stretto.", in A. Rigo/A. Babuin/M. Trizio, *Vie per Bisanzio. VII Congresso Nazionale dell'Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini*, Bari 2012, pp. 625–645.
- Rognoni, C., "Disposer des hommes dans la Sicile du XII^e siècle: deux documents grecs inédits", *Nέα Πώμη. Rivista di Ricerche bizantinistiche* 9 (2012), 133–150 (= L. Bénou/C. Rognoni [eds.] *Χρόνος συνήγορος. Mélanges André Guillou*).
- Rognoni, C., "Il monastero di S. Bartolomeo *tou Silipingou* in Valle Tuccio (secolo XII): due documenti inediti dall'Archivio Ducal de Medinaceli", *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, 75 (2008–2009), 69–93.
- Rognoni, C., "Libri legales e cultura giuridica alla corte di Ruggero II. La testimonianza di un contemporaneo", in S. Cosentino/M. Pomero/G. Vespignani (eds.), *Dialoghi con Bisanzio. Spazi di discussione, percorsi di ricerca. Atti dell'VIII Congresso Nazionale dell'Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini*, 2 vols., Spoleto 2019, II, pp. 943–962.
- Ronconi, F., "Una miscellanea giurisprudenziale. Il Vat. gr. 845.", in id., *I manoscritti greci miscellanei. Ricerche su esemplari dei secoli IX–XII*, Spoleto 2007, pp. 273–289.
- Saradi, H., *Le notariat byzantin du IX^e au XV^e siècle*, Athens 1991.
- Scheltema, H.J., "Byzantine Law", in N. van Der Wal/J.H.A. Lokin/B.H. Stolte/R. Meijering (eds.), *Opera minora ad iuris historiam pertinentia*, Groningen 2004, pp. 55–77.
- Scheltema, H.J., *L'enseignement de droit des antécédents*, Leiden 1970.
- Schminck, A., *Studien zu mittelbyzantinischen Rechtsbüchern* (Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte, 13), Frankfurt am Main 1986.
- Siciliano Villanueva, L., "Diritto bizantino", in *Enciclopedia giuridica italiana*, vol. 5, Milan 1912, *sub voce*.
- Siciliano Villanueva, L., *Raccolta delle consuetudini siciliane con introduzione ed illustrazioni storico-giuridiche*, vol. 1, Palermo 1894.
- Signes Codoñer, J., "Las Novelas de León VI el Sabio", in J.H.A. Lokin/B.H. Stolte (eds.), *Introduzione al diritto bizantino. Da Giustiniano ai Basilici*, Pavia 2011, pp. 267–322.
- Signes Codoñer, J./Andrés Santos, F.J., *La introducción al derecho (Eisagoge), del patriarca Focio*, Madrid 2007.

- Simon, D., "Die Epochen der Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte", *Ius Commune* 15 (1988), 73–106.
- Simon, D., "Legislation as both a World Order and a Legal Order", in A.E. Laiou/ D. Simon (eds.), *Law and Society in Byzantium, Ninth-Twelfth Centuries* (Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection), Washington D.C. 1994, pp. 1–25.
- Simon, D., "Provinzialrecht und Volksrecht", in *Fontes Minores*, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main 1976, 102–116.
- Simon, D., *Rechtsfindung am byzantinischen Reichsgericht*, Frankfurt am Main 1973.
- Simon, D., "Zur Ehegesetzgebung der Isaurier", in *Fontes Minores*, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main 1976, pp. 16–43.
- Simon, D./Troianos, Sp., *Dreizehn Geschäftsformulare*, in D. Simon (ed.), *Fontes Minores*, vol. 2, Frankfurt am Main 1977, pp. 262–295.
- Stein, P., *Le droit romain et l'Europe. Essai d'interprétation historique*, Genève 2004.
- Stolte, B., "Balancing Byzantine Law", in L. Burgman (ed.), *Fontes Minores*, vol. 11, Frankfurt am Main 2005, pp. 57–75.
- Stolte, B., "Diritto romano e diritto bizantino: alcune osservazioni sul ruolo dell'Italia nella trasmissione del diritto giustiniano", in Martin/Peters-Custot/Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 2, pp. 23–36.
- Stolte, B., "Not new but novel. Note on the historiography of Byzantine law", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 22 (1998), 264–279.
- Stolte, B., "The social function of the Law", in J. Haldon (ed.) *A Social History of Byzantium*, London 2009, pp. 76–91.
- Svoronos, N., *Recherches sur la tradition juridique à Byzance. La Synopsis Maior des Basiliques et ses appendix*, Paris 1964.
- Tamassia, N., "La novella giustiniana 'De Praetore Siciliae'. Studio storico e giuridico", in *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari. Scritti di filologia e storia araba, di geografia, storia, diritto delle Sicilia medievale; studi bizantini e giudaici relativi all'Italia meridionale nel medio evo; documenti sulle relazioni fra gli stati italiani ed il Levante*, vol. 2, Palermo 1910, pp. 304–331.
- Troianos, Sp., *Οι πηγές του βυζαντινού δικαίου*, Athens 1986 (reprint Athens 2011).
- Van der Wal, N./Lokin, J.H.A., *Historiae iuris graeco-romani delineatio. Les sources du droit byzantin de 300 à 1453*, Groningen 1985.
- Zanini, E., *Le Italie bizantine. Territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia (VI–VIII secolo)*, Bari 1998.

Index of Names

In the index, the form of personal Greek names has been Latinized

Personal Names

- Abbasids 204-205, 208, 210, 212-213, 217
 'Abd Allāh b. Ya'qūb, Emir 209
 Abd-al-Malik, Umayyad Caliph 45
 'Abd al-Raḥman III, Caliph of al-Andalus 215
 Abū Djafar Ibn al-Gazzar, physician 543
 Abū Yazīd 214
 Abundantius, Bishop of Tempsa 558
 Adelchis, Lombard Prince 190
 Adrian see Hadrian
 Aetius, general 35
 Agapitus, Pope 34
 Agatha, St. 610, 612-613, 615-616, 618-619
 Agatho, Bishop of Lipari 614, 617
 Agatho, Pope 80, 558
 Aghlabids 202-213, 342, 523-524, 534, 536
 Agilulf, Lombard King 179
 Agnellus, Archbishop of Ravenna 34, 591, 716
 Agnellus of Ravenna, historian 11 (and n. 47), 49, 108, 284, 546-547, 588-590, 592, 705, 713, 737
 Agnellus, physician 736
 Agrippinus Bishop of Naples, St. 597-598
 Aio II, Prince of Benevento 53
 Aistulf, Lombard King 48, 194, 367
 Albanians 245
 Albinus Basilius, Anicius Faustus, Roman senator 32
 Alboin, Lombard King 173-175, 177, 179
 Alexander II, Pope 89
 Alexander Severus, Emperor 610
 Alexander of Tralles, architect 736
 Alexius Komnenus, Emperor 235, 629
 Alfonso V, King of Aragon and Naples 244
 Alphius, St. 614
 Amalasuintha see Amalasuentha
 Amalasuentha, Ostrogothic Queen 29, 589
 Amasianus, Bishop of Taranto, St. 603
 Amatus of Montecassino, historian 8
 Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, St. 737
 Ammianus Marcellinus, historian 259.
 Amros, Mlk of Malta 525, 527
 Ananias of Shirak, geographer 524
 Anastasius I, Emperor 34, 70 (n. 9)
 Anastasius II, Emperor 330
 Anastasius, disciple of St. Maximus 116
 Anastasius, Patriarch of Constantinople 46, 459
 Anastasius, scribe 740, 743 (n. 43)
 Anastasius the Librarian, author and translator 11 (and n. 46), 13, 551
 Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople 70
 Andreas Agnellus see Agnellus of Ravenna
 Andreas see Andrew
 Andrew, apostle, St. 72, 615
 Andrew, Duke of Naples 412-414, 552
 Andrew, murderer of Constans II 40
 Andrew of Pagliara, Lord of Mesoraca 238 (n. 82)
 Amali, family 32
 Anicii, family 32
 Anjou, dynasty 227, 242, 244
 Anna Dalassena, Alexius I's mother 629
 Anthemius of Tralles, architect 735
 Anthimus, Duke of Naples 412
 Anthimus, Patriarch of Constantinople 76
 Anthony the Great, St. 654 (n. 59)
 Antoninus, Bishop of Grado 46 (n. 79), 82 (n. 61)
 Apollinaris, Bishop of Ravenna, St. 109, 547, 588, 590-591, 593, 612, 618, 651, 716
 Arabs 3, 9, 38-39, 41, 45, 50-53, 58-59, 72, 78, 94, 98, 185, 187, 189, 191, 232, 279, 289, 311, 411, 413-414, 417, 426, 443-446, 454, 460-461, 463, 543-544, 549, 557-558, 563, 566-567, 621, 623, 625-626, 631, 641, 646, 647 (n. 29), 655.
 Arcadius, Emperor 501, 620
 Arechis II, Beneventan Duke 190, 695
 Argyrus, Duke of Italy 58-59, 161 (n. 178), 162 (n. 191), 194, 293, 559
 Aristophanes, Greek dramaturgist 241
 Aristotle, Greek philosopher 241

- Armenians 158 (n. 160), 542-543, 549, 551
 Arpas, pagan god 611
 Artabanes, general 523
 Artavasdus, usurper 48, 82
 Asad ibn al-Furat, giurist and general 51
 Aspren, Bishop of Naples, St. 596-597, 600
 Atenulf II, Prince of Capua and Benevento 53
 Athalaric, Ostrogothic King 29
 Athanasius I, Bishop of Naples, St. 555, 596-597, 746
 Athanasius II, Bishop and Duke of Naples, St. 8, 417, 596
 Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria 613, 620
 Athanasius Chalkeopulus, monk and humanist 244
 Athanasius of Emesa, giurist 766, 775
 Audoin, Lombard King 173, 174
 Augia, Philip of Agira's mother 620
 Augustus, Emperor 258, 268, 366
 Ausonius, Decimus Magnus, poet 269
 Authari, Lombard King 180
 Avars 144, 179, 187, 438, 557

 Bacauda, banker 716
 Baduarius, *kouropolates* 32, 177-79
 Baiuvarii 177-178
 Barbaricini 497, 503
 Barbatianus of Ravenna, St. 108, 122
 Bardas, *kaisar* 85
 Barisone, judge of Logudoro 502
 Barsacius, general 157
 Bartholomew, apostle, St. 615, 650.
 Bartholomew, hegumen of Grottaferrata, St. 629, 651
 Bartholomew of Simeri, St. 127, 228 (n.18), 631, 645, 646 (n. 22), 777
 Bartholomew τοῦ Πολυχρόνι, scribe (from Calabria) 644
 Basil, Bishop of Reggio Calabria 235
 Basil I, Emperor 4, 53 (and n. 115), 87, 211, 454, 461, 463, 487, 567, 721, 763, 767-768, 783
 Basil II, Emperor 58, 267
 Basil, *protospatharios* and Eparch 460
 Basil Boioannes, Catepan 57-58, 192, 447
 Basil the Great, St. 613, 747 (n. 66), 751

 Basil Mesardonites, Catepan 192, 465, 628, 699, 704
 Basil Padiadites, Catepan 161 (n. 178)
 Basil the Younger, St. 628
 Basileios, Basilius see Basil
 Bede, historian 112, 587, 600
 Bedengarius, *miles de Taranto* 564
 Belisarius, general 29, 142, 146, 262, 407-408, 523, 596, 701, 709
 Benedict of Nursia, St. 647 (n. 28), 650, 747 (n. 66)
 Benedict IX, Pope 629
 Benjamin of Tudela, traveller 552, 564
 Berbers 32
 Berillus, Bishop of Catania, St. 604, 618
 Bessarion, Cardinal 242 (n. 97), 244
 Bisantius, Archbishop of Bari 560, 725
 Blasius of Armorion, St. 551
 Boethius, Anicius Severinus 787
 Boniface, *consiliarius* 551
 Bonus, General 262
 Bonus, Duke of Naples 412
 Boris, Khan of the Bulgars 86
 Bulgars 48, 74, 144, 145, 232
 Byzalon see John Byzalon
 Byzantius, judge 158 n. 160, 779

 Caboto, Gaetan family 428
 Cabulus, donor 722
 Caesarius of Terracina, St. 651
 Calvisian, Sicilian corrector 609
 Campulus, inhabitant of Naples 552
 Candidianus, Bishop of Grado/Aquileia 91
 Carloman, Charles Martel's son 48
 Carolingian, dynasty 14, 52, 371, 373, 380-381, 544, 552
 Carthaginians 498
 Cassiodorus Magnus Aurelius, Prefect and writer 29-30, 32-33, 117, 270, 377, 437 (n. 18), 439 (n. 28), 542
 Cecaumenus, author 466, 654 (and n. 60)
 Celsus, Bishop of Vercelli 34
 Cethegus, Roman senator 32
 Charlemagne, Frankish King and Emperor 47-48, 170-171, 190, 424, 701
 Charles I of Anjou, King of Sicily 242
 Charles the Great see Charlemagne
 Charles Martel, Frankish leader 11, 48

- Childebert II, Frankish King 178
 Childeric III, Frankish King 48
 Chilperic, Frankish King 178
 Chlothar I, Frankish King 173, 177, 178
 Chlothsind, daughter of Chlothar I 173
 Christodulus, Emir 777
 Christopher, Sabas, and Macarius of Collesano, Sts. 7, 625, 645
 Chrysostomus, Archbishop of Bari and Trani 560
 Claudian (Claudius Claudianus), poet 259
 Clement of Alexandria, theologian 81
 Cleph, Lombard King 177
 Conon, Pope 144
 Conrad II, Salic Emperor 193
 Constance, Queen of Sicily and Empress 228 (n. 22)
 Constans II, Emperor 36, 38-41, 78-80, 186-187, 191, 203, 263-264, 267, 271, 329, 332 (and n. 19 and 21), 334, 335 (and n. 44), 337, 339, 340 (and n. 9), 390, 437, 440-443, 531, 591, 596, 612, 696-697, 699, 703-704, 739
 Constantina, inhabitant of Naples 552
 Constantina, inhabitant of Ravenna 546,
 Constantine (Cyril), apostle of the Slavs 85, 114, 741
 Constantine, Bishop of Nakoleia 81
 Constantine, donor 722
 Constantine I, Emperor 13, 241, 259, 285, 388, 405, 407, 785
 Constantine IV, Emperor 40, 80, 188, 329, 332 (and n. 21), 335 (n. 43), 338
 Constantine V, Emperor 48, 72-73, 82, 266, 286, 288, 330, 336, 338, 341-342, 480, 766
 Constantine VII, Emperor 47, 56-57, 159, 269, 446, 769, 783
 Constantine VIII, Emperor 267
 Constantine IX, Emperor 58-59, 89, 160 (n. 170), 162, 769
 Constantine X, Emperor 89
 Constantine, *hypatos* of Gaeta 425
 Constantine I, Patriarch of Constantinople 80
 Constantine I, Pope 422, 549 (n. 71)
 Constantine, *protasecretis* 543
 Constantine the Philosopher 551
 Constantine Sikelos, poet 557
 Constantius, *tribunus* 145 (n. 42)
 Contardus, Duke of Naple 412, 414
 Cosmas, Duke of Naples 552
 Crescentia, wet nurse of St. Vitus 611
 Crestus, Bishop of Syracuse 259
 Cricoricus, Armenian name 543
 Cumianus, Abbot (tombstone of) 678
 Cunipert, Lombard King 188
 Curticius, Armenian 543
 Cyprian of Calamizzi, St. 127, 631, 653, 657
 Cyril Phileotes, St. 629
 Cyril of Scythopolis, hagiographer 624
 Cyrinus, St. 614
 Dalmatus of Constantinople, St. 122
 Damasus, Pope 584
 Damianus of Ravenna, St. 109
 Daniel, disciple of St. Elias the Younger 654
 Daniel, monk 750
 Daniel, prophet 643
 Daniel, scribe 751
 Daniel the Stylite, St. 111
 Datius, Bishop of Milan 34
 Decius, Emperor 617
 Decius, Roman senator 32
 Desiderius, Abbot 688
 Desiderius, Lombard King 190
 Diocletian, Emperor 405, 597, 610-611
 Dionysius, Archbishop of Taranto 560, 563 (n. 193)
 Dionysius of Tell-Mahré, Syrian author
 Dioscorides, Greek physician 736
 Docibilis I, *hypatos* of Gaeta 426-427
 Docibilis II, *hypatos* of Gaeta 53, 426-427
 Donnolo see Shabbetai Donnolo
 Donus, Pope 80
 Dorotheus, *antecessor* 765
 Drengot, Norman family 421
 Droctulf, general 179
 Ecclesius, Bishop of Ravenna 589-590, 713
 Eddius Stephanus, hagiographer 550
 Eleuchadius, Bishop of Ravenna 590
 Eleutherius, usurper 36
 Elias, Bishop of Grado/Aquileia 91, 593
 Elias, Patriarch of Jerusalem 643

- Elias the Spelaiotes, St. 7, 123, 624, 626-627, 750
 Elias the Younger, St. 7, 622-623, 626-627, 643, 654, 751
 Elias see also Helias
 Elpidius, usurper 51
 Ephrem, Patriarch of Antioch 76
 Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamina and theologian 81
 Erchempertus, chronicler 8
 Eudoxia, Empress 501
 Eufrasius see Euphrasius
 Euphemius, Turmarch and usurper 51, 205
 Euphrasius, Bishop of Poreč 595
 Euplius, St. 609
 Euripides, Greek dramaturgist 241
 Eusebius, monk and author of St. Philip of Agira's *Vita* 620, 642 (n. 6)
 Eusebius of Caesarea, Bishop and historian 10
 Eustathius, *strategos* of Calabria 446
 Eustathius Palatinus, Catepan 779
 Eusthatius Rhomaïos, judge and giurist 763, 779
 Eustathius Skepides, *strategos* of Lucania 780
 Eutalius, Bishop of Sulci 80
 Euthymios the Iberian, monk 557
 Euty chius, Exarch 45, 190, 546
 Ewin, Lombard Duke 178
- Faroald, Lombard Duke 179
 Fatimids 206, 210, 212-219
 Faustus, *magister* 70 (n. 8)
 Felix, Archbishop of Ravenna 369-370, 370, 592
 Felix IV, Pope 584, 589
 Felix, St., Bishop of Canosa 603
 Fortunatus, Bishop of Naples 597-598
 Francis of Assisi, St. 648 (and n. 33)
 Franks 50, 171, 174, 176-178, 181, 190, 312, 381, 411, 414
 Frederick II, Emperor and King of Sicily 229 (n. 22), 239-243, 562
 Frederick of Lorraine see Stephen IX
- Galen, Greek physician 736
 Galla Placidia, Empress 108
- Gaudiosus, standard-bearer 269
 Gelasius I, Pope 70 (and n. 9), 72, 285, 584
 Gennadius, *patricius* 141 (n. 14)
 Geoffroi Malaterra, historian 8
 George, Bishop of Catania 556 (n. 132)
 George, Duke of Naples 552
 George, Duke of Rome 696
 George, *patricius* 563
 George, Prefect of Constantinople 147 (n. 56)
 George of Antioch, Norman minister 238, 239, 787-788
 George of Cyprus, geographer 146, 442 (n. 52), 514, 523
 George Maniakes, general 3 (n. 3), 58, 216, 343 (and n. 91), 467, 630
 Gepids 172, 175
 Germanus, general (Justinian's cousin) 32
 Germanus, iunior (Germanus' son) 32
 Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople 46, 81
 Ghevond (Leontius), Armenian historian 39
 Gisulf I, Prince of Salerno 189
 Gordius, *archon* of Majorca
 Graeca, Sardinian nun 116
 Greeks 290
 Gregorius see Gregory
 Gregory, Bishop of Agrigento, St. 4 (n. 4), 83, 260, 269, 604, 617
 Gregory, Duke of Naples 53, 412, 552, 746
 Gregory, governor of Africa 38, 79
 Gregory, *lociservator* of Naples 8
 Gregory, *magister militum* of Naples 553
 Gregory, monk of the Constantinopolitan monastery *tou Pagouriou* 618
 Gregory, *primicerius* 53
 Gregory I, Pope 10, 12, 34, 71, 91, 107, 109, 122, 141 (n. 10), 148 (and n. 67), 182, 280, 285, 286, 287, 408-409, 438 (and n. 26), 439 (n. 31), 456, 458, 476-477, 498, 503, 504 (n. 37), 507-508, 523, 526, 548, 551, 555, 586-587, 603, 617, 696, 719, 742-743 (n. 43), 746, 753, 771 (n. 42)
 Gregory II, Pope 45-47, 114, 258, 265, 422
 Gregory III, Pope 10, 46-48, 82, 549, 719
 Gregory IV, Pope 415
 Gregory V, Pope 628

- Gregory VII, Pope 89, 90
 Gregory X, Pope 244
 Gregory, *protospatharius* and commander of Otranto 461
 Gregory Asbestos, Archbishop of Syracuse 85-86, 116
 Gregory Decapolites, St. 460
 Gregory the Great see Gregory I, Pope
 Gregory of Nazianzos, Bishop St. 613, 751
 Gregory of Tours, historian 177
 Grimold III, Prince of Benevento 190
 Guaimar IV, Prince of Salerno 59, 428
 Guaimarius see Guaimar
 Guarimpotus, Neapolitan translator 8
 Guillelmus or Guiglielmus Apuliensis see William of Apulia

 Hadrian I, Pope 11, 47, 49, 82-83, 97, 286, 394, 424
 Hadrian II, Pope 10, 87, 460
 Hadrian III, Pope 561
 Hadrian IV, Pope 234
 Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Kalbī, Emir of Sicily 214
 Hauteville, dynasty 233, 236-237, 240-241
 Helias see Elias
 Heliodorus, Bishop of Altinum, St. 594
 Heliodorus, sorcerer 270, 616
 Helmichis, Lombard aristocrat 178
 Henry II, Saxon Emperor 58
 Heraclides, inhabitant of Cyprus 615
 Heraclius, Emperor 36-38, 78-79, 149, 185, 329, 331, 335 (and n. 41 and 44), 336-337, 340, 347, 349 (and n. 130), 353 (and n. 152), 441, 524, 766
 Hermagoras, Bishop of Aquileia 592-595
 Heruli, Germanic people 172
 Hilarion the Great, St. 654 (n. 59)
 Hippocrates, Greek physician 736
 Hippolytus, character from Greek tragedy 624
 Hohenstaufen, dynasty 227, 244; see also Swabians
 Homer, Greek poet 241
 Honorius I, Pope 143, 147 (n. 56), 394, 586, 612, 719
 Hormisdas, Pope 718
 Humbert of Silva Candida, Cardinal 89

 Ibas, Bishop of Edessa 76-77
 Ibn Ḥawqal, geographer and traveler 217-218
 Ibn Qurhub, Sicilian Emir 210, 213-214
 Ibrāhīm II, Aghlabid Emir 207, 209-210, 446
 Idrisids, dynasty 204, 206
 Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople 47, 85-87
 Innocent III, Pope 236, 241
 Iohannes see John
 Irene, Byzantine Empress 47, 83, 766, 780
 Isaac, Exarch 36, 367, 542, 545, 546, 717, 735 (n. 4)
 Isaac of Montelucio, St. 122
 Isaac the Dalmatian, St. 108
 Isaakios, Isacius see Isaac
 Isidore of Pelusium, St. 655 (n. 68)
 Isidore of Seville, Bishop and writer 174, 735 (n. 6)

 Januarius, Bishop of Benevento, St. 597-600
 Jerome, St. 655 (n. 68)
 Jews 88, 445, 543-544
 Johannes see John
 Johannicius, notary 547
 John, Archdeacon of Taranto and *grammaticus* 563 (n. 193)
 John, Bishop of Aquileia/*Forum Iulii* 77, 91
 John I, Bishop of Naples 597-598
 John IV, Bishop of Naples 596-599
 John I, Bishop of Ravenna 591
 John, Bishop of Reggio 558
 John, Bishop of Syracuse 556 (n. 132)
 John, Bishop of Trani 88
 John III, Duke of Naples 747
 John V, Duke of Naples 421
 John I, Emperor 159 (and n. 166)
 John I, *hypatos* of Gaeta 426
 John II, *hypatos* and Duke of Gaeta 53, 427
 John III, *hypatos* of Gaeta 427
 John, *magister militum* 698
 John, monk 742
 John, *ναγουζατο* 546
 John IV, Patriarch of Constantinople
 John, Praetorian Prefect 148 (n. 72)
 John II (Mercurius), Pope 718
 John III, Pope 585
 John IV, Pope 586

- John v, Pope 549 (n. 71)
 John VII, Pope 587, 703, 741
 John VIII, Pope 87, 426
 John x, Pope 53, 427
 John XV, Pope 565
 John XVI (Philagathus), Antipope 628
 John, son of Mezezius 40
 John Chrysostom, St. 655 (n. 68), 657 (n. 77)
 John of Conza, usurper 36
 John of Damascus, theologian, St. 745, 751
 John the Deacon, Neapolitan historian 7-8, 412
 John the Deacon, Venetian historian 13, 593
 John Byzalon, *strategos* of Apulia 447
 John the Grammarian, Patriarch of Constantinople 85
 John Moschus, hagiographer 549
 John of Nikiu, Bishop 39
 John of Otranto, notary and writer 562
 John of Rossano, hymnographer 651
 John Skylitzes, historian 3 (n. 5)
 John Theristes of Stilo, St. 127, 228 (n. 18)
 Jordanes, historian 32
 Joseph, Armenian priest 543
 Joseph the Hymnographer, St. 4, 557, 650
 Joseph the Chaste, biblical character 624
 Julian, *antecessor* 772
 Julian, Emperor 259, 264
 Julian the Banker 589, 714, 716
 Justin I, Emperor 75, 401
 Justin II, Emperor 32, 34-35, 97, 148 (n. 68), 174, 177, 329, 331 (n. 13), 336, 703, 765-766
 Justinian I, Emperor 9, 29, 31 (and n. 31), 32, 34, 71, 76-77, 97, 111, 150 (and n. 89), 172, 255, 260, 288, 329, 331 (n. 31), 336, 354, 367, 436, 453, 456, 497, 523, 541, 585, 587, 589-590, 592, 695-696, 713, 717, 761-762, 764-765, 787 (and n. 95), 765-768, 770-772, 784
 Justinian II, Emperor 45, 72, 144 (n. 3), 149, 330, 332 (n. 17), 333, 337-338, 348, 773

 Kalbids, Sicilian dynasty 214-216, 219
 Kali, mother of Sabas and Macarius 125, 626
 Kampulos see Campulus
 Khusraw I, Sasanian Šāh 30

 Konstantina, Konstantinos see Constantina, Constantine
 Krenites, *strategos* of Calabria 444
 Krum, Bulgar Khan 343 (n. 88)
 Kutamas, Berber people 215
 Kyrinos see Cyrinus

 Landulf I, Prince of Benevento and Capua 54
 Laurentius, Antipope 598
 Laurentius, Bishop of Siponto 710
 Lawrence see Laurentius
 Leo, Archbishop of Reggio 211
 Leo, Archdeacon of Agrigento 270
 Leo, Archpriest of Naples 747
 Leo, Bishop of Catania, St. 4 (n. 12), 604-605, 616-617
 Leo III, Emperor 45-46, 47 (n. 79), 48, 72-73, 81 (and n. 60), 82 (and n. 61), 123, 155, 288, 330, 333, 337-338, 341-342, 350, 422, 441, 443 (and n. 63), 469, 480, 596, 761, 766, 773-774 785
 Leo IV, Emperor 766
 Leo v, Emperor 84, 341, 739
 Leo VI, Emperor 87, 341 (and n. 76), 342, 343, 461, 463, 623, 763, 768-769, 775, 781, 784-785
 Leo I, Pope 70, 585, 587, 592
 Leo III, Pope 97, 113, 424, 550, 524, 705
 Leo IV Pope 114, 738
 Leo IX, Pope 74-75, 88-89
 Leo, priest and scribe (from Phogla, Pamphylia) 644
 Leo of Methone, St. 644
 Leo of Ochrid, Archbishop of Bulgaria 88
 Leo-Luke of Corleone, St. 7, 125, 625
 Leonard of Limoges, St. 648
 Leontia, Empress 33, 696
 Leontius, Emperor 330
 Leontius, monk of S. Sabas 551, 740
 Leontius of Neapolis, Bishop of Cyprus and hagiographer 613
 Leucius of Alexandria, Bishop of Brindisi, St. 267, 458, 603
 Liberius, Praetorian prefect and senator 32
 Liutprand, Lombard King 45, 48, 50, 189; 339 (n. 66); (capitular of) 369, 373, 380

- Liutprand of Cremona, Bishop and author
 Lombards 31-33, 36, 45, 48, 77, 126, 145-146,
 149, 162, 214-215, 279, 283, 289, 312,
 314, 331, 333, 364, 369, 373, 387, 393,
 395, 397, 401, 447, 541-542, 544, 546,
 552, 558-561, 563, 592-594, 600-601,
 603; (aristocracy) 440; (*exercitus*),
 288; (invasion) 285, 289, 290, 438-439,
 443; (law) 290; (migration) 302, 307;
 (principalities) 292, 447; (regions) 279,
 284, 285, 288, 295
 Longinus, St. 498
 Lothar I, Carolingian Emperor 50, 53, 414
 Lothar II, Carolingian Emperor 421
 Louis I (the Pious), Carolingian Emperor
 735
 Louis II, Carolingian Emperor 13, 50, 53, 191,
 209, 211, 415, 417, 418, 461
 Luca, Lucas see Luke
 Lucia of Syracuse, St. 610, 612
 Luke, Abbot of St. Mary of Grottaferrata
 629
 Luke, Bishop of Isola Capo Rizzuto, St. 228
 (n. 18), 631
 Luke, Christian renegade 58
 Luke, *diakonetes* of Reggio di Calabria 235
 Luke, founder of the monastery of Sts. Elias
 and Anastasius of Carbone 127
 Luke, *grammatikos* of Melicuccà, St. 127
 Luke of Armento (or Demenna), St. 125,
 128, 625-627
 Luke of Bova, St. 658
 Luke the Stylite, St. 111
 Lupus *protospatharius*, author 8

 Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch 80
 Macarius of Collesano, St. 625, 645; see also
 Christopher and Sabas, Sts.
 Macarius the Roman, St. 124
 Macarius the Younger, St. 125
 Macedonian dynasty 191, 216
 Magnus, *kourator* 501
 Maleinoi, Calabrian family 54
 Maleinos, Senator judge 777
 Manes, general 46
 Manfred, King of Sicily 242
 Manuel I Comnenus, Emperor 268
 Manuel Phocas, general 57, 490
 Marcianus, Bishop of Syracuse, St. 4 (n. 12),
 604, 615-616, 618-619
 Marcianus, Bishop of Aquileia/Grado 77
 Marcus see Mark
 Marinus, Count of Fondi and *hypatos* of
 Gaeta 427, 428
 Marinus, *χρυσωκαταλακτις* 546
 Marinus II, Duke of Naples 418
 Mark, apostle, St. 593, 595, 602
 Mark, Archbishop of Otranto 561
 Martin I, Pope 38, 79 (and n. 49), 586-587,
 612, 739
 Martin of Tours, St. 651
 Martina, Empress 38
 Marwān, Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr's son 41
 Maslamah, general and Abd-al Malik's son
 45
 Matasuentha, Ostrogothic Queen 29, 32
 Matthew, apostle, St. 70
 Maurice, Bishop of Syracuse 556 (n. 132)
 Maurice, *chartularius* 367, 701
 Maurice, Emperor 146, 143 (n. 20), 149 (n.
 81), 179, 329, 335-337, 348, 349 (and n.
 131), 548, 696, 766
 Maurice, *magister militum* 717
 Mauricius see Maurice
 Maurus, Amalfitan merchant 688
 Maurus, Archbishop of Ravenna 79, 284,
 547, 591-592, 737 (n. 15)
 Maurus, *archon ton Sermisianon* 144
 Maurus, Bishop of Poreč, St. 594-595
 Maximian, Emperor 610
 Maximian, Archbishop of Ravenna 9, 76,
 589-591, 713-714, 716, 737
 Maximianus see Maximian
 Maximus, Patriarch of Antioch 70 (n. 5)
 Maximus the Confessor, theologian St. 38,
 79 (and nn. 49-50), 111, 549, 739-741, 753
 Mecetius see Mezezius
 Melania the Elder, aristocrat 259
 Melias, Armenian name 543
 Melus of Bari, aristocrat 58-59, 194
 Menander, historian 145
 Menas, Patriarch of Constantinople 76
 Menia, legendary founder of Taormina 615
 Mesimerioi, Calabrian family 54
 Methodius, apostle of the Slavs 86
 Methodius, Bishop of Olympos, St. 751

- Methodius, Patriarch of Constantinople, St.
4 (and n. 12), 85, 116, 551, 557, 650 (and
n. 41), 739-740, 745
- Mezezius, usurper 40, 147, 266
- Michael I, Emperor 50, 85, 342, 483
- Michael II, Emperor 51, 84, 350, 352, 483
- Michael III, Emperor 85-87, 342, 344
(n. 93), 350
- Michael IV, Emperor 631
- Michael V, Emperor 58
- Michael VII, Emperor 89-90, 351
- Michael, Sicilian *topoteretes* 486
- Michael, Catepan 778
- Michael Abidelas, Catepan 709
- Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of
Constantinople 59, 74, 88-89
- Modestus, tutor of St. Vitus 611
- Moors see Berbers
- Muhallabids, Arab family 204
- Mundus, general 29
- Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, general 41
- Muslims see Arabs
- Myronas, John, priest and scribe 644 (n. 16)
- Narses, general 31, 142, 159, 173-175, 541, 696
- Neilos of Rossano see Nilus
- Neophytus (Alexander), Bishop of Lentini
614-615
- Neophytus γραμματεὺς 557
- Nerseh Kamsarakan, Armenian prince 524
- Nicephorus II Phocas, Emperor 57, 152, 156,
159 (and n. 166), 161 (n. 182), 214, 447,
463, 769
- Nicephorus III Botaniates, Emperor 90
- Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople
85, 524, 526, 621
- Nicephorus Hexakionites, *strategos* of
Longobardia and Calabria 57, 699
- Nicephorus Phocas (the Elder),
general 207, 209, 466, 727
- Nicetas, *droungarios* 57
- Nicetas, *lebīta* and *iscribanus* 502
- Nicetas, *meizoteros* 503
- Nicetas of Byzantium, theologian 623
- Nicetas David Paphlagonian, hagiographer
621
- Nicetas Stetatos, monk 89
- Nicholas, Archbishop of Bari 560 (n. 169)
- Nicholas, Archbishop of Reggio 566
- Nicholas, monk 751
- Nicholas I, Pope 47, 73 (and n. 23), 85-87,
460
- Nicholas II, Pope 59
- Nicholas, priest of Taranto 564
- Nicholas of Durazzo, Bishop of Crotone and
theologian 242
- Nicholas Maleinos, Archbishop of Rossano
236
- Nicholas of Myra, St. 467, 653 (and n. 54)
- Nicholas Mysticus, Patriarch of
Constantinople 4 (and n. 12)
- Nicholas Picigli, *strategos* of Longobardia
53
- Nicita see Nicetas
- Nico, Bishop of Taormina, St. 604
- Nico, martyr in Sicily, St. 617
- Nico Metanoite, St. 629
- Nicodemus of Cellarana, St. 627, 630
- Nilus, monk 630
- Nilus of Rossano, St. 7, 113, 126, 227, 565-566,
643 (n. 11), 649, 650-651, 653, 654, 655,
627, 748, 751-752
- Nilus Doxopatres, theologian 238
- Normans 9, 59, 89, 95, 171, 194, 227, 233-236,
293-294, 647, 652; (conquest) 225-227,
230-233, 280, 281, 293, 294, 408, 418,
428, 437, 448, 463, 465, 467, 545, 566,
568, 780; (period) 290, 292, 293
- Odovacar, King 334 (n. 36), 405
- Odoacer see Odovacar
- Olympius, Exarch 38, 79
- Omurtag, Bulgar Khan 343 (n. 88)
- Onuphrius, St. 124
- Orestes, *koitonites* 58
- Orestes, Patriarch of Jerusalem 625, 645
- Oribasius, Greek physician 736
- Ostrogoths 30-32, 75, 170, 172, 366, 439
- Otto I, Saxon Emperor 57, 418, 701
- Otto II, Saxon Emperor 57, 215, 418
- Otto III Saxon Emperor 58, 419, 427, 628
- Ottonian dynasty 191-193
- Oursoleon, *strategos* 293
- Palladius, Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus, author
503

- Pamphronius, Roman senator 33
 Pancras see Pancratius
 Pancratius, Bishop of Taormina, St. 4
 (n. 12), 437, 557-558, 604, 615-616, 618-619, 621, 708
 Pandulf IV, Prince of Capua 59, 193, 418, 420, 428
 Pandulf I Ironhead, Prince of Benevento and Capua 57, 192, 418
 Pantaleo, Amalfitan merchant 688
 Paschal I, Pope 738
 Paul, Abbot of a Syracusan monastery 556
 Paul, apostle, St. 71, 547, 643, 644, 787
 Paul, Bishop of Altinum 594
 Paul II, Bishop of Naples 596
 Paul III, Bishop of Naples 599
 Paul, Exarch 45, 546, 703
 Paul II, Patriarch of Constantinople 38, 79
 Paul I, Pope 114, 423, 738, 740
 Paul the Deacon, historian 174-177, 179, 180, 548, 593, 600, 603
 Paul the Deacon, Neapolitan translator 8
 Paulicians 4, 162 (n. 188)
 Pelagius I, Pope 10, 77, 285, 585-586; 595
 Pelagius II, Pope 71, 719
 Pepin see Pippin
 Peregrinus, *tabellio* 238 n. 82
 Persians 32, 440 (n. 33), 544, 549, 555, 641
 Peter, apostle, St. 10, 70-72, 588, 591, 603, 604, 612, 615-616, 620, 643
 Peter, Archbishop of Amalfi 89
 Peter, *archisprebyter* of the Roman church 83
 Peter, Bishop of Canosa 603
 Peter III, Bishop of Ravenna 591
 Peter, Bishop of Syracuse 619
 Peter, *κολεκταριω*ς 546
 Peter, flax trader 269
 Peter, hegumen of St. Sabas 84
 Peter, Patriarch of Jerusalem 76
 Peter the Athonite 124
 Peter I Chrysologus, Bishop of Ravenna, St. 588
 Peter of Sicily, author 4 (n. 12)
 Petrus, Petros see Peter
 Phaedra, character of Greek tragedy 624
 Phantinus of Tauriana (the Elder), St. 7, 558, 619
 Phantinus the Younger, St. 7, 124-126, 628, 645
 Philadelphus, St. 614
 Philagathus of Cerami, monk and writer 239, 645, 646 (n. 22)
 Philaretus of Seminara, St. 127, 566, 627, 630, 654, 754
 Philip of Agira, St. 4 (n. 12), 122, 642 (n. 6), 557, 620, 657 (and n. 78)
 Philip, hegumen of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus of Naples 748
 Philip, inhabitant of Palermo 620
 Philip II, King of Spain 244
 Philip the Priest, scribe 644
 Philippicus Bardanes, Emperor 80, 330
 Phocas, Emperor 33, 329, 389, 541, 696
 Phoenicians 498
 Photius, Exarch 545
 Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople 47, 73, 85-87, 211, 558, 768
 Pippin III (the Short), Frankish King 48, 83, 423, 740-741
 Plato, *cura palatii* 703
 Plato, hegumen of Sakkoudion monastery 85
 Potiphar, biblical character 624
 Potus Argyrus, Catepan 724
 Probus, Bishop of Ravenna, St. 590
 Procopius of Caesarea, historian 143, 172, 173, 257, 260, 270, 407, 436 (n. 10), 509, 522-523, 698
 Pseudo-Callisthenes 747
 Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite 740
 Psellus, author 776-777
 Pulcheria, Empress 70 (n. 5)
 Pyrrhus, Patriarch of Constantinople 38, 79
 Quodvultdeus, Bishop of Carthage, St. 597
 Rabāḥ b. Ya'qūb, Sicilian Emir 209
 Radelchis I, Prince of Benevento 413
 Rainulf Drengot, Count of Aversa 420
 Rainulf II, Count of Alife 421-422
 Ratchis, Lombard King 48
 Reparatus, Archbishop of Ravenna 547, 591
 Richard I, Count of Aversa and Prince of Capua 59, 421, 428
 Ricimer, general 35

- Robert Guiscard, Count and Duke 59, 234, 421
- Rodoald, Bishop of Porto
- Roch, St. 648
- Roger I, Count 228 (n. 22), 345 (and n. 105)
- Roger II, King of Sicily 228 (n. 22), 237, 238, 266, 421-422, 776-777, 783, 787-788
- Romanus, Bishop of Taranto 563
- Romanus I, Emperor 56, 152, 345, 473, 487, 629, 699, 769, 784
- Romanus II, Emperor 352
- Romanus III, Emperor 351
- Romanus IV, Emperor 89
- Romanus, Exarch 178
- Romuald I, Duke of Benevento 267, 439, 458
- Romualdus see Romuald
- Romulus Augustulus, Emperor 405
- Rosamund, Lombard Queen 177
- Rothari, Lombard King 6, 182, 185-187, 189, 264, 772, 775
- Rufus of Ephesus, Greek physician 736
- Russians 162 (n. 188)
- Rustamids, Algerian dynasty 206
- Rutilius Namatianus, Claudius 259, 263
- Sabas, founder of Mar Saba, St. 654 (n. 59)
- Sabas of Collesano, St. 113, 125, 488, 566, 625-626, 628, 645, 754; see also Christopher, Sabas, and Macarius, Sts.
- Sabas the Younger see Sabas of Collesano
- Sabinus, Bishop of Canosa, St. 455, 467, 603, 707, 711
- Sabinus of Spoleto, St. 651
- Saracens see Arabs
- Saxon, dynasty 50
- Seldjuks 89, 467,
- Serenus, Bishop of Forum Iulii 46 (n. 79), 82 (n. 61)
- Sergius, Archbishop of Damascus 114
- Sergius, Archbishop of Ravenna 109 (n. 9), 284
- Sergius, Bishop of Naples 83, 596
- Sergius, *domesticus numeri Armeniorum* 543
- Sergius I, Duke of Naples 415, 417, 553, 599, 746
- Sergius II, Duke of Naples 418
- Sergius IV, Duke of Naples 419-421
- Sergius V, Duke of Naples 59, 421
- Sergius VII, Duke of Naples 421,
- Sergius I, Patriarch of Constantinople 37-38, 78-79
- Sergius I, Pope 335, 555 (n. 126), 587
- Sergius, *strategos* of Sicily and usurper 45, 51
- Severus, Bishop of Aquileia 91
- Severus, Bishop of Naples, St. 598-599
- Severus, Bishop of Ravenna, St. 588-591
- Severus, Patriarch of Antioch 76
- Shabbetai Donnolo, physician 460, 544 (n. 30), 628
- Sicard, Prince of Benevento 352, 411, 413
- Sico, Prince of Benevento 412
- Silverius, Pope 34
- Simplicius, physician 736
- Slavs 74, 158 (n. 160), 162 (n. 188), 179, 447
- Smaragdus, Exarch 161 (n. 178), 265, 541, 696, 697
- Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem 38, 78, 549, 623
- Stachys, Bishop of Constantinople 72
- Stephen, Bishop of Reggio, St. 558, 604, 618
- Stephen I, Bishop of Naples 553, 599
- Stephen II, Duke and Bishop of Naples 411-412, 596, 747
- Stephen, *illustris* 554
- Stephen II, Pope 48, 83
- Stephen V, Pope 87
- Stephen IX, Pope 89
- Stilicho, general 35
- Strabo, geographer 551, 562
- Suinthila, Visigothic King 36
- Swabians, dynasty 228 (and n. 22) 241 see also Hohenstaufen
- Symbatichius, general 53
- Syrians 445
- Taleleus of Beirut, jurist 765, 768
- Tancred, King of Sicily 234
- Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople 83, 85
- Tarentinus, judge 777, 787
- Taurus, legendary founder of Taormina 437, 438, 615
- Theoctistus, logothete 85
- Theodahad, Ostrogothic King 29-30
- Theoderada, Duchess of Benevento 603

- Theoderic, Ostrogothic King 29, 32, 75-76, 260, 269, 366, 389, 589, 696, 701, 735, 770
- Theodora, Empress (Justinian's wife) 589
- Theodora, Empress (Theophilus' wife) 84-85
- Theodore, Bishop of Messina 556 (n. 132)
- Theodore, cleric 566
- Theodore, donor 546
- Theodore, *gloriosus* 141 (n. 11)
- Theodore, Pope 38
- Theodore, *vir clarissimus grecus Vizanteus* 548
- Theodore Calliopas, Exarch 79, 545
- Theodore of Faran 78
- Theodore of Hermopolis, jurist 766 (n. 14)
- Theodore Krithinos, Archbishop of Syracuse 84
- Theodore of Mopsuestia, Bishop and theologian 76-77
- Theodore the Studite 85, 116, 119, 120, 621
- Theodore of Tarsus, Bishop of Canterbury 741
- Theodoretus, Bishop of Kyrrhos 76-77
- Theodosius, Bishop of Oria 561
- Theodosius, Bishop of Syracuse 618
- Theodosius I, Emperor 68
- Theodosius III, Emperor 330
- Theodosius, father of St. Philip of Agira 620
- Theodosius, monk and ὑπαγματικὸς 270, 557
- Theodote, Abbess 676
- Theodotus Melissenus, Patriarch of Constantinople 739
- Theophanes, chronicler 40, 46-47, 187, 3 (n. 6)
- Theophanes, imperial officer 259
- Theophanes, Patriarch of Antioch 4, 556
- Theophano, Otto II's wife and Empress 57
- Theophilus, Emperor 52, 84, 342, 461
- Theophilus, *magister officiorum* and jurist 765, 768, 777
- Theophylact, Duke of Naples 412
- Theophylact, Exarch 392, 546
- Theophylact, *kourator* 501
- Theudebald, son of Theudebert I 173
- Theudebert I, Frankish King 173
- Thomas, Bishop of Claudiopolis 81
- Tiberius, Emperor 552
- Tiberius II, Emperor 33, 145, 179, 329, 765-766
- Tiberius III, Emperor 330, 340
- Tiberius Petasius, usurper 45
- Totila, Ostrogothic King 31, 173, 770
- Traianus see Trajan
- Trajan, Emperor 268
- Trajan, Bishop of Malta 526
- Tribonianus, giurist 31(n. 8)
- Troilus, patrician 40
- Turks 232
- Umayyads 45, 80, 204, 212-213, 215-217
- Urban II, Pope 234
- Ursicinus, Bishop of Ravenna 589-590, 716
- Ursus, Bishop of Ravenna 588, 590
- Valachs 162 (n. 188)
- Valentinian III, Emperor 407, 497
- Valerian, Bishop of Aquileia, St. 592, 594
- Valerian, Eparch 611
- Vandals 162 (n. 188), 405, 407, 499, 503
- Varangians 162 (n. 188)
- Vespasian, Emperor 352
- Victor, Bishop of Ravenna 706
- Vigilius, Pope 33-34, 76-77, 585-586
- Vincentius, Bishop of Comacchio 369
- Vincentius, Bishop of Naples 707
- Vincentius of Saragossa, St. 648
- Visigoths 32
- Vitalianus, Pope 39-40, 80
- Vitalis of Castronovo, St. 7, 125, 625-628
- Vitus, St. 611
- William I, King of Sicily 234
- William II, King of Sicily 238
- William of Apulia, historian 8, 194
- Willibald, St. 265, 270
- Wisigarda, Lombard Princess 173
- Witigis, Ostrogothic King 29-30, 32,
- Wuldetrada, Lombard Princess 173
- Zacharias, Bishop of Anagni
- Zacharias, Pope 48, 82, 97, 286, 480, 551, 742-743
- Zachary see Zacharias
- Zirids, Berber dynasty 216, 219
- Zitta, *magister militum* 555

Ziyādat Allāh, Emir of the Aghlabids 51
 Zoilus, Patriarch of Alexandria 76
 Zosimus, Bishop of Naples 596
 Zosimus, Bishop of Syracuse, St. 4, 556,
 604, 612-613

Place Names

Aachen 381, 676, 701, 735
 Abruzzo 182-185
 Abydos 147 (n. 61)
 Acerenza, Basilicata 57, 95, 562
Ad Monilia see Moneglia
Ad Novas see Cesenatico
 Adige, River 177
 Adria, Veneto 370-371
 Adriatic Sea 49-50, 52-53, 141, 155, 179, 185,
 191, 200, 208-209, 217, 312-315, 317, 343
 (n. 88), 344 (n. 93), 345 (and n. 107),
 361-362, 366, 371, 377, 379, 381, 453, 459,
 464, 467, 522, 699
 Aegean Islands 208
 Aegean Sea 302, 310-312, 315, 316, 370, 455, 464
Aemilia (via), Roman road 263, 377
 Aeolian Islands 207
 Africa 9, 15, 29, 31, 36-38, 40-41, 50, 78, 91,
 116, 140, 141, 147, 148, 152, 154 (and n. 21),
 155, 184, 186, 202, 204-205, 209, 212-214,
 216-219, 255, 264, 268, 270, 280, 285,
 287-288, 294, 295, 308, 310-311, 313-317,
 333, 337, 406-407, 440, 446, 455, 456,
 460, 473, 478, 622-623, 770
 Agira, Sicily 122, 620
 Agnuli, villa of, Apulia 317
 Agrigento 93, 318, 475, 482, 604, 617
 Aiello, Calabria 57
 Akragas, Sicilian river 475; see also Agrigento
 Albagiara, Sardinia (San Lussorio church)
 508
 Albania 343 (n. 89), 344 (n. 93), 379
 Albenga, Liguria 264
Albingaunum see Albenga
Albintimilium see Ventimiglia
 Alcantara, River 489
 Alesia, Sicily 477; 481
 Alessi, River 117

Alexandria 36, 39, 69, 71-73, 78, 86, 272, 331,
 458, 463, 473, 642, 736
 Algiers 212
 Alimini, Lakes, Apulia 460, 467
 Almeria 215
 Alps 15, 171, 177
 Altino, Veneto 91, 362-363, 371-372
 Altomonte, Calabria 543
 Amalfi 6, 140, 193, 211, 217-219, 240,
 279, 280, 294, 295, 416-417, 426,
 428, 438 (n. 24), 535, 625, 746, 748;
 (cathedral, bronze door) 688, 602;
 (coast), 282; (duchy of) 281, 282;
 (trade) 294; 344 (n. 100), 345 (and
 n. 103)
 Amantea, Calabria 52, 94-95, 208-209, 217,
 267, 442-443, 445
Amerina (via), Roman road 268
 Amorion 352
 Anagni, Latium 399
 Anatolia see Asia Minor
 Ancona 267-268, 364 (and n. 18)
 (Al-)Andalus 204-205, 212, 215-217
 Andria, Apulia 56, 723
Annia (via), Roman road 377
Antinum see Framura
 Antioch 30, 69, 71-73, 86, 89, 212, 215, 259,
 331, 556; (duke) 159 (and n. 170), 753 (n.
 95), 787-788
 Apennines 141, 182, 184, 192
 Apigliano (near Martano), Apulia 458, 466
Appia (via), Roman road 259-260, 263, 405,
 453
 Apulia 1, 6-7, 18-19, 53-54, 56, 87, 94-95, 107,
 116, 140, 156, 158 (n. 154), 161 (n. 178),
 162, 187, 191-194, 208, 215, 227, 267, 279,
 281 (and n. 2), 282, 290-295, 306, 317,
 343, 344, 345, 353, 354, 419, 421, 445,
 453-456, 458-464, 466-467, 542-545,
 558-561, 568, 699, 721-722, 777-778,
 782-783, 786
 Aquileia 77, 91, 175, 262, 268-269, 592-595,
 697
 Argenta, Emilia-Romagna 177
 Arles see Councils, Arles
 Armo, near Reggio, Calabria 445
 Asia (civil diocese) 69

- Asia Minor 13, 37, 40, 54, 107, 119, 122, 124, 144, 162 (n. 191), 182, 313-314, 378, 440
- Asidona, Spain 32
- Aspromonte, mountain massif, Calabria 290, 435, 439
- Assolo, Sardinia (Santa Lucia church) 508
- Asuni, Sardinia (San Giovanni church) 508
- Ateste* v. *Este*
- Athens 464, 467, 557, 769 (n. 30)
- Atrani, Campania (San Salvatore church) 688
- Aurelia* (via), Roman road 260-261, 263
- Austria 172
- Avella, Campania 420, (Grotta di San Michele) 688
- Avicenna, Apulia 458
- Bagnoli San Gregorio, Sicily 476 (n. 20)
- Balearic Islands 37, 93, 496
- Balkans 37, 54, 155, 157, 172-173, 179, 184, 191, 290, 343, 443, 645
- Bamberg 58
- Bari 6, 8, 52-53, 56, 59, 155 (n. 133), 156, 158, 191, 209-210, 219, 225, 232, 238, 263, 267, 290, 293-294, 462, 464-465, 467, 543, 559-561, 601, 628, 653 (n. 54), 749, 779; (citadel) 462, 465, 708, 724; (emirate) 460; (fortifications) 699; (St. Basil) 704; (St. Demetrius) 704; (St. Eustratius) 704; (St. *Georgius de Armenis*), 543; (St. John the Baptist) 753, 725; (St. John the Evangelist) 723; (St. Mary cathedral) 725; (St. Scholastica monastery) 726; (St. Sophia) 704; (Sts. John and Paul) 725; (Santa Teresa dei Maschi) 725; (Strada Lamberti church) 725; (Trulla) 725; see also Councils, (Bari)
- Barletta, Apulia 6, 291
- Barychalla* see Altomonte
- Basilicata 5-6, 53-54, 56, 107, 116, 121, 125, 128, 160 (n. 171) 162, 192, 215, 227, 232, 235, 237, 279, 281 (n. 3), 291, 343, 446, 448, 543, 545, 611, 621, 624-627, 707, 780
- Beirut 765
- Benevento 5, 8, 32, 39, 52-53, 156, 158 (n. 154), 159, 180, 185-187, 189, 191-192, 208-209, 211 (n. 60), 263, 411, 413, 417, 453, 456, 458, 463, 559, 597, 600-603, 748; (duchy), 53, 290, 343, 439, 442, 444; (fortifications) 698; (palace) 440; (St. Sophia) 292, 343-344, 687; (Santa Maria Assunta) 695; see also Councils, Benevento
- Berlin 761
- Biccari, Apulia 57
- Bir Umm Fawakhir, gold-mining Egyptian site 441
- Bisignano, Calabria 95, 217
- Bitetto, Apulia 56
- Bithynia 107, 119, 122
- Bitonto, Apulia 560
- Bivona see Vibo Valentia
- Black Sea 310
- Bobbio 678, 737
- Bologna 368, 374, 698
- Bosporus 617
- Botricello, Calabria 443 (n. 62)
- Bourtzanon, *chorion* 158 (n. 154)
- Bova, Calabria 57, 95, 217, 435, 447-448
- Brescello, Emilia-Romagna 178-179
- Brescia 183; (Santa Giulia museum, marble slabs), 678; (San Salvatore frescoes), 685
- Briatico, Calabria 780 (n. 75)
- Brindisi 52, 217, 263, 267, 453, 456, 467, 559, 602-603
- Bronte, contrada Edera, Sicily 485
- Bruttium* 147, 149, 282, 285, 289, 439, 440 (n. 32), 442; see also Calabria
- Bruzzano, Calabria 214, 644
- Bulgaria 86-87, 343 (n. 88), 551
- Butera, Sicily 476; 484
- Butrint 379, 464
- Cagliari 2, 9, 33, 41, 93, 116, 264, 269, 272, 498, 502, 508, 511, 514, 697
- Cairo, Gheniza 217-218
- Calabria 1, 4-7, 12-13, 18-19, 46-47, 50-52, 54, 56, 58, 73, 78, 86-87, 94-95, 97, 107, 116-117, 121-128, 140, 147, 150, 152 (and n. 105), 154, 158 (n. 155), 159-161 (n. 178), 162, 184, 186, 191-192, 207-211, 214-217, 227, 231-237, 243, 245, 263, 266, 279, 281-282, 287-289, 291-295, 317, 332 (and n. 20), 341, 344-345, 353, 413, 422, 453, 456, 477, 480, 486, 496-497, 541, 543-556,

- 558-560, 564-568, 604-605, 614, 621-627, 630-631, 642, 644-645, 654, 657, 658-659 (n. 86), 722, 734, 761, 773, 776, 784, 785; (ancient Calabria, i.e. Apulia), 282; (duchy) 122, 147, 149, 152 (and n. 105), 161 (n. 178), 442; (fortifications) 699, 707; (monasteries) 699; (mountains) 292; (patrimonium) 82; (theme), 290.
See also *Bruttium*
- Calamizzi, Calabria (monastery of St. Nicholas) 653
- Calanna, Calabria (*kastron*) 435, 448
- Calatafimi, Sicily 474; 479
- Caltabellotta, Sicily 94
- Calvera, Basilicata 56
- Carales, Caralis see Cagliari
- Calvi Risorta, Campania (Grotta delle Fornelle) 688
- Campania 7-8, 12, 40, 93, 97, 126, 149, 182, 185, 192, 209, 214, 226, 260, 265, 266, 280, 282-283, 287, 289, 291, 306, 316, 405-408, 437, 444, 545, 554, 567-568, 649, 652, 657, (fortifications) 699, 721
- Campi Salentina, Apulia (Santa Maria dell'Alto) 456
- Campidano, Sardinian plain 506
- Canne, Apulia 352
- Cannole, Apulia 460
- Canosa, Apulia 453, 455, 460, 467, 583, 711; (baptistry of St. John) 711-712; (basilica of the Saviour) 712; (church of the martyrs Cosmas and Damian, i.e. San Leucio), 711-713; (church of St. Peter) 603, 707, 712.
- Caorle, Veneto 268
- Capernaum, Galilee 623
- Capitanata, area of Apulia 57-58, 216, 291
- Capo Schiso, Sicily (hoard) 348
- Cappadocia 157 (n. 150)
- Capri (San Costanzo) 721
- Capua 5, 191-192, 263, 265, 405, 407-408, 417-418, 420, 428, 565, 601-602, 751
- Carabollace, Sicily 475
- Carini, Sicily 94, 475 (n. 10)
- Carpignano Salentino, Apulia 459, 685, 689-90
- Carthage 9, 41, 91, 152, 184, 331-333, 340, 473-475 478-479, 528, 514
- Casale di Madonna del Piano, archaeological site, Latium 399
- Casale San Donato, archaeological site, Latium 401
- Casalini di San Sosti, monastery, Calabria 699
- Casaranello, Apulia 455, 686
- Cassano, Calabria 209, 217, 448, 566
- Castel Trosino, Lombard cemetery 393
- Castelseprio, Santa Maria foris Portas 669
- Castellaccio, monastery, Calabria 699
- Castro, Apulia 95, 456, 465, 723
- Castrogiovanni see Enna
- Castromercurio, Calabria 124
- Castroregio, Calabria 57, 699
- Castrum Argenti*, Latium 428
- Castrum Perti*, Liguria 18, 312, 396, 698
- Catania 2, 41, 93, 149, 154, 264, 269, 270, 272, 482, 484-485, 332, 340, 489, 556 (n. 136), 604-605, 609-610, 616-618, 631
- Catanzaro 57, 289, 437, 440, 442, 447
- Caucana, Sicily 19
- Cava dei Tirreni, abbey 6, 748 (n. 71)
- Cefalù, Sicily 41, 52 (n. 108), 93-94, 154-155, 481; 482; 485
- Centumcellae* see Civitavecchia
- Cephalonia 155, 157 (n. 150)
- Cerami, Sicily 489
- Cerenzia, Calabria 94
- Cesarò, Sicily 489
- Cesena 364, 374
- Cesenatico, Romagna 260
- Chalcedon 110, 111
- Chalkidiki, peninsula 107, 122
- Cherson 79, 612
- Chieti 185
- Cignana, Sicily 475
- Cilento, area of Campania 227
- Cilicia 112, 440
- Cimitile, Campania (Basilica Vetus) 688; 721
- Cittanova, Veneto (diocesan see and seat of duchy) 372
- Cividale, Friuli 91, 175, 583, 593-594
- Civitavecchia 265
- Classe 17-18, 107, 179-180, 186, 268, 309, 311-312, 352, 366-367, 546, 589; (basilica of St. Apollinaris) 590-591; (basilica

- of St. Severus) 717; (monastery of Sts. John and Stephen and of St. Mark, Marcellus and Felicola), 109.
- Collesano, Sicily 488
- Colombarone, archaeological site, Marche 707
- Comacchio 50, 257, 270, 312, 318, 352 (and n. 151), 368-370, 373, 377-378, 380-381, 535
- Como, Lake 176
- Conca, *castrum*, Marche 43
- Concordia Sagittaria*, Veneto 364
- Contessa Entellina, Sicily 474
- Constantinople 1-2, 4, 14-15, 29, 32-33, 36, 45, 53, 94-95, 106, 108, 110, 111, 116, 117, 123, 140-141, 144, 149, 150-152, 144 (n. 3), 147 (n. 61), 174, 182, 189, 193, 235-236, 241, 310, 317, 329-332, 334, 335 (n. 44), 337, 340, 341 (n. 76), 342-343 (and n. 91), 346-347 (and n. 118), 348-349 (and n. 130), 367, 388, 390, 394, 428, 440 (and n. 33), 442, 453, 458, 460, 467, 473, 502, 523, 526, 530, 542, 544-549, 552, 556, 559-561, 563, 565, 602, 605, 611-614, 616-617, 623, 628, 642-643, 645-646 (and n. 22), 647 (and n. 29), 648, 650-651, 704-705, 709-711, 713, 717, 721, 733-734, 736, 737 (n. 15), 738, 741, 745, 747, 753, 760-762, 765, 769, 771, 773, 776, 779, 783, 787; (Anaplous district), 111; (Apostoleion) 717; (Chalke gate) 701; (Church) 71-74, 78-79, 82-84, 86, 89, 98, 288, 443-444, 447, 584-585, 645; (Great Palace) 700; (Hiereia Palace) 83; (Justinian's palace) 715; (Küçükaly church) 721; (Nea church) 721; (St. Bartholomew, monastery) 650; (St. Sophia) 673, 695, 717; (Sts. Sergius and Bacchus) 391, 674, 715, 719; (Stoudios monastery) 85; (Theodosian harbour) 310; (Theotokos of the Pharos) 721; (walls) 45; see also Councils, Constantinople
- Conversano, Apulia 6, 292
- Cordoba 32
- Corigliano Salentino, Apulia 243
- Corinth 464
- Cornus*, Sardinia 503
- Corsica 141, 205, 215, 496
- Cosa, Tuscany 265, 698
- Cosenza 95, 217, 435, 446, 543, 565-566
- Crati, River 290, 439, 443, 447
- Crecchio, Abruzzo 307
- Cremona 262
- Crepacore, near Torre di Santa Susanna, Apulia 456
- Crete 51, 191, 208, 212, 215, 522
- Crimea 116
- Crotone, Calabria 94-95, 217, 266, 317, 436, 439, 442, 448, 558 (n. 151), 697-698
- Cuma, Campania 265, 408, 415
- Cutrofiano, Apulia 455
- Cyprus 4, 212, 215
- Cyrenaica 444
- Cyzicus 331
- Dacia 268
- Dalmatia 15, 29, 50, 155, 157 (n. 150)
- Danube 144
- Decemnovium* see *mansio*
- Decimoputzu, Sardinia 507
- Devia, Apulia 57, 699
- Dolianova, Sardegna 507
- Durres see *Dyrrhachium*
- Dyrrhachium* 90, 155, 267, 453, 464, 557
- Ebriatico, Calabria 153
- Edessa, Mesopotamia (St. Sophia church) 674
- Egadi Islands 529
- Egnatia* (via), Roman road 267, 453
- Egnazia, archaeological site, Apulia 456
- Egypt 37-38, 143-144, 152, 185-186, 212-213, 216, 218-219, 255, 259, 266, 286, 307, 310, 331, 440-441, 455, 463, 477, 544, 549, 552, 555, 624, 642, 646, 762, 776, 778
- Emilia-Romagna 45, 93, 97, 183, 185-186, 364, 548
- Enna 41, 51, 52 (n. 108), 122, 154, 207, 318, 480; 482; 484; 485; 486; 489
- Entella, Sicily 475; 479; 481; 487
- Ephesus 107, 119, 122
- Eraclea Minoa, Sicily 475
- Este, Veneto 363
- Etna, Mount 488, 620
- Europe 12, 85, 170-171, 194, 295, 312, 378, 378, 583, 670, 685

- Faenza, Romagna 364
 Fano, Marche 268, 365
 Faragola (villa), near Ascoli Satriano,
 Apulia 454, 458
 Farfa, abbey 6, 396, 397, 401
 Fasani di Sessa Aurunca, Campania (church
 of San Michele a Gualani) 688
 Fasano, Tempio di Seppannibale, Apulia
 687, 721
 Favara, Sicily 475
 Ferento, Latium 395
 Fermo 33
 Ferrara 177, 369
Flaminia (via), Roman road 259, 262-263,
 268
 Florence 316
 Flumini Mannu, River 498
 Fondi, Latium 91, 423, 428
 Fordongianus, Sardinia 93, 506, 498, 509,
 514
 Forlì 364
 Forlimpopoli, Emilia-Romagna 364
 Formia, Latium 422-424
Forum Cornelii see Imola
Forum Livii see Forlì
Forum Popilii see Forlimpopoli
Forum Traiani see Fordongianus
 Fossombrone, Marche 284
 Framura, Liguria 264
 Friuli 175, 183
- Gaeta 5, 140, 147 (n. 61), 191, 193, 211, 217,
 266, 344 (n. 99 and 100), 345-346,
 416-417, 419-420, 422, 746, 751; (duchy)
 281-282; (*hyati* of), 283; (Roman
 patrimony), 423, 425; (San Giovanni a
 Mare) 721
 Gallipoli, Apulia 7, 87, 94-95, 438, 458, 464-
 465, 561
 Gangi, Sicily 482, 486
 Gargano, Apulian promontory 57, 459, 464
 Garigliano, River 52-53, 209-210
 Gaul 259, 509
 Gaulos, Gozo island 527
 Gavello, Veneto 370
 Gela, Sicily 475; 476
 Gennesaret (Kinneret) now Tel Kinrot, Israel
 643
 Genoa 9, 91, 175, 215, 262, 264, 332
- Gerace, Calabria 56, 217, 243, 444 (n. 72),
 445, 446, 558, (n. 151)
 Gerace, Sicily 486
 Germany 509
 Gioia Tauro, Calabria 122, 290
 Giovinazzo, Apulia 56
 Giuliano (Castrignano del Capo), Apulia,
 (St. Peter's) 721
 Giurdignano, Apulia (Saint Cosmas and
 Damien church) 455, 732
 Gorno Nerezi, Macedonia (St. Panteleimon
 church) 671
 Grado 91, 93, 175, 268-269, 583, 592-596;
 (fortifications) 697; (St. Euphemia
 church), 593-594, 672.
 Gravina, Apulia 56, 95, 562, 686
 Grottaferrata 227, 244, 567, 627, 629,
 649, 650, 651, 748, 751, 743 (n. 45);
 (hymnographical school) 650-651
 Grottaglie, Apulia 686
 Gubbio, Umbria 185, 284
- Hagia Kyriake* see Gerace, Calabria
Heracleia, Pontus 464, 561
Heraciana, Venetia et Histria 77, 268
Herdonia, Apulia 457
 Hosios Loukas monastery, Beotia 690
- Ifrīqiya see Africa
 Illyricum 48, 73, 82-83, 288, 331, 544, 556,
 558, 602, 619
 Imola, Emilia-Romagna 364, 589
 Imperia 264
 Ionian Sea (gulf) 302; 317, 440
 Isola Comacina, Como Lake 176
 Isola di Capo Rizzuto, Calabria 57, 94
 Istria 12, 15, 40-41, 50, 53, 93, 97, 147, 262, 268,
 270, 361, 368, 372, 377, 381; see also
 Venetia et Histria
- Italy 2, 5, 9, 30, 33, 35-36, 45, 48, 50, 77, 360-
 361, 363-364, 367-368, 373-374, 377, 379,
 502, 609, 612, 614, 619, 622, 625-627,
 629, 631, 760-762, 765-767, 769-782,
 784-785, 788
- Jato, Sicily 475, 479, 481
 Jerusalem 69, 71-72, 106, 113, 123, 259,
 617, 622, 643, 644 (and n. 16), 645,
 754; (Greek Orthodox Patriarchate,

- Library) 645; (Holy Sepulchre)
623, 643
- Jesi, Marche 284
- Jordan, River 623, 643
- Julia* (via), Roman road 259, 262
- Karallos see Cagliari
- Kassar, Castronovo, Sicily 51, 482
- Kaukana see Caucana
- (Al)-Khālīṣa, Palermitan citadel 214
- Kos, Greece 718
- Laterza, Apulia 723
- Latina, Roman road 405
- Latinianon* (monastic region between
Calabria and Basilicata) 124-125, 448,
625
- Latium 182, 190-191, 200, 209, 227, 285, 295,
387-388, 395, 397-398, 401, 545, 567-
568, 778
- Lazica, Georgia 30
- Lecce 95, 466-467
- Lentini, Sicily 94, 484, 604, 614-615, 618, 723
- Leopolis, castrum*, Latium 424-425
- Lerici, Liguria 264
- Leryx* see Lerici
- Lezhë, Albania 344 (n. 93)
- Liburia, Campania 282-283, 288
- Libya 185
- Liguria 18, 93, 175, 182, 184-185, 259, 263-264,
268, 302, 312, 316, 332, 353, 699
- Lilybaeum* see Marsala
- Limitone dei Greci, Apulia 456
- Lipari Island 93-94, 556 (n. 136), 614-617
- Locri, Calabria 95, 441
- Lombardy 93, 176
- Longobucco, Calabria 439
- Loppio, Trentino 18, 312
- Lucania see Basilicata
- Lucca 697
- Lucera, Apulia 454
- Luni, Toscana 264
- Madonie, Mountains, Sicily 489
- Maghreb 204, 206, 212-213, 216-217, 522, 525-
526, 530, 534, 536
- Mahdiyya, Tunisia 213, 217, 219
- Majorca see Mallorca
- Mallorca 496
- Malta 93-94, 207-208, 483, 527, 522, 532,
534-538
- Malvito, Calabria 57
- Maniace, Sicily 489
- Mantua 175-176, 178, 262, 594-595
- Mantzikert, Turkey (battle) 89
- Maratea, Basilicata 456
- Marche 12, 49, 97, 183, 186
- Marsala 93-94, 264, 269, 270, 475 (n. 10), 479
- Marseille 315
- Martirano, Calabria 57
- Marzamemi, Sicily (shipload) 710
- Massafra, Apulia 699, 723
- Matera 95, 465, 541, 568, 723; (Cript of the
Original Sin) 687-88
- Mazara, Sicily 51, 479; 486; 487
- Mediterranean Sea 1, 30, 301-307, 309-311,
313, 315-316, 319, 367, 370, 372, 379, 380-
381, 455-456, 461, 463, 467
- Melfi 57; see also Councils, Melfi
- Melicuccà, Calabria 624
- Melilli, Sicily 476
- Melos island, Greece 463
- Mercure-Lao, River 107, 446
- Merkourion, kastron* (Calabria) 124, 448
- Merkourion*, monastic region (Calabria)
124-126, 446-448, 655, 625, 627, 751
- Mesembria, Bulgaria 722
- Mesiano, Calabria (*castrum*) 57, 448
- Mesima, River 436
- Mesoraca, Calabria 238 (n. 82)
- Messina 54, 58, 93-94, 118, 127; (strait) 180,
208, 215, 264, 413, 482, 556 (n. 136), 604,
631, 775, 787; see also San Salvatore *in*
glossa Phari, monastery.
- Metaponto, Basilicata 458
- Methone, Peloponnese 644
- Milan 68, 75, 77, 91, 93, 175-176, 183, 591, 593,
647
- Milazzo, Sicily 489; (hoard), 347 (n. 118)
- Mileto, Calabria 57, 233
- Minervino, Apulia 56
- Minturnae* see Minturno
- Minturno, Latium 91, 423-425
- Miseno, Campania 265, 306, 316, 697
- Modena 178, 186
- Modica, Sicily 686

- Mola di Monte Gelato, archaeological site,
Latium 398-399
- Molise 182, 185, 186
- Moneglia, Liguria 264
- Monemvasia, Greece 270
- Monopoli, Apulia 56
- Monselice, Veneto 179, 364
- Monte Sant'Angelo, Apulia 653 (n. 54), 721
(n. 165); (St. Michael sanctuary) 459,
688, 710
- Montecassino 6, 52, 56, 193, 292, 421-422,
426-428, 565, 567, 650, 686, 688, 748, 751
- Montefeltro 284
- Montemilone, Basilicata 56
- Montescaglioso, Basilicata 56, 699
- Montiferru, Sardinian mountains 511
- Moravia 86
- Morgantina, Sicily 485; 487
- Motta della Girata, archaeological site,
Comacchio 380
- Mottola, Apulia 686, 699, 723
- Mount Athos 107, 120, 122, 126, 558, 748
- Mount Ganos, Thrace 107, 122, 463
- Mount Lactarius, Campania 31
- Mount Pelion, Thessaly 122
- Mount Teja, Sicily 122
- Müstair, abbey of St. John 685
- Muro Leccese, Apulia (St. Marina church)
465, 721
- Myria, Calabria 439 (n. 30)
- Myra, Lycia 653 (n. 54)
- Naples 2, 5-7, 9, 12-13, 17, 29, 39, 41, 83-84,
93, 97, 145 (and n. 42), 147, 161 (n. 182),
183, 189, 190-191, 193, 205, 209, 211,
214, 217, 226, 240, 263, 265-266, 268,
272, 308, 311, 315-316, 329, 330, 332
(and n. 21), 333 (and n. 25), 337 (and
n. 57), 338, 340, 344 (n. 99 and 100),
351-352, 405-407, 409-410, 414-415,
419, 421, 425-426, 428, 436, 442, 456,
547, 551-554, 556 (n. 134), 562, 567, 617,
746-748, 773 (n. 52); (aqueduct) 696;
(*casales*), 285, 287, 294, 295; (*castrum
Lucullanum* - *Paleapolis* and *castrum
sancti Salvatoris*), 408; (curia) 33;
(duchy) 149, 279, 281-283, 285, 288, 289,
294; (*episcopium*) 599; (fortifications)
697-698, 707; (Greek monasteries:
Sant'Anastasio, Sant'Antonio, San
Demetrio, San Marcellino and San
Pietro, Santi Teodoro and Sebastiano)
552-554; (militia) 295; (oratory of St.
Asprenus) 722; (Piazza Municipio)
266; (*Portus de Arcina e Portus
Vulpulum*) 266; (Roman patrimony
of), 285; (San Gennaro) 478 (n. 24),
552, 583, 592, 596-603, 597 600; (San
Giovanni Maggiore) 747; (San Gregorio
Armeno) 748; (Santa Maria di Regina
Coeli) 748 (n. 68); (Santa Restituta),
597; (Stephania cathedral), 599-600;
(Santi Sergio e Bacco) 748; (*Severiana*
– Saint George), 598.
- Narni, Umbria 185
- Nebrodi, Mountains, Sicily 489
- Neocastro see Nicastro
- Nerezi see Gorno Nerezi
- Nessana, Palestine 144 (n. 26)
- Nicaea 718
- Nicastro, Calabria 57, 95
- Nicomedia 331
- Nicopolis* see Santa Severina
- Nicosia, Sicily 489
- Nicotera, Calabria 94-95, 267, 440, 443, 558
(n. 151); (*massa Nicoterana*) 436, 438
(n. 24)
- Ninfa, Roman *massa* 286
- Nola, Campania 265
- Noli, Liguria 312
- Nora, Sardinia 504-505
- Norma, Roman *massa* 286
- Nurachi, Sardinia 507
- Oderzo, Veneto 91, 175, 186, 283, 364,
697-698
- Olbia, Sardinia 93, 498, 514
- Olevano sul Tusciano, Campania 688
- Olivolo, Venice 371-372, 592, 594
- Olympus, Mount, Bithynia 628
- Opitergium* see Oderzo
- Oppido, Calabria 56-57, 95, 99, 122, 158
(n. 154), 214, 447, 566; (cathedral) 293
- Oria, Apulia 214, 458, 460, 465 (and n. 39),
561; (cathedral) 293; (Santa Maria di
Gallana) 721

- Oriolo, Calabria 56-57
 Oristano 515
 Orte, Latium 185
 Ortona 697
 Orune, Sardinia (Sant'Efis) 512 (and n. 74)
 Orvieto 697
 Osimo, Marche 284
 Ostia, Latium 91, 257, 265, 405
 Ostrovo, Macedonia 59
 Otranto 7, 53, 87-88, 94-95, 118, 192, 214, 217, 243, 245, 267, 270, 437 (and n. 19), 453, 455-457, 460-461, 463, 467, 561-562, 602; (duchy), 152; 306, (St. Peter church) 465, 686, 690, 722, 726; (walls) 466
 Pado Vetere (S. Maria in Pado Vetere), archaeological site, Comacchio 380
 Padria, Sardinia (Santa Giulia church) 508
 Padua 175, 178-179, 364
 Palagiano, Apulia 158 (n. 155), 162 (n. 183), 291, 699
 Palermo 52 (n. 108), 93-94, 206, 210-211, 214, 217, 219, 233, 413, 264, 269, 270, 475, 482, 487, 564, 787
 Palestine 212, 287-288, 544, 549, 552, 555-556, 642, 643, 644, 646, 651, 776; (monastery of St. Sabas) 681, 683
 Palmi, Calabria 122, 630
 Palomonte, Campania 688
 Panaro, River 186
 Pantalica, Sicily 723
 Pantelleria 207-208, 306, 529
Paphlagonia 161 (n. 178), 162 (n. 191); (duke), 162 (n. 191)
 Paphos, Cyprus (St. Neophytos monastery) 671-672
 Paros, Greece 718
 Parenzo see Poreč
 Parma 178-179
 Patras 438, 624
 Patti, Sicily 476 (n. 20); 489
 Pavia 159, 175-176, 189, 378, 428
 Pazzano, Calabria (Madonna del Monte Stella) 686
 Peloponnese 446-447
Pelusium, Egypt 30
Pentapolis 41, 107, 263, 268, 279, 281, 283, 284, 285, 286, 360, 364, 368, 373-374, 544
 Pentedattilo, Calabria 56, 217, 448, 654
 Persia 643
 Perugia 141, 284
 Pesaro 97, 268, 365, 697-698
 Pescara 697
 Peschici, Apulia 699
 Petra Kaukas, Calabria 217, 448
Phausania see Olbia
 Phogla, *Pamphylia* 644
 Piacenza 178, 262, 263
 Pian della Tirrena (*Temesa*, *Tempsa*), Calabria 441-442, 443 (and n. 54)
 Piedmont see Piemonte
 Piemonte 91, 93, 183, 361
 Pietrapertosa, Basilicata (*kastron*, *kastellion*) 448
 Pisa 115; (*Portus Pisanus*) 263, 264, 265; (San Rossore) 265
Pisidia, Asia Minor 151 (n. 93)
 Platani, River 482, 484-485
 Po, River 270, 368-370, 372-373, 378, 380
 Po, Valley 50, 173-174, 176-177, 179-180, 184-186, 263, 378-379
 Poggiardo, Apulia 723
 Pola, Istria 262, (Santa Maria Formosa) 672, 713
 Polignano, Apulia 56
 Polsi, Calabria (sanctuary of Santa Maria di Polsi) 659
Pompeia (via), Roman road 264
 Ponthion, France 83
Pontica, civil diocese 69, 331
Popilia (via), Roman road 263
Popilia-Annia (via), Roman road 260, 262
 Populonia, Tuscany 91
 Poreč 583, 592, 594, 595; (Euphrasiana church) 672, 718
 Poro, Mount, Calabria 437
 Porto Cesareo, Apulia 460
 Porto Torres, Sardinia 93, 264, 269
 Porto Venere, Liguria 264
 Portofino, Liguria 264
Portus Cosanus see Cosa
Portus Delphini see Portofino

- Portus Mauricii* see Imperia
Portus Misenus see Miseno
Portus Pisanus see Pisa
Portus Romae see Roma
Portus Veneris see Porto Venere
 Posada, Sardinia (Santi Stefano e Giovanni)
 508
Postumia (via), Roman road 262
 Pozzuoli, Campania 265, 405-406, 420
 Presinace, monastery, Calabria 699
 Priolo, Sicily 476
 Priverno, Latium 395
 Proconnesus, island 709
 Provence 176-177
 Puglia see Apulia
 Pugliano, Campania (sanctuary of Santa Maria) 748 (n. 68)
 Pula see Pola

 Qayrawān, Tunisia 51
 Quattro Macine, near Giuggianello, Apulia
 458
 Quote San Francesco, Calabria (*praetorium*)
 441, 707

 Rabatana see Tursi
 Racalmuto, Sicily (hoard) 347 (n. 118), 350
 (and n. 132)
 Ragusa (Dubrovnik), Dalmatia 53
 Ragusa, Sicily 154, 476, 484
 Ramacca, Sicily 488
 Rametta see Rometta
 Randazzo, Sicily 489
 Ravenna 1-2, 9, 11-13, 14, 17-18, 29, 41, 44-45,
 48, 97, 106-109, 111, 114, 141, 143-145, 147,
 149 (and n. 81), 150, 170, 175, 177-180,
 182, 184-186, 189-190, 225, 260, 262,
 264-265, 268-270, 272, 280-281, 283,
 285, 287, 289, 295, 312, 315, 329, 330,
 331 (and n. 9), 332, 333 (and nn. 25-26),
 334, 335 (and n. 37), 336 (and n. 47),
 337 (and n. 55), 338, 339 (and n. 67),
 340 (and n. 69 and 73), 341, 349, 353,
 361, 365-370, 372, 374, 377, 380, 390,
 410-411, 455-456, 476, 478, 480, 542-548,
 554, 559, 561, 583-585, 587-592, 612, 618,
 713-714, 734-737, 746, 761, 771, 773, 777;
 (aqueduct) 696; (archbishops) 285,
 288, 369-370; (archives) 706; (Arian
 baptistry, i.e. S. Maria in Cosmedin)
 366, 716; (Arian *episcopium*) 706;
 (aristocracy) 381; (Chalke) 546;
 (Church) 43, 76-77, 90-91, 93, 95, 97,
 282, 284 (and n. 12), 286-287, 368, 370,
 375; (*ciborium* of Bishop Eleuchadius)
 675; (*cimeliarchium*) 706; (*curia*) 33;
 (*Domus Tricoli*) 706, 713; (*Domus*
 of via D'Azeglio) 17, 707; (*Ecclesia*
 Gothorum) 366; (*episcopium*) 704-706;
 (*exkoubita*) 701; (hippodrome) 701;
 (Maximian's throne) 591, 593, 595, 596,
 600-601, 604; (monasteries) 11, 109,
 717; (*Moneta Aurea*) 366, 701; (Palace)
 700-702, 717; (papyri of) 280; (*Quinque*
 Accubita) 705; (*salutatorium*) 706;
 (San Giovanni Evangelista) 366, 546,
 703; (San Michele in Africisco) 715-716;
 (San Probo) 713; (San Salvatore *ad*
 Chalchi) 701; (San Teodoro *ad Chalchi*)
 717; (San Vitale) 180, 589-590, 592,
 673-675, 713-716; (Santa Croce) 366;
 (Sant'Eufemia *ad Mare*) 713-714; (Santa
 Maria *ad Blachernas*) 546, 717; (Santa
 Maria *Ipapanti*) 717; (Sant' Andrea)
 713 (Sant'Apollinare in Classe) 674,
 715-716; (Sant'Apollinare Nuovo) 366,
 672-775, 700-701, 703; (Santo Stefano)
 714; (sarcophagus of Archbishop Felix)
 675; (sarcophagus of Archbishop
 Theodore) 675; (Ursiana cathedral)
 588, 717; (*vivarium*) 706-707
 Reggio Calabria 52, 56, 59, 94, 211, 214-215,
 217, 232, 235, 243, 263, 266, 270, 290,
 294, 317, 332, 341 (and n. 77), 342,
 343 (n. 90), 344, 434, 436 (and n. 10),
 438-439, 441, 444, 446, 448-449, 543,
 551, 562, 601-602, 604, 618, 624, 626,
 653, 750-751, 786; (archbishop) 558 (n.
 151); (cathedral) 290-291, 293; (Church)
 449; (fortifications) 436, 448, 698;
 (*praetorium*) 708
 Reggio Emilia 178-179, 592-593
 Retia 176
 Rieti 33
 Rimini 29, 43, 260, 262-263, 268, 284, 365, 374
 Rocca Sant'Aniceto, Calabria (*castrum*) 448

- Rocchicella di Mineo, Sicily 313, 483, 485-486
- Romagna 12, 49, 93, 97, 368, 375, 547 see also 'Emilia-Romagna'
- Rome 1-2, 4, 9-10, 11-14, 17, 29, 33, 39, 41, 43, 52, 78, 80, 95, 106, 109-116, 126, 141, 144-148, 149 (n. 81), 150, 170, 182-185, 187, 189-190, 209, 225-227, 244-245, 259, 260, 263, 265, 269, 272, 280-281, 283, 285-288, 289 (and n. 31), 295, 309, 329, 330, 331 (and n. 9), 332, 333 (and n. 26), 334 (n. 34), 335-336, 337 (and 56), 338, 339 (and n. 67), 340, 341, 349 (and n. 126 and 129), 352, 353, 387-394, 397, 406, 425, 428, 441, 453, 456, 475, 478, 526, 528, 541-542, 544-552, 556, 563, 567, 583-592, 595-598, 601-605, 611-612, 617, 620, 623-627, 642-643, 645, 649, 651, 738-740, 744-746, 751, 761, 771-773, 776 (n. 58), 777; (Aniene bridge) 696; (aqueduct) 696; (Arch of Janus) 697; (Arch of Septimius Severus) 719; (*Athenaeum*) 393, 395; (Aurelian walls) 388, 390, 394; (Aventine hill) 391; (Basilica Aemilia) 389; (Basilica Julia) 719; (Caelian hill) 391; (catacombs) 390; (Church), 43, 48, 69, 71-80, 82, 84, 86, 89, 91, 93, 95, 282, 283 (and n. 10) 284-288, 434, 436; (Coliseum) 389-390; (column of Phocas) 696-697; (Crypta Balbi) 17, 183, 308-309, 311, 318, 352, 391-393; (*Curia senatus*) 390; (*Domus Tiberiana*) 704; (Duchy) 107, 116, 149, 281-282, 286, 288, 395, 397; (fortifications) 697; (Forty Martyrs Chapel) 703; (Forum) 541, 389, 393, 696-697, 704; (Forum of Peace) 719; (Greek monasteries) 110-114, 549-551, 627, 720; (*Horti Sallustiani* and *Luculliani*) 701-703; (Lateran Palace) 79, 86, 149, 389-390, 706; (Nerva's forum) 389; (Ostiense gate) 388; (Palatine hill and palace) 389, 700-703; (Pantheon/Santa Maria *ad Martyres*) 39, 390; (patrimonies) 46-47, 82-83, 96, 295, 423, 425, 443 (n. 63), 441; (*Portus Romae*) 257, 265, 270, 405; (Salarian bridge) 541; (San Cesario *in Palatio*) 703, 738; (San Clemente) 717-718; (San Gregorio) 721; (San Lorenzo fuori le Mura) 96, 390, 598, 678, 719; (San Lorenzo al Verano) 114; (San Lorenzo *in Pallacinis*) 391, 393; (San Marco) 678, 681; (San Paolo fuori le Mura) 96, 112, 389, 688-89; (San Pietro) 46, 96, 389, 584-5, 587, 592, 643 (n. 11), 719; (San Saba) 721, 738, 745; (San Salvatore [Giovanni] in Laterano, San Venanzio Chapel) 96, 388, 678; (San Silvestro in Capite) 721, 738; (San Teodoro) 391, 703, 719; (Sant'Agata *de Subura*) 721; (Sant'Agnese fuori le Mura) 390, 678, 719; (Sant'Anastasia) 703; (Santa Cecilia in Trastevere) 678, 681; (Santa Croce) 703; (Santa Maria Antiqua) 550, 587, 678-81, 685, 703-704, 719, 741; (Santa Maria *in Aquiro*) 719; (Santa Maria in Cannapara) 719; (Santa Maria *in Cosmedin*) 719; (Santa Maria *in Domnica*) 678, 681; (Santa Maria *in Via Lata*) 719; (Santa Maria Maggiore) 96, 389, 648, 738; (Santa Prassede) 678, 681-683, 738; (Santi Cosma e Damiano) 718-719; (Santi Nereo e Achilleo) 678; (Santi Sergio e Bacco) 719-721; (Sant'Adriano) 390, 719; (Sant'Anastasio *in Aquas Salvias*) 720; (Sant'Andrea) 720; (Sant'Erasmo al Celio) 720, 738; (Santo Stefano Rotondo) 678, 721; (Sessorianum) 703; (supply) 440, 442; (tombs of the apostles Peter and Paul) 643 (and n. 11); (Trajan's column) 697; (Trajan's Forum) 389; see also *Patrimonium beati Petri* and *domus cultae*
- Rometta, Sicily 54, 58, 215, 488, 490, 754
- Rossano, Calabria 56-57, 94-95, 117, 126, 209, 217, 236, 243, 292, 565, 627; (cathedral) 653, 654 (n. 59), 686, 722, 751, 777; (*castrum*) 445, 448; (Gospels) 671; (monastery of Nea Hodegetria or "of *Patir*") 117, 128, 631, 645, 743 (n. 45), 777, 786; (monastery of St. Hadrian) 751; (St. Mark church) 722
- Rudiae, Apulia 457
- Rutigliano, Apulia (St. Apollinaris) 721

- Sabina 397-398, 401
- Saint Bartolomew of Trigona see San Bartolomeo of Trigona
- Saint John Theristes see San Giovanni Teriste
- Saint Mark, sanctuary, Alexandria 624
- Saint Mary of Grottaferrata see Grottaferrata, Santa Maria di Grottaferrata
- Saint Mary of Patir see Rossano
- Saint Menas, Egyptian sanctuary 623
- Saint Michael of Valleluce see Valleluce, San Michele
- Saint Nicholas of Casole see San Nicola di Casole
- Saint Phantinus the Elder, Calabrian monastery 630
- Saint Philip of Agira see San Filippo d'Agira
- Saint Sabas, Palestinian *laura* 111
- Saint Saviour in *glossa Phari* (or *de lingua Phari*) see San Salvatore in *glossa Phari*
- Saints Cyrus and John, Egyptian sanctuary 623
- Saints Elias and Anastasius of Carbone see Santi Elia e Anastasio of Carbone
- Saints Elias and Philaretus, Calabrian monastery 631
- Salento 5, 54, 84, 183, 214, 217, 227, 231, 238, 241, 243, 285, 291, 306, 313, 317, 544-545, 559, 561-562, 568, 644 (n. 16), 648, 657, 778
- Salerno 5, 8, 53, 88, 191, 193, 227, 232, 283, 344 (and n. 100), 345 (and n. 103), 346, 352, 415, 417, 420-421, 436-437, 565, 567, 601, 625; (cathedral, bronze door), 688-89; (fortifications) 698
- Saline, eparchy or *tourma* (Calabria) 122-124, 444, 622, 631
- Salso, River 122
- Salve, Apulia 686
- San Bartolomeo of Trigona, Calabrese monastery 117-118
- San Benedetto di Montecassino see Montecassino
- San Demetrio Corone, Calabria (church of St. Hadrian) 126
- San Filippo d'Agira, Sicilian monastery 122, 125, 480, 625-626
- San Giovanni Malcantone, Apulian monastery 455
- San Giovanni di Ruoti, Basilicata 707
- San Giovanni Teriste, Calabrian monastery 128
- San Giusto, Apulia 454-455; see also *saltus Carminianensis*
- San Marco, Sicily 489
- San Martino di Copanello, Calabria 117
- San Michele in Valleluce, monastery, Lazio 627
- San Miserino, Apulia (church and *vicus*) 455
- San Nicola di Casole, monastery, Apulia 118, 243, 455
- San Pietro di Crepacore, Apulia (church) 721
- San Rossore see Pisa
- San Salvatore in *glossa Phari*, monastery, Messina 118, 127, 235, 239, 243, 564, 631, 775, 777
- San Vincenzo al Volturno, abbey 6, 52, 56, 193, 292, 416, 426; (crypt of Epiphanius), 670, 687-88
- San Vito del Pizzo, monastery see Taranto
- Sanarica, Apulia 725
- Sandalo, River 369
- Sant'Agata, Calabria 57
- Sant'Andrea al Monte Soratte, monastery, Latium 48
- Sant'Angelo in Formis, Campania 686
- Sant'Angelo di Frigilo, Cistercian abbey 238 (n. 82)
- Sant'Antioco, Sardinia 93, 498
- Sant'Antonino di Perti see *castrum Perti*
- Sant'Eufemia d'Aspromonte, Calabria 118
- Santa Filitica di Sorso, Sardinia 505, 512, 514
- Santa Maria di Farfa see Farfa
- Santa Maria di Grottaferrata see Grottaferrata
- Santa Severina, Calabria 52, 57, 209, 217, 242, 443 (and n. 64), 444-446, 561
- Santi Elia e Anastasio di Carbone, monastery, Basilicata 127, 227, 235
- Saraceno, Sicily 475
- Sardica see Councils, Sardica
- Sardinia 1, 3, 9, 13, 15, 18, 31, 40-41, 44, 50-51, 84, 93, 107, 115, 116, 140-141, 148 (n. 72), 200, 202, 204-205, 259, 264, 266, 269, 302, 317, 329, 330, 333 (and n. 24 and

- 26), 340, 456, 496-497, 499, 502, 505,
509, 514, 699, 721
- Sassari 515
- Savona 264
- Savoy 176
- Savuto, River 441
- Scalea, Calabria 57, 267; (chiesa dello
Spedale) 686
- Scolacium* see (near modern) Squillace
- Scribla, Calabria 699
- Segesta, Sicily 475, 481, 487
- Segesta Tigullorum* see Sestri Levante
- Selinunte, Sicily 475 (n. 10)
- Selinuntina* (via), Roman road 264
- Seminara, Calabria 123
- Senafar* (near modern Oristano) 93, 503
- Senigallia 43, 268, 284, 364
- Serperi, Campania 627, 751
- Serre, Calabrese mountain range 435
- Sestri Levante, Liguria 264
- Sibari, Calabria 91, 94, 436 (and n. 9), 442
(n. 58), 436 (and n. 9)
- Sicily 3-5, 7, 9, 12-13, 15, 18-19, 29, 31, 33, 36,
38-41, 46-47, 50-52, 54, 58, 73, 78, 83-84,
86, 91, 93-95, 107, 116, 122, 127, 184,
186-187, 191, 193, 200-209, 211-219, 225,
227, 230, 233, 235, 238, 243, 259-260,
264-266, 269, 279, 280-282, 284-290,
294-295, 302, 306, 311, 313, 316-319, 368,
392, 407, 411, 413, 434, 436, 441, 442,
444, 446, 456, 459, 463, 467, 522-525,
527, 541, 544-545, 549, 552, 554-555,
557, 561, 566, 568, 601-602, 604, 609,
612, 614-619, 621-622, 625-626, 630-631,
641-643, 645-646, 650, 657, 699, 721,
723, 760-761, 769-770, 773-774, 778,
784-785, 788
- Siderno, Calabria 439
- Sigrò (near Palmi), Calabria 630
- Sila, mountain mass 290, 291, 292, 436, 443
(n. 62), 444-446
- Simeto, River 122
- Sinai 643; (St. Catherine's monastery) 645,
675, 689
- Siponto, Apulia 458, 725; (basilica of the
martyrs Stephen and Agatha) 710,
(St. John the Baptist) 710; (St. Mary) 710
- Sirmium* (Sremska Mitrovica) 144, 145
- Siurgus, Sardinia 501
- Skiprou, Greece (church of the Dormition)
721
- Slovakia 172
- Soletto, Apulia 243
- Sophiana*, Sicily 475; 479; 483; 486; 488
- Sorrento 240, 408, 420
- Spain 9, 32, 186, 255
- Spinazzola, Apulia 463
- Spoletto 32, 179-180, 185-186, 189, 263, 397,
401, 424, 697
- Squillace, Calabria 18, 91, 94-95, 117, 233,
317, 436-440, 443, 445, 448, 558 (n. 152),
698, 707; (*castrum* of *Scolacium*) 443,
445, 448
- Stilo, Calabria 57, 217, 448, 449, 560,
(Cattolica) 722
- Stoudios monastery see Constantinople
- Subiaco (abbey) 397
- Suelli, Sardinia 501, 506
- Suessola*, Campania 265
- Suio, Latium 428
- Sulcis see Sant'Antioco
- Supersano, Apulia 458
- Susa, Piedmont 176, 177
- Syracuse 2, 39-41, 52 (and n. 108), 77, 84,
93-94, 98, 154, 191, 204, 207, 209, 264,
269-272, 317, 332 (and n. 17), 340-342,
347 (n. 118), 348, 352, 412, 441, 476, 480,
482, 483, 484, 485, 487, 490, 523-524,
555-556, 558, 566, 602, 604, 610, 613,
615-616, 618-619, 699, 753; (*curia*)
33; (Constans' baths) 704; (Imperial
palace) 704; (Ortygia) 488; (Temple of
Athena) 699.
- Syria 30, 78, 177, 188, 212, 392, 544, 549, 552,
555, 642, 644, 646, 651, 776
- Tabellaria*, Latium 260
- Tabgha, Galilee 623
- Tabor, Mount, Galilee 623
- Taginae*, Umbria (battle) 31, 173
- Taormina 52 (n. 108), 54, 87, 93-94, 207, 215,
264, 437, 487-490, 556 (n. 136), 557, 566,
604, 615-616, 618-619, 621, 708
- Taranto 5, 39, 52, 54, 208-210, 214, 227 (and
n. 13), 231, 232, 263, 266-267, 291, 442
(n. 58), 445, 456, 458, 460, 466, 551,

- 559, 562-564, 568, 602-603, 749, 778;
(acropolis) 436, 699; (cathedral of St.
Cataldus) 726-727; (fortifications) 697-
699, (imperial palace) 704 (monastery
of San Pietro Imperiale) 709, 749, 778;
(monastery of San Vito del Pizzo)
564, 749, (monastery of SS. Andrea e
Bartolomeo *de Insula Parva*) 749
- Tauriana, Calabria 91, 94-95, 443, 445, 558
(n. 151), 708
- Taverna, Calabria 57
- Tavoliere, Apulian plain 292, 294
- Temesa*, *Tempsa* see Pian della Tirena
- Terlizzi, Apulia 6
- Termini Imerese, Sicily 94, 477, 481, 487-
490, 556 (n. 136)
- Terracina, Latium 190, 260, 396, 423, 424,
696
- Tharros, Sardinia 498, 500, (San Giorgio di
Sinis) 514
- Thessaloniki 47, 123-124, 331, 623, 628, 645,
650, 657
- Thessaly 122
- Thrace 78-79, 107, 122, 144, 154, 440, 620;
(civil diocese), 69
- Thurii* see Sibari
- Tiber, River 263, 270, 318, 389-390, 394,
397-398
- Tiberias, Lake 623
- Tindari, Sicily 33, 93-94, 477
- Tiriolo, Calabria (*castrum*) 289, 440, 699
- Toirano, Liguria 264.
- Torba (Lombard monastery) 685
- Torcello, island of Venice lagoon 268, 592,
594, 371-372, 717
- Torre del Mare, Liguria 699
- Torre Santa Susanna, Apulia 686
- Tours 647
- Traetto, Latium 425, 428; (patrimony of)
285, 425-426
- Traiana* (via), Roman road 260, 263
- Trani, Apulia 455, 458, 560, 603, 725
- Trapani 479; 487
- Trapeana massa* see Tropea
- Trentino 312
- Treviso 262
- Tricarico, Basilicata 58, 95, 562
- Triocala see Caltabellotta
- Tripoli 269, 617, 623
- Tripolitania 522
- Troia, Apulia 6, 57-58, 463, 560
- Troina, Sicily 489
- Tropea, Calabria 41, 51, 95, 154, 209, 267, 558
(n. 151); (massa Trapeana) 434, 440,
445, 486
- Tunisia 51, 478, 522, 530
- Turris Libisonis* see Porto Torres
- Tursi, Basilicata 56, 95, 543, 543, 562
- Tuscany 93, 175, 180, 185, 316, 398, 401, 424
- Tuscia* 91, 185, 262-263, 699
- Tyrrhenian Sea 141, 185, 191, 193, 305, 317,
344, 345, 294, 413, 426, 522; (duchies),
41, 57, 230, 281, 294
- Umbria 97, 179
- Umbriatico, Calabria 57, 94
- Urbino 185, 698
- Vaccarizza, Apulia 56, 699
- Vada Sabatia* see Vado Ligure
- Vada Volaterrana, Tuscany 316
- Vado Ligure 264
- Val Demone, Sicily 231, 473, 484, 488-489
- Val di Mazara, Sicily 473
- Val di Noto, Sicily 473
- Valeria* (via), Roman road 264
- Valleluca, Latium (monastery of St. Michael)
751
- Vallermosa, Sardinia (Santa Maria church)
508
- Valtellina, Italian region 176
- Varatelia* see Toirano
- Varigotti, Liguria 264.
- Vaste, Apulia 686
- Vatican City 390
- Venetia et Histria* 12, 90-91, 279, 283, 363,
592-595; see also Provinces, Italian
- Veneto 91, 97, 178, 182
- Venice 12-14, 50, 147, 155, 173, 200, 217, 225,
257, 269-270, 334, 340, 344, 360, 362,
369, 371, 373, 380-381, 547, 777, 785 (n.
87); (duchy) 360; (Malamocco) 372;
(merchants) 381; (Rivoalto) 373; (San
Lorenzo di Ammiana, island of the
Venice lagoon) 372; (San Francesco
del Deserto, island of the Venitian

- lagoon) 371-372; (San Marco) 688,
717; (Venetian aristocracy) 373, 381;
(Venetian lagoons) 12, 41, 279, 282, 365,
368-371, 377, 380-381, 535, 594-595; see
also Torcello
- Ventimiglia, Liguria 264
- Veretum*, Apulia 456
- Verona 175, 262, 374
- Vibo Valentia, Calabria 94-95, 436-437, 440,
558
- Vibona* see Vibo Valentia
- Vicenza 175
- Vicus Habentia* see Voghenza
- Vieste, Apulia 56
- Vignale see *mansio*
- Villamagna, archaeological site, Latium 399
- Viterbo 395
- Vito Soldano, Sicily 475
- Vivarium* monastery, Calabria 117
- Voghenza 369
- York 78, 550

Index of Subjects

- Acacian Schism 70, 584
 Acculturation 225
Acheiropoietos icon see icons
Acta of St. Euplius 609
Adaeratio, fiscal procedure 441
 Administration, civil (archontate of
 Dalmatia) 155 (*chartularius*), 157, 367;
 (*comes sacri patrimonii*) 151 (n. 98),
 152, 286; (*cubiculum*) 152, 153; (*cura*
 civitatis) 148 (n. 67); (*defensor civitatis*)
 148 (n. 67); (*ek prosopou*) 160; (*epi*
 ton deeseon) 154; (*gastald*) 157 (and
 n.148), 160; (*iudex*) 148; (*komes ton*
 stenon) 147 (n. 61); (*kommerkiaros* and
 basilika kommerkia), 37, 152; (*krites*)
 158 (n. 160); (*magistros*), 161 (n. 178);
 (*meizoteros*), 153, 503; (*monetarios*),
 153 (and n. 115); (*praefecturius*), 148 (n.
 72); (*praefectus urbi*) 147 (n. 61), 389;
 (*praetor* of Pisidia), 151 (n. 93); (*praetor*
 Siciliae) 150, 151; (*praetorian prefect*)
 3, 31, 141, 148, 150-151, 143 (n. 17), 148
 (n. 72); (*protonotarios*) 153; (*quaestor*
 sacri palatii), 151 (and n. 95); (*rhektor*),
 153; (*sacellarius*) 148 (and n. 72), 150;
 (*vestes*), 161 (n. 178); (*vestiarion*) 153
 Administration, ecclesiastic offices 96-
 98; see also Rome, *diaconiae* and
 patrimonies
 African Red Slip Ware see pottery
Agrimensores 282
Akolouthiai (Byzantine sung offices) see
 hymns
 All Saints Day, feast 647
 All Souls, feast 647
 Amphorae (African) 312-313, 317; see also
 pottery
Angareia 160 (n. 172)
Annales Barenses 8
Annona, tax 151, 286-287, 378-380, 436,
 528-529
Annonocapita tax 154, 440
 Annunciation 550 (n. 72)
 Anonymous of Ravenna 10, 146, 264, 507
Aplekton 51
Apocrisarius 77, 586
Apothekai 3
 Arabic language 644
 Arborea, Sardinian lordship (*giudicato*) 496
Archon 144, 148, 445, 496; see also Military,
 officers
 Armenian Church see Church, Armenian
 Arsenal 161 (n. 178)
Asketikon of St. Basil 244
 Autocephaly 80
Authenticum 772
 Baptism 649
 Barbagia, Barbagie see *Barbaria*
Barbaria 506, 509, 511
 Basilian Order 229, 233, 242, 244
Basilici 763, 765, 768, 773, 775, 786
 Bible (Old Testament Psalms) 654, 655
 (and n. 64), 656; (New Testament)
 655; (Gospels) 644, 655 (and n. 68);
 (Epistles) 644
 Book of Ceremonies see *De cerimoniis aulae*
 Byzantinae
 Book of the Eparch 763
Bratteate, Byzantine fibulae 439
 Bread, unleavened 88
Brebion, inventory of properties 434 (and
 n. 1)
Breviarium ecclesiae Ravennatis 43
 Burials 390, 438, 439 (n. 29)
 Byzantine Commonwealth 295
 Calendar, liturgical 7, 644, 647, 649, 651, 653
 Calendario marmoreo of Neaples 7
 Capitular of Liutprand see Liutprand
Castrum 158 (n. 155), 162 (n. 183), 395-396,
 401; (Bova) 448 (*Castru de Presnake*)
 44; (Gallipoli) 438 (and n. 19);
 (Manturiano) 45; (Scolacium) 437-438.
 See also *castrum Concae* and *castrum*
 Perti and fortifications
Catalogus Baronum 229 (n. 23)
 Catepanate 54, 156, 161, 159, 161 (n. 178), 162,
 346, 542, 773
Codice Bavaro 280

- Canons (Byzantine liturgical hymns) 650;
see also hymns
- Casale* 283
- Catepan see Military, officers
- Census 443
- Centuriation 282
- Chafing dish 467
- Chairetismos* see Annunciation
- Chelandiai*, warships 436
- Chorepiscopus* 231
- Chronica patriarcharum Gradensium* 594
- Chronicle of Cambridge* 4
- Chronicon Salernitanum* by Erchempertus 8
- Chronographia* by Theophanes 3, 46, 187
- Chorion* 158 (n. 154), 440, 443-444, 445
(n. 80), 448 (and n. 99), 449
- Chrysos bourdonon* 149 (n. 79)
- Church 657, 658; (Armenian) 658;
(Byzantine) 647, 650, 656; (Georgian)
658; (Latin) 647; (Melkite) 642
- Church Reform 515
- Civic councils 141, 147
- Cluniac reforms 88
- Codex Carolinus* 10
- Codex Justinianus* 441 (n. 47), 497, 764, 767
- Codex Theodosianus* 257-258, 363, 441
(n. 47), 764, 497
- Coemptio*, fiscal procedure 441
- Coinage 330, 335, 337 (and n. 56), 338 (n.
62), 345, 441 (n. 44), 446
- Coins (debasement of gold coinage) 337-
339, 342, 347 (n. 113), 350;
(*dekanoummion*), 330, 337 (and n.
56); (*denarius*), 336, 344 and n. 94,
345, 381; (*dinar*), 294; (*folles*), 330, 334,
336-337 (and n. 57), 340-341, 343, 441,
345 (and n. 102 and 107), 349 (and nn.
126-127), 349 (and n. 126), 352; (*fulus*),
352; (*hexagram*), 330; (*mancus*), 348;
(*miliaresion*), 344 (and n. 93), 345 (and
n. 101); (*pentanoummion*) 330, 337 (and
n. 56); (*rubāṭ*) 218; (*semissis*) 330, 341;
(*siliqua*) 330, 334 (and n. 34), 36 (and
37), 336-337 (n. 55), 339 (and nn. 66,
68); (*solidus*), 284, 330, 336, 338-339,
341, 344-345, 347-348, 350, 351 (and nn.
142, 147), 353 (n. 156) 354; (*tari*), 294,
344, 345 (and n. 101), 351 (and n. 137);
(*tremissis*), 330, 332 (n. 14), 339-341,
347, 350-351
- Colonus* 286, 439
- Comes patrimonii per Italiam* 770
- Comitatus* 371
- Condaghe, inventory of properties 44
- Conductor 287
- Conduma* 287, 476, 480, 486
- Constitutum Constantini* 13, 74, 115
- Consul see Rank titles
- Contarati* 162
- Convivencia 225
- Cosmographia* see Anonymous of Ravenna
- Councils (Arles) 259; (Bari) 236;
(Benevento) 234; (Chalcedon)
69, 81; (Constantinople I) 69;
(Constantinople [536]), 76;
(Constantinople II) 71, 76;
(Constantinople III) 40, 80, 557;
(Constantinople [869-870]) 87;
(Constantinople [879-880]) 84;
(Frankfurt [794]) 84; (Lateran I) 38,
549; (Melfi) 234; (Nicaea I) 69; (Nicaea
II) 47, 83, 85, 87, 558, 654; (Quinisext)
72, 587; (Rome [679-680]) 91; (Rome
[731]), 81-82 (and n. 61); (Rome [732])
47; (Sardica) 588; (Troullos) 766
- Court, Byzantine 645
- Cronaca di Partenope 552
- Cronica de singulis patriarchis nove Aquileie*
12
- Cura animarum* 507
- Curiae* 33
- Cursus publicus* 499, 507, 512
- Curtis* 284, 373-374
- De administrando imperio* 159
- De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae* 57, 269
- De rebus Gestis Rogerii et Roberti Guiscardi* by
Geoffroi Malaterra 8
- Domus de Janas* 513
- Domus divina per Africam* see imperial
properties
- Domus Marinae* see imperial properties
- Diaconiae* 97, 286
- Digest 764, 766, 768
- Dignities see Rank titles
- Diploma of Valentinian III 591

- Domuscultae* 286, 287, 288, 289, 394, 401
(Santa Cornelia) 402
- Dromon* 265, 269
- Droungaron* 158 (n. 154)
- Ducatus* 146-147, 149, 156, 159, 333 see also
'duchy'
- Duchy of Benevento see Benevento
- Duchy of Calabria see Calabria
- Duchy of Italy see *Katepanaton* of Italy
- Duchy of Naples see Naples
- Duchy of Otranto see Otranto
- Duchy of Rome see Rome
- Duchy of Venice see Venice
- Duke see Military, officers.
- Duke of Antioch see Antioch
- Duke of Paphlagonia see Paphlagonia
- Diptychus* 235
- Dyophysitism 78
- Dyothelitism 38
- Easter 658
- Ecloga* 7, 72, 766-769, 773, 774-776, 781,
784-785
- Edictus Rothari 6, 559 (n. 157), 772, 775
- Einsiedeln Itinerary 388
- Eisagoge* 768 (and n. 26)
- Ekthesis* 37-38, 78
- Emphyteusis 285, 286, 287
- Encolpion* (cross or reliquary worn around
the neck) 656
- Encomion* of St. Marcanus (*BHG* 1030) 618
- Encomion* of St. Pancratius (*BHG* 1411) 618
- Entalma* 779
- Epanagoge* 73
- Episcopal audientia* 34
- Episkepsis* 161
- Euchologion* (liturgical book) 642, 644
(n. 16), 656, 657, 658
- Exarch 142-143, 145 (and n. 45), 141 (n. 14),
143 (n. 17 and 18), 148 (n. 72), 584-585,
587, 592
- Exarchate (Italian) 36, 41, 107-108, 147, 225,
263, 266, 268, 279, 283, 284, 286, 288,
360, 364-365, 367-369, 373, 380, 544,
547, 559, 561; (African) 115, 514
- Exkoussatoi* 158 (n. 160), 449
- Exorcism 641 (n. 2), 642, 656
- Farming 283, 289, 434, 439, 444-445, 449
- Fasting 88
- Fath* 203-204, 208
- Feudal system 233
- Filioque* controversy 86, 236
- Fleet 53, 443, 446; (Ravennate) 268, 381;
(Sicilian) 155, 436, 473, 481
- Fortifications 437, 438-440, 448;
(Benevento) 698; (Bologna) 698;
(Cagliari) 697; (Campania) 699;
(Castroregio) 699; (Cosa) 698;
(Crotone) 697-698; (Devia) 699;
(Exarchate) 699; (Grado) 697; (Liguria)
699; (Lucca) 697; (Massafra) 699;
(Miseno) 697; (Montescaglioso) 699;
(Mottola) 699; (Naples) 697-698,
707; (Oderzo) 697-698; (Ortona)
697; (Orvieto) 697; (Palagiano) 699;
(Pesaro) 697-698; (Peschici) 699;
(Reggio Calabria) 698; (Salerno)
698; (Sant'Antonino di Perti) 698;
(Sardinia) 699; (*Scolacium*) 699, 707;
(Sicily) 699; (Spoleto) 697; (Tiriolo)
699; (Torre del Mare) 699; (*Tuscia*)
699; (Urbino) 698; (Vaccarizza) 699;
see also *castrum*
- Fundus* 43, 284, 285, 286, 287, 373, 500
- Funeral Oration to Athanasius of Alexandria*
by Gregory of Nazianzus 613
- Funeral Oration to Basil the Great* by Gregory
of Nazianzus 613
- Furnishings, liturgical 439 (n. 26), 441, 645
- Garum* 370
- Gesta civitatis Caralitanae* 496-497
- Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum* 7, 147
(n. 61), 596-600
- Gesta municipalia* 771
- Gesta Roberti Wiscardi* by William of Apulia
8
- Getica* by Jordanes 32
- Giudicati (Sardinian Judgeships) 514
(n. 84), 515
- Ġizya see Jizya
- Glossa Taurinensis* 772
- Gothic Kingdom 108, 117; see also
Ostrogoths

Gothic War 9, 31, 14, 29, 75, 141, 301-302, 339, 389, 436, 439, 453, 455-456, 541-542, 584-585, 588, 601
Gregorian Reform 233
Guerilla warfare 206
Hagiography 4, 642, 643, 644, 645, 647, 649, 651, 653, 654, 655 (n. 64), 656, 658; see also manuscripts, *Menologion*; *Synaxarion*; and *Vita*
Hellenism 227, 235, 243
Hellenization 438-439, 442-444, 446
Hieronymian Martyrology 594
Historia Normannorum by Amatus of Montecassino 8
Hodegetria, Virgin see Mary, Virgin
Holy Land 622, 641, 643, 644; see also Palestine
Hours, liturgy of the canonical 654
Hymnals 647 see also *Menaia* and *Triodion*
Hymns, Byzantine 648 (and n. 33, 36), 649-651
Hypobolon 776, 781-782
Hypomnema 778-779
Ibadism 206
Iconoclasm 44, 72-73, 83, 84 (and n. 76), 85, 551, 596, 599, 602, 604, 613-614, 616, 619, 622, 628, 641
Icons 645, 650 (n. 41), 652-654; (*acheiropoietos*) 653; see also Orthodoxy, feast of
Idiorrhythmy (eastern monasticism) 649
Imperial properties 37, 501 (and n. 15), 501 (and n. 19)
Incubatio 659
Institutiones 764-766, 777, 787
Insularity 522-523, 536
Irrigation 460
Italia annonaria 90
Italia suburbicaria 90
Itinerarium Maritimum 264
Ius lignaminum 292
Jewish traditions 544, 562 (n. 182), 655 (n. 68), 658
Jihād 203, 207, 209-210

Jizya 204, 446-447
Judex Tarentinus 564
Judge of the Greeks 230, 231
Kampanismos, rite 657
Kastroktisia, tax 160, 447
Katepanaton see Catepanate
Kharijism 204
Kilns 436-437
Kouratoriai 161
Langobardia 373-374; see also theme (of Longobardia)
Largitiones, Palatine office 258
Latinization, liturgical of Southern Italy 233, 235-237, 242, 647, 648, 649
Law (Byzantine) 225, 230, 236, 240, 243; (Lombard) 230, 240; (Roman) 240; (Justinianic) 230
Lex Falcidia 786
Libellus satisfactionis 87
Liber Augustalis 240
Liber censuum 12
Liber diurnus 147 (n. 61)
Liber miraculorum Agrippini 598
Liber pontificalis 7, 10, 39, 45-46, 49, 113, 280, 282, 285, 388, 391, 582, 585-588, 592, 595, 597, 599-600, 602
Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis 11, 49, 109, 546-547
Liturgy 642, 644, 645, 646 (and n. 23), 648, 649, 651, 654; of Saint Basil (mass) 644; of Saint James (mass) 642; of Saint Mark (mass) 642; see also Euchologion; furnishings, liturgical; hymnals; hymns; scrolls, liturgical
Livello, contract 284
Longobardia see theme (of Longobardia)
Longobardia minor 290
«Madonna della Montagna» (Our Lady of the Mountain), feast 659
«Madonna della Neve» (Madonna of the Snow), feast 648
Magic 641 (n. 2), 656, 658
Magna Graecia 352, 541, 568
Mansio 258, 260-261, 271, 512

- Manuscripts 643, 644, 645, 648 (and n. 36), 654, 655, 656 (n. 76), 657; (from Calabria) 642; (hagiographical), 644, 647 (and n. 29); (liturgical and hymnographical), 642-643 (n. 8), 644, 648 (and n. 36); (palimpsest) 644 (n. 16); Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, *sine numero* («Archimedes palimpsest») 644 (n. 16); Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Banco 1, 644; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr. 202, 745; Plut. 1.56, 675; Galatone, Archivio Antico della Chiesa Madre, 3, 648; 4, 648; London, British Library, Add. 36821, 745; Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 49 sup., 742 (n. 38); D 69 sup., 742; E 49/50, 683 (n. 20); E 49 inf., 745; E 50 inf., 745; G 108 sup., 736; L 99 sup., 735; SP 1, 737 (n. 15); Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, lat. 2, 736; Ex Vindob. gr. 1, 736; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 923, 683, 745; gr. 1834, 6; lat. 2679 + 4808, 738 (n. 17); nouv. acq. lat. 1203, 675-76; suppl. gr. 1291, 671; Patmos, monastery of Saint John Evangelist 33, 751; 171, 683 (n. 20), 744; Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, B 25, 744 (n. 47); Rossano (Cosenza), Archiepiscopal Museum, *Codex purpureus Rossanensis* 742, 750; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 319, 644; Barb. gr. 336, 749; Barb. gr. 366, 658; Ott. gr. 15, 775; Pal. gr. 9, 647; Pal. lat. 1564, 735; Vat. gr. 749, 683, 744; Vat. gr. 1456, 752; Vat. gr. 1589, 752; Vat. gr. 1666, 742, 743 (n. 45); Vat. gr. 2066, 750 (and n. 75); Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 172, 776, 786; gr. 177, 775; gr. 179, 769, 777; Vienna, Österreichische National Bibliothek, Med. gr. 1, 736; Theol. gr. 31, 671; Washington, Congress Library, ms. 50, 750; see also scrolls, liturgical
- Mary, Virgin, Mother of God, St. 653; (icon of the Virgin Hodegetria) 653; see also «Madonna della Montagna» and «Madonna della Neve»
- Massa 283-287, 289, 373, 443 (n. 63); (*Callipolitana*) 438, 458, 476, 480; (*Nicotera*) 436, 438 (n. 24); (*Silana*) 436; (*Tropeana*) 434.
- Mataf* (Armenian ritual sacrifice) 658 (and n. 83)
- Melkite Church see Church, Melkite
- Menaia* (hymn-book for the fixed-feasts cycle) 647, 648 (n. 36), 651; see also hymnals
- Menologion* (hagiographical book) 647
- Menologium minus* (calendar of fixed feasts, in a Gospel-book) 644
- Metatum* 145, 161
- Migration 647 (n. 29)
- Military, units (*balistarii Theodosiaci*) 144 (n. 26); (*bandon*) 158, 288; (*basilikon Opsikon*) 41; (*droungos*) 158 (and n. 154); (*exkoubitoi* or *excubitores*), 41, 160; (*exercitus Italiae*), 147; (*exercitus Ravennatis*), 147; (*exercitus Romanus*), 147; (*Hikanatoi*), 160; (*Karabisianoi*), 155; (*limitanei*), 142; (*lorikatoi*) 161 (n. 178); (mercenaries) 162 (and n. 191); (*militia*), 288; (*scholai* or *scholae*) 41; (*scholariot*), 160; (*tagma*), 159 (and n. 170), 160 (and n. 174), 161 (n. 178), 162 (n. 191); (*Thrakesianoi*), 144; (*tourma*) 155, 158 (n. 154); (*Vigla*) 41, 160 (n. 174); see also numerus and thema
- Military, officers (*domestikos ton scholon*) 157 (n. 151); (*domestikos tou thematos*), 157; (duke), 142, 143 (and 18), 145, 147, 151, 155, 159 (and n. 167), 160; (*katepano*) 59, 160, 779; (*komes tes kortes*), 157, 779; (*krites tou thematos*) 779; (*magister militum*), 35, 141 (n. 14), 142, 144 (n. 26); (*strategos*) 41, 150, 153 (and n. 112), 154, 155 (and n. 133), 157, 159 (and n. 167), 169 (and 170), 160, 346, 444, 446, 447; (*strategotes*) 160; (*taxiarches*), 162; (*topoteretes*) 41, 161 (n. 178), 485; (*tourmarches*) 152 (n. 105), 155 (n. 133), 158 (n. 154), 160, 780; (*tribunus*), 141 (n. 9), 145 (n. 42), 438 (n. 19); see also archon, and exarch
- Minerals 500, 503

- Mining 439 (n. 28), 440-443, 446, 449
 Miracles 652-653, 655
 Miaphysitism 78, 188
 Monasteries see under the list of place names
 Monks 641, 643, 645, 647 (and n. 29), 649-653 (n. 54), 654
 Monoenergism 38, 71, 81
 Monophysitism see Miaphysitism
 Monossili (boats) 378
 Monotheletism 38, 40, 71, 79-81, 91, 549, 612, 641
Morgengabe 783
Mundoald 237, 240
 Music, Byzantine sacred 644, 648, 650
Mutatio 258, 260, 271
- Nestorianism 76, 188
 New Testament see Bible, New Testament
Nomisma see *solidus*
Notitia Dignitatum 265
Notitia ecclesiarum urbis Romae 586-587
Notitiae Episcopatum 93-95
Numeri (Ariminensium) 36; (*Arminiorum*) 542-543; (*Centumcellensis*) 36; (*Dacorum*) 36, 143; (*Mediolanensium*) 36, 143; (*Ravennensium / Ravennatum*) 36, 143-144; (*Theodosiacus / Theodosiaci*) 36, 143, 144 (and n. 26 and 28), 146; (*Persarmeniorum*) 143, 542; (*Persoiustinianorum*) 35; (*Sermisiani*), 144-145, 144 n. 36; (*Tarvisianus*) 36; (*Tergestinus*) 36; (*Veronensium*) 36. See also military units
 Novels (of Justinian) 3, 765-766, 768; (of Leo VI) 769, 775
Novellae see *Novels*
Nomocanon 766
Nomos Gheorgikos 767
Nomos Rhodion Nautikos 767
Nomos Stratiotikos 767
 Nuraghe 509; (Nuracale and Su Nuraxi) 511; (Nuracale of Scano Montiferro) 513
- Olive oil 370, 378, 460, 465
 Orthodoxy, feast of (commemoration of the restoration of the images' cult in 843) 650 (n. 41)
- Papyri* 35 736
Paroikoi 293, 294, 295
Passio I of St. Lucia 610
Passio II of St. Lucia 610
Passio of Alphius, Philadelphus, and Cyrinus 4 (n. 12), 614-615, 617
Passio of St. Agatha 610
Passio of St. Apollinaris 591, 612
Passio of St. Lucia and Geminianus 611-612
Passio of St. Nico and his 199 Companions 4 (n. 12), 616-617
Passio of St. Potitus 611
Passio of St. Tatiana 610-611
Passio of Sts. Senator, Viator, Cassiodorus, and Dominata 621
Passio of St. Sophie and Her Three Daughters 611
Passio of St. Vitus 611
Patrimonium sancti Petri 282, 473; 476; 479; 480; see also Rome, patrimonies
 Pagan practices, survival 658
 Palimpsest parchment, see manuscripts, palimpsest
 Parthenope, Greek colony 406, 552
 Peasants 286, 293, 438 (and n. 19); see also *paroikoi*
Peira 763, 779
 Pentarchy 71
 Persian War 35
 Petrine ideology 71, 73
 Photian Schism 73 (and n. 22), 74, 88, 551
 Phylacteries 655 (and n. 68)
 Pilgrimage 643-644, 653 (n. 54), 659
 Pirates 445
 Plague 30, 79, 401, 442, 456
 Poetry, Byzantine religious see hymns
 Pottery (African amphorae) 312-313, 317; (African Red Slip ware), 20, 303, 307, 313-314, 392-393; (Forum ware) 394; (glazed white ware) 463; (Keay LH amphorae), 305; (Late Roman C ware), 303, 314, 317; (Levantine amphorae), 312
Praefectus praetorio see also Administration, civil
Praefectus urbi see also Administration, civil

- Pragmatica sanctio* 32, 34, 77, 148, 339 (and n. 67), 389, 399, 456, 541, 696, 770
 Prayer 641-659; (joint – before a meal) 654
Precaria (emolument) 149
 Prediction of future 656 (and n. 72)
 Presentation of Christ at the Temple 550 (n. 72)
Privilegium fori 236, 242
Proasteion, estate 449
Procheiros nomos 7, 768 (n. 25), 784
Proikoupobolon see *Proix*
Protimesis 783
Proix 782
Protopapas 236, 238 (and n. 82)
 Provinces, Italian (Late Antiquity) 90-91
 Psalter (book) 654, 655, 656 (n. 72); see also Bible, Old Testament, Psalms
Psephos 78

Quaestor sacri palatii 779
Quarta system 98
Quanāq system 460
 Quinisext Council see Councils

 Rank titles (*apo eparchon*) 37;
 (*apo hypaton*) 37; (*consul*) 147 (and n. 61), 159 (n. 168); (*gloriosus*), 142;
 (*protospatharios*), 159 (n. 168), 779;
 (*spatharokandidatos*) 444; (*spectabilis*) 142, 151 (n. 95)
Regnum Italicum 50
Regula sancti Basilii 242, 244, 553-554
 Relics 643, 644, 653 (and n. 54), 656
Responsa ad consulta Bulgarorum 86
Rhoga (pay) 41, 149, 161 (n. 183)
Risorgimento 229
 Roman de Troie 567
 Romanesque 375
Romania (Italian territory under the Byzantines) 373-374
 Rotary querns 458, 463

 Sacraments 641 (n. 2)
 Sacrifice, ritual (Christian) 658-659
Sakelle (financial office) 153
Saltus Carminianensis 454
 Sarcophagi 365

 Schism (1054) 231, 89, 236
 Scribe, see Bartholomew τοῦ Πολυχρόνι, Leo, priest, Myronas, John, Philip the Priest, Nilus of Rossano
 Scrolls, liturgical 644
 Senate 33, 141, 148
Sigillion 237, 779
 Sigvaldus' pluteus (Cividale) 669, 678
Sitarchismos, tax 160 (n. 172)
 Spices 370
Stabilitas loci (western monasticism) 649
Stolus Siciliae see Fleet, Sicilian
Strategia (military command) 3, 150, 152
Strategicon, treatise (Maurice) 146 (and n. 49); (Cecaumenus), 466
Strategos see Military, officers
Strateia, military land and tax 158 (and n. 158 and 160), 161 (and n. 178), 448, 783
Summa Perusina 772
 Superstition 641 (n. 2), 654, 657, 658
Synaxarion (hagiographical book) 647 (and n. 29)
Synaxarium minus (calendar of fixed feasts, in a Gospel-book) 644
Synopsis historiarum by John Skilitzes 3 (n. 5)
Synetheia, tax 162 (n. 183), 291

Tabula Peutingeriana 257, 363
Taktikon Scorialensis 159 (and n. 169)
 Taxation 434, 436-437, 440 (n. 38), 442, 443 (n. 63), 447; see also *annona*, *annonocapita*, *kastroktisia*, *sitarchismos*, *strateia*, *synetheia*
 Textile 370
 Theme (military district) 144, 150, 152-153, 158-160; (*Anatolikai*), 162 (n. 188); (Calabria), 152, 436, 447; (Charsianon), 157 (n. 150); (Cephalonia) 53, 155, 157; (Dyrrachion), 155; (Longobardia or Langobardia) 54, 56, 88, 95, 155 (and n. 133), 156-159, 157, 343, 344, 345, 346, 463-464, 773, 779, 783, 786; (Lucania) 448; (Hellas), 157; (*Kibyrrhaiotai*) 46; (Lucania), 160 (n. 171); (Macedonia), 157 (n. 150); 162 (n. 188); (*Opsikion*), 145, 154, 162 (n. 188); (Peloponnesus),

- 157; (Sicily), 152-155, 157, 332 (and n. 17), 444; (*Thrakesianoï*) 144, 162 (n. 188).
See also *strategia*
- Thaghr* 206
- Theorettron* 776, 782, 786
- Theotokos*, cult 391
- Three Chapters Controversy 76-77, 91, 188, 590, 593, 595
- Three Holy Children (biblical figures) 643.
- Triodion* (hymn-book for the Lent period) 647, 648 (n. 36); see also hymnals
- Typikon* 228, 235
- Typos* 79
- Union of Churches 242-243
- Villae* 436, 439, 440
- Villages 436, 439, 440, 444 (n. 77), 445, 448
- Viri honesti* 34
- Vita* of Pope Martin I 612
- Vita* of St. Athanasius the Athonite 613
- Vita* of St. Bartolomew of Grottaferrata 629
- Vita* of St. Bartholomew of Simeri 645, 646 (and n. 22)
- Vita* of St. Cyprian of Calamizzi 653 (and n. 56), 657 (n. 77)
- Vita* of St. Elias Spelaiotes 624-625
- Vita* of St. Elias the Younger 622-625, 643, 644 (n. 13), 654, 655 (n. 63)
- Vita* of St. Euthymius 624
- Vita* of St. Gregory of Agrigento (by Leontius) 551, 617-618, 621; (by Niketas David Paphlagonian) 621
- Vita* of St. Gregory Decapolites 84
- Vita* of St. John the Merciful 613
- Vita* of St. John Theristes 631
- Vita* of St. Leo of Catania 616, (metrical life) 631
- Vita* of St. Leo of Catania in the imperial *Menologion* 621
- Vita* of St. Leo-Luke of Corleone 426
- Vita* of St. Luke of Demenna 626
- Vita* of St. Nicholas of Sion 658 (n. 83)
- Vita* of St. Nicodemus of Kellarana 629-630
- Vita* of St. Nilus of Rossano 613, 627-629, 643 (n. 11), 651 (n. 45), 653 (and n. 54, 57), 654 (and n. 59), 655 (and n. 64, 67, 70)
- Vita* of St. Pancratius of Taormina 557-558, 615-616, 618, 621
- Vita* of St. Phantinus of Tauriana 619
- Vita* of St. Phantinus the Younger 628, 645 (n. 20), 653 (n. 54), 657 (and n. 79).
- Vita* of St. Philaretus the Younger 654 (and n. 61) 630
- Vita* of St. Philip of Agira 620, 631, 642 (n. 6)
- Vita* of St. Sabas of Collesano 625-626
- Vita* of St. Vitalis of Castronovo 626
- Vita* of St. Wilfrid 550
- Vita* of St. Zosimus of Syracuse 612-613, 622-623
- Vita* of Sts. Christopher and Macarius of Collesano 7, 625, 645
- Wheat 440, 442, 444, 446
- Wine and wine cultivation 370, 378, 434, 436, 444-445, 449, 455, 460, 463
- Ypapanti* see Presentation of Christ at the Temple
- Ystoriola Langobardorum Beneventum degentium* 8